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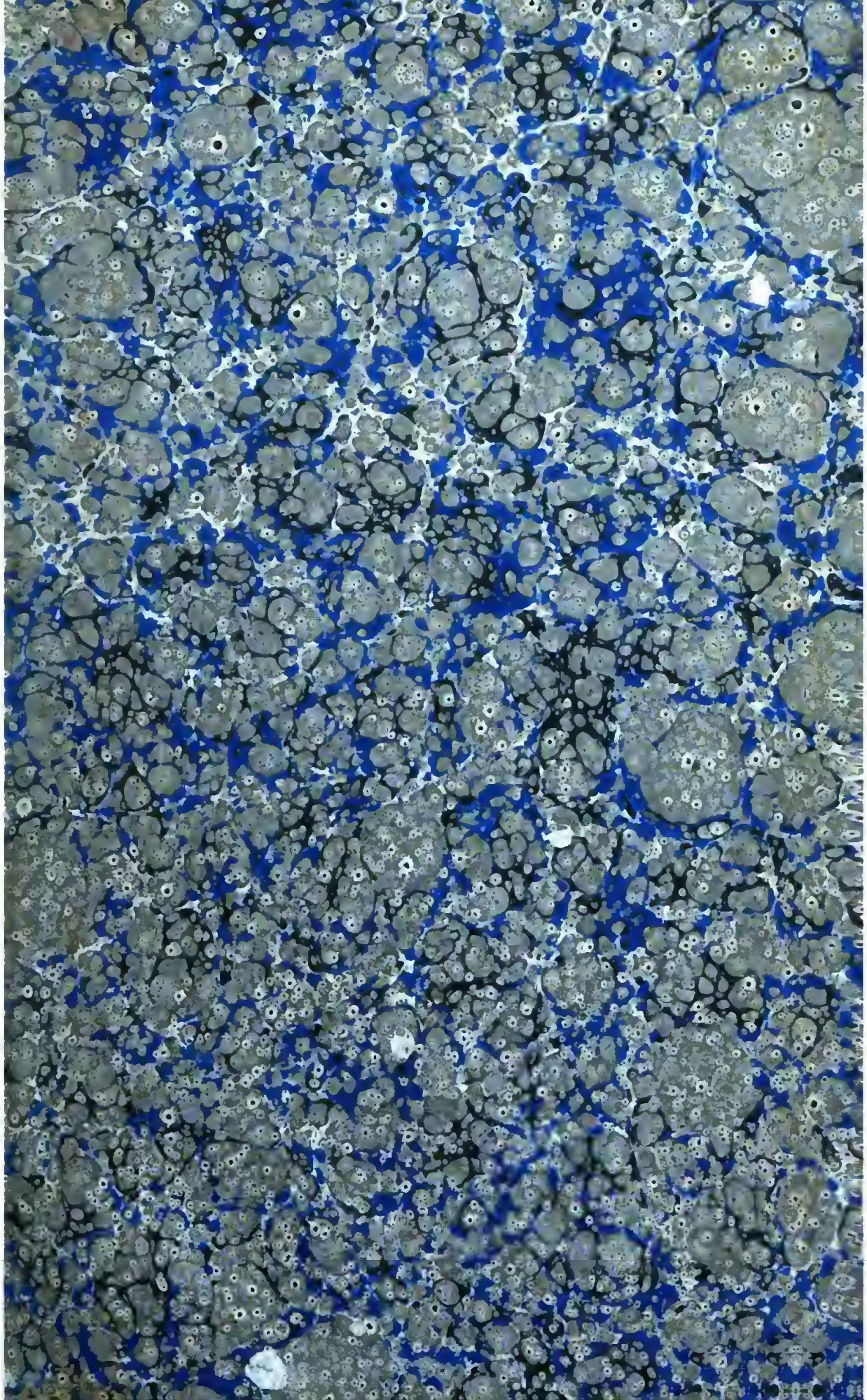

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THE

WORKS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT,

D.D., AND DEAN OF SAINT PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

CONTAINING

INTERESTING AND VALUABLE PAPERS,

NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, BY THOMAS ROSCOE;

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH.

No Author in the British language has enjoyed the extensive popularity of the celebrated Dean of St. Patrick's. The vivid and original power of his genius has supported him in the general opinion, to an extent only equalled by his friend Pope, and far surpassing any other of those geniuses who flourished in the Augustan age of Queen Anne.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

VOLUME II.

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THE

DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

[Various Specimens of Wood's Halfpenny, taken from the Originals preserved in the British Museum.]

THE tracts relating to Ireland are those of a public nature, in which the dean appears in the best light, because they do honour to his heart, as well as to his head; furnishing some additional proofs that, though he was free in his abuse of the inhabitants of that country, as well natives as foreigners, he had their interest sincerely at heart, and perfectly understood it. His Sermon upon doing Good, though peculiarly adapted to Ireland, and Wood's designs upon it, contains perhaps the best motives to patriotism that ever were delivered within so small a compass.—BURKE.

"ABOUT the year 1722, when Charles duke of Grafton was lord-lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood, a hardwareman and a bankrupt, alleging the great want of copper money in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000*l.* to pass there as current money. The dean, believing this measure to be a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chief procurers of the patent were to be sharers in the profits which would arise from the ruin of a kingdom, assumed the character of a *Draper*, which for some reasons he chose to write *Drapier*; and in the following LETTERS warned the people not to receive the coin which was then sent over.

"To judge by the accounts generally given of that transaction, it would appear a monster of despotism and fraud, that the halfpence were deficient in weight and goodness, and that the circulation of them would have been followed by the total ruin of Ireland. In fact, the inimitable humour of Swift, which places the kingdom on one side and William Wood on the other, has misled our judgment and captivated our imagination; and most persons have formed their opinion from his Drapier's Letters and satirical poems, rather than from authentic documents or well-attested facts. The simple narrative of this transaction, stripped of the exaggerated dress in which the malignant wit of the author has invested it, is reduced to a short compass. There being great deficiency of copper currency in Ireland, the king, in virtue of his prerogative, granted to William Wood a patent for coining farthings and halfpence, to the value of 100,000*l.* sterling, on certain terms which the patentee was bound to follow. William Wood, who in the party language of Swift is ridiculed under the denomination of a *hardcaremen* and a low mechanic, was a great proprietor and renter of iron-works in England. He had a lease of all the mines on the crown-lands in thirty-nine counties, was proprietor of several iron and copper works, and carried on, to a very considerable amount, manufactures for the different preparations of those metals. Among many proposals submitted to government, that which he delivered was accepted, and was considered by all persons of judgment or capacity, not biassed by party or national prejudice, as beneficial to Ireland. But the natives did not see it in so favourable a light; and before the money was circulated a general ferment was excited."—COXE, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

LETTER THE FIRST.

TO THE TRADESMEN, SHOPKEEPERS, FARMERS, AND COUNTRY PEOPLE IN GENERAL, OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND,

CONCERNING THE BRASS HALFPENCE COINED BY ONE WILLIAM WOOD, HARDWARESMAN, WITH A DESIGN TO HAVE THEM PASS IN THIS KINGDOM:

Wherein is shown the power of his Patent, the value of his Halfpence, and how far every person may be obliged to take the same in payments, and how to behave himself, in case such an attempt should be made by Wood, or any other person.

(VERY PROPER TO BE KEPT IN EVERY FAMILY.)

BY M. B., DRAPIER. 1724.

BRETHREN, FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN,
AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

WHAT I intend now to say to you is, next to your duty to God and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children: your bread and clothing, and every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most earnestly exhort you as men, as christians, as parents, and as lovers of your country, to read this paper with the utmost attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less expense, I have ordered the printer to sell it at the lowest rate.

It is a great fault among you, that when a person writes with no other intention than to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices. One copy of this paper may serve a dozen of you, which will be less than a farthing a-piece. It is your folly that you have no common or general interest in your view, not even the wisest among you; neither do you

know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written, to advise all people to wear the manufactures of this our own dear country. It had no other design, said nothing against the king or parliament, or any person whatsoever; yet the poor printer was prosecuted two years with the utmost violence, and even some weavers themselves (for whose sake it was written), being upon the JURY, found him guilty. This would be enough to discourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him or fly in his face for his pains, and when he must expect only danger to himself, and to be fined and imprisoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest destruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourselves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the plain story of the fact; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the laws of your country.

The fact is this: It having been many years since COPPER HALFPENCE OR FARTHINGS were last coined in this kingdom, they have been for some time very scarce, and many counterfeits passed about under the name of *raps*: several applications were made to England that we might have liberty to coin new ones, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last, one Mr. Wood, a mean ordinary man, a hardware-dealer, procured a patent under his majesty's broad seal to coin 108,000*l.* in copper for this kingdom; which patent, however, did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know that the halfpence and farthings in England pass for very little more than they are worth; and if you should beat them to pieces, and sell them to the brazier, you would not lose much above a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal, and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brazier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his; so that this sum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and silver, must be given for trash that will not be worth eight or nine thousand pounds real value. But this is not the worst; for Mr. Wood, when he pleases, may by stealth send over another 108,000*l.*, and buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve under the value. For example, if a hatter sells a dozen of hats for 5*s.* a-piece, which amounts to 3*l.* and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of 5*s.*

Perhaps you will wonder how such an ordinary fellow as this Mr. Wood could have so much interest as to get his majesty's broad seal for so great a sum of bad money to be sent to this poor country; and that all the nobility and gentry here could not obtain the same favour, and let us make our own halfpence as we used to do. Now I will make that matter very plain: we are at a great distance from the king's court, and have nobody there to solicit for us, although a great number of lords and 'squires, whose estates are here, and are our countrymen, spend all their lives and fortunes there; but this same Mr. Wood was able to attend constantly for his own interest; he is an Englishman, and had great friends; and, it seems, knew very well where to give money to those that would speak to others, that could speak to the king and would tell o fair story. And his majesty, and perhaps the great lord or lords who advise him, might think it was for our country's good; and so, as the lawyers express it, "the king was deceived in his grant," which often happens in all reigns. And I am sure if his majesty knew that such a patent, if it should take effect according to the desire of Mr. Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which has given such great proofs of its loyalty, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps show his displeasure to somebody or other; but a word to the wise is enough. Most of you must have heard with what anger our honourable house of commons received an account of this Wood's patent.[a] There were several fine speeches made upon it, and plain proofs that it was all a wicked cheat from the bottom to the top; and several smart votes were printed, which that same Wood had the assurance to answer likewise in print; and in so confident a way, as if he were a better man than our whole parliament put together.

This Wood, as soon as his patent was passed, or soon after, sends over a great many barrels of those halfpence to Cork and other sea-port towns; and to get them off, offered a hundred pounds in his coin for seventy or eighty in silver; but the collectors of the king's customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost everybody else. And since the parliament has condemned them, and desired the king that they might be stopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But Wood is still working underhand to force his halfpence upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail so far as to get an order that the commissioners and collectors of the king's money shall receive them, and that the army is to be paid with them, then he thinks his work shall be done. And this is the difficulty you will be under in such a case; for the common soldier, when he goes to the market or alehouse, will offer this money; and if it be refused, perhaps he will swagger and hector, and threaten to beat the butcher or alewife, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad halfpence. In this and the like cases, the shopkeeper or victualler, or any other tradesman, has no more to do than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for example, 20*d.* of that money for a quart of ale, and so in all things else, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For, suppose you go to an alehouse with that base money, and the landlord gives you a quart for four of those halfpence, what must the victualler do? his brewer will not be paid in that coin; or, if the brewer should be such a fool, the farmers will not take it from them for their bere,[b] because they are bound by their leases to pay their rent in good and lawful money of England; which this is not, nor of Ireland neither;

[a] "Inflamed by national zeal, the two houses passed addresses to the crown, accusing the patentee of fraud and deceit, asserting that the terms of the patent were infringed, both in the quantity and quality of the coin; that the circulation of the halfpence would be highly prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of the commerce, and of most dangerous consequence to the rights and properties of the subjects. The commons, with an absurdity and effrontery hardly credible, declared that, even had the terms of the patent been complied with, the nation would have suffered a loss at least of 150 per cent! and indeed the whole clamour rested on partial or ignorant representations. It was not at that time expected, or dwelt on as a matter of speculative propriety, that the weight of the copper coin should be adequate to its circulating value; and the assertion that Wood had carried on notorious frauds and deceits in the coinage, as advanced by Swift, and that the intrinsic was not equal to one-eighth of the nominal value, was proved to be false, by an assay made at the Mint, under sir Isaac Newton and his two associates, men of no less honour than capacity, the result of which was, that in weight, goodness, and fineness, it rather exceeded than fell short of the conditions of the patent. But the clamour, however unjust, was raised and became general; and it was a necessary act of prudence not to increase the ferment by forcing upon a nation what was considered as unjust and fraudulent. Lord Carteret, who succeeded the duke of Grafton in the office of lord-lieutenant, failed no less than his predecessor in all his endeavours to obtain the introduction of the copper money. The patent was surrendered, and tranquillity restored. Wood, as an indemnification for the loss he had sustained, received pensions to the amount of 3000*l.* a year, for eight years."—COXE

[b] A sort of barley in Ireland.

and the 'squire, their landlord, will never be so bewitched to take such trash for his land; so that it must certainly stop somewhere or other; and wherever it stops, it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of these halfpence is between four and five to an ounce—suppose five; then 3*s.* 4*d.* will weigh a pound, and consequently 20*s.* will weigh six pounds butter weight. Now there are many hundred farmers who pay 200*l.* a-year rent; therefore, when one of these farmers comes with his half-year's rent, which is 100*l.*, it will be at least 600 pounds weight, which is three horses' load.

If a 'squire has a mind to come to town to buy clothes, and wine, and spices, for himself and family, or perhaps to pass the winter here, he must bring with him five or six horses well laden with sacks, as the farmers bring their corn; and when his lady comes in her coach to our shops, it must be followed by a car loaded with Mr. Wood's money. And I hope we shall have the grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say 'squire Conolly [the speaker] has 16,000*l.* a-year; now, if he sends for his rent to town, as it is likely he does, he must have 250 horses to bring up his half-year's rent, and two or three great cellars in his house for stowage. But what the bankers will do I cannot tell; for I am assured that some great bankers keep by them 40,000*l.* in ready cash, to answer all payments; which sum, in Mr. Wood's money, would require 1200 horses to carry it.

For my own part, I am already resolved what to do: I have a pretty good shop of Irish stuffs and silks; and instead of taking Mr. Wood's bad copper, I intend to truck with my neighbours the butchers and bakers and brewers, and the rest, goods for goods; and the little gold and silver I have I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve; and then I will buy Mr. Wood's money, as my father did the brass money in King James's time, who could buy 10*l.* of it with a guinea; and I hope to get as much for a pistole, and so purchase bread from those who will be such fools as to sell it me.

These halfpence, if they once pass, will soon be counterfeited, because it may be cheaply done, the stuff is so base. The Dutch likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our goods; and Mr. Wood will never be at rest, but coin on: so that in some years we shall have at least five times 108,000*l.* of this lumber. Now the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above 400,000*l.* in all; and while there is a silver sixpence left, these blood-suckers will never be quiet.

When once the kingdom is reduced to such a condition, I will tell you what must be the end: the gentlemen of estates will all turn off their tenants for want of payments, because, as I told you before, the tenants are obliged by their leases to pay sterling, which is lawful current money of England; then they will turn their own farmers, as too many of them do already, run all into sheep where they can, keeping only such other cattle as are necessary; then they will be their own merchants, and send their wool, and butter, and hides, and linen, beyond sea, for ready money, and wine, and spices, and silks. They will keep only a few miserable cottagers: the farmers must rob, or beg, or leave their country; the shopkeepers in this and every other town must break and starve; for it is the landed man that maintains the merchant, and shopkeeper, and handicraftsman.

But when the 'squire turns farmer and merchant himself, all the good money he gets from abroad he will hoard up to send for England, and keep some poor tailor or weaver, and the like, in his own house, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I should never have done if I were to tell you all the miseries that we shall undergo if we be so foolish and wicked as to take this cursed coin. It would be very hard if all Ireland should be put into one scale, and this sorry fellow Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood should weigh down this whole kingdom, by which England gets above a million of good money every year clear into their pockets: and that is more than the English do by all the world besides.

But your great comfort is, that as his majesty's patent does not oblige you to take this money, so the laws have not given the crown a power of forcing the subject to take what money the king pleases; for then, by the same reason, we might be bound to take pebble-stones, or cockle-shells, or stamped leather, for current coin, if ever we should happen to live under an ill prince; who might likewise, by the same power, make a guinea pass for ten pounds, a shilling for twenty shillings, and so on; by which he would, in a short time, get all the silver and gold of the kingdom into his own hands, and leave us nothing but brass or leather, or what he pleased. Neither is anything reckoned more cruel and oppressive in the French government than their common practice of calling in all their money, after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it anew at a much higher value; which, however, is not the thousandth part so wicked as this abominable project of Mr. Wood. For the French give their subjects silver for silver, and gold for gold; but this fellow will not so much as give us good brass or copper for our gold and silver, nor even a twelfth part of their worth.

Having said thus much, I will now go on to tell you the judgment of some great lawyers in this matter, whom I fee'd on purpose for your sakes, and got their opinions under their hands, that I might be sure I went upon good grounds.

A famous law-book, called "The Mirror of Justice," discoursing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our ancient kings, declares the law to be as follows: "It was ordained that no king of this realm should change or impair the money, or make any other money than of gold or silver, without the assent of all the counties;" that is, as my lord Coke says, without the assent of parliament.

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer my lord Coke. By the law of England, the several metals are divided into lawful or true metal, and unlawful or false metal; the former comprehends silver and gold, the latter all baser metals. That the former is only to pass in payments appears by an act of parliament made the 20th year of Edward I., called the statute concerning the passing of pence; which I give you here as I got it translated into English; for some of our laws at that time were, as I am told, written in Latin: "Whoever, in buying or selling, presumes to refuse a halfpenny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a contemner of the king's majesty, and cast into prison."

By this statute, no person is to be reckoned a contemner of the king's majesty, and for that crime to be committed to prison, but he who refuses to accept the king's coin made of lawful metal; by which, as I observed before, silver and gold only are intended.

That this is the true construction of the act appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my lord Coke's observation upon it. "By this act," says he, "it appears that no subject can be forced to take, in buying, or selling, or other payment, any money made but of lawful metal; that is of silver or gold."

The law of England gives the king all mines of

gold and silver, but not the mines of other metals; the reason of which prerogative or power, as it is given by my lord Coke, is, because money can be made of gold and silver, but not of other metals.

Pursuant to this opinion, halfpence and farthings were anciently made of silver, which is evident from the act of parliament of Henry IV., ch. 4, whereby it is enacted as follows: "Item, for the great scarcity that is at present within the realm of England of halfpence and farthings of silver, it is ordained and established that the third part of all the money of silver plate which shall be brought to the bullion shall be made into halfpence and farthings." This shows that by the words "halfpence and farthings of lawful money," in that statute concerning the passing of pence, is meant a small coin in halfpence and farthings of silver.

This is further manifest from the statute of the 9th Edward III., ch. 3, which enacts "that no sterling halfpenny or farthing be molten for to make vessels, or any other thing, by the goldsmiths or others, upon forfeiture of the money so molten" (or melted).

By another act in this king's reign, black money was not to be current in England. And by an act in the 11th year of his reign, ch. 5, galley halfpence were not to pass. What kind of coin these were I do not know, but I presume they were made of base metal. And these acts were no new laws, but further declarations of the old laws relative to the coin.

Thus the law stands in relation to coin. Nor is there any example to the contrary, except one in Davis's Reports, who tells us "that in the time of Tyrone's rebellion, queen Elizabeth ordered money of mixed metal to be coined in the Tower of London, and sent over hither for the payment of the army, obliging all people to receive it; and commanding that all silver money should be taken only as bullion;" that is, for as much as it weighed. Davis tells us several particulars in this matter, too long here to trouble you with, and "that the privy-council of this kingdom obliged a merchant in England to receive this mixed money for goods transmitted hither."

But this proceeding is rejected by all the best lawyers, as contrary to law, the privy-council here having no such legal power. And besides, it is to be considered that the queen was then under great difficulties by a rebellion in this kingdom, assisted from Spain; and whatever is done in great exigencies and dangerous times should never be an example to proceed by in seasons of peace and quietness.

I will now, my dear friends, to save you the trouble, set before you, in short, what the law obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

1st. You are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the king, and is of the English standard or weight, provided it be of gold or silver.

2dly. You are not obliged to take any money which is not of gold or silver; not only the halfpence or farthings of England, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience or ease that you are content to take them; because the custom of coining silver halfpence and farthings has long been left off, I suppose on account of their being subject to be lost.

3dly. Much less are you obliged to take those vile halfpence of the same Wood, by which you must lose almost eleven pence in every shilling.

Therefore, my friends, stand to it one and all; refuse this filthy trash. It is no treason to rebel against Mr. Wood. His majesty, in his patent, obliges nobody to take these halfpence: our gracious prince has no such ill advisers about him: or, if he had, yet you see the laws have not left it in the king's power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right standard gold and silver. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me in the next place apply myself particularly to you who are the poorer sort of tradesmen. Perhaps you may think you will not be so great losers as the rich if these halfpence should pass; because you seldom see any silver, and your customers come to your shops or stalls with nothing but brass, which you likewise find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you you will be utterly undone. If you carry these halfpence to a shop for tobacco or brandy, or any other thing that you want, the shopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or else he must break, and leave the key under the door. "Do you think I will sell you a yard of ten-penny stuff for twenty of Mr. Wood's halfpence? no, not under 200 at least; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump." I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr. Wood's project should take, it would ruin even our beggars; for when I give a beggar a halfpenny, it will quench his thirst, or go a good way to fill his belly; but the twelfth part of a halfpenny will do him no more service than if I should give him three pins out of my sleeve.

In short, these halfpence are like the "accursed thing, which," as the Scripture tells us, "the children of Israel were forbidden to touch." They will run about like the plague, and destroy every one who lays his hand upon them. I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king that he had invented a way to torment people, by putting them into a bull of brass with fire under it; but the prince put the projector first into his brazen bull, to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's fate; that the brass he contrived to torment this kingdom with may prove his own torment and his destruction at last.

N.B. The author of this paper is informed, by persons who have made it their business to be exact in their observations on the true value of these halfpence, that any person may expect to get a quart of twopenny ale for thirty-six of them.

I desire that all families may keep this paper carefully by them, to refresh their memories whenever they shall have further notice of Mr. Wood's halfpence, or any other the like imposture.

LETTER THE SECOND.

TO MR. HARDING, THE PRINTER,

On occasion of a paragraph in his Newspaper of Aug. 1, 1724, relating to Mr. Wood's Halfpence.

August 4, 1724.

In your Newsletter of the 1st instant there is a paragraph, dated from London, July 25, relating to Wood's halfpence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my letter to the shopkeepers, &c., that this vile fellow would never be at rest; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires new and fresh warning. However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great measure, an imposition upon the public; at least I hope so, because I am informed that Wood is generally his own newswriter. I cannot but observe from that paragraph that this public enemy of ours, not satisfied to ruin us with his trash, takes every occasion to treat this kingdom with the utmost contempt. He represents several of our merchants and traders, upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing that there was the utmost necessity of copper money here before his patent; so that several gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards sealed and subscribed with their names. What then? If a physician prescribe to a patient a dram of physic,

shall a rascal apothecary cram him with a pound, and mix it up with poison? And is not a landlord's hand and seal to his own labourers a better security for 5s. or 10s. than Wood's brass, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for 108,000*l.*?

But who are these merchants and traders of Ireland that made this report of the utmost necessity we are under for copper money? They are only a few betrayers of their country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are to purchase a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half the price that we are to take it, and vend it among us to the ruin of the public, and their own private advantages. Are not these excellent witnesses, upon whose integrity the fate of the kingdom must depend, evidences in their own cause, and sharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deserved the liberty of coining for ourselves as we formerly did,—and why we have it not is everybody's wonder as well as mine,—ten thousand pounds might have been coined here in Dublin of only one-fifth below the intrinsic value, and this sum, with the stock of halfpence we then had, would have been sufficient. But Wood, by his emissaries,—enemies to God and this kingdom,—has taken care to buy up as many of our old halfpence as he could, and from thence the present want of change arises; to remove which by Mr. Wood's remedy would be to cure a scratch on the finger by cutting off the arm. But, supposing there were not one farthing of change in the whole nation, I will maintain that 25,000*l.* would be a sum fully sufficient to answer all our occasions. I am no inconsiderable shopkeeper in this town. I have discoursed with several of my own and other trades, with many gentlemen both of city and country, and also with great numbers of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, who all agree that 2*s.* in change for every family would be more than necessary in all dealings. Now, by the largest computation (even before that grievous discouragement of agriculture which has so much lessened our numbers), the souls in this kingdom are computed to be one million and a half; which, allowing six to a family, makes 250,000 families, and, consequently, 2*s.* to each family will amount only to 25,000*l.*; whereas this honest, liberal hardwareman, Wood, would impose upon us above four times that sum.

Your paragraph relates further, that sir Isaac Newton reported an assay taken at the Tower of Wood's metal, by which it appears that Wood had in all respects performed his contract. His contract!—With whom? Was it with the parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to be the purchasers? But they detest, abhor, and reject it, as corrupt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and trash. Upon which he grows angry, goes to law, and will impose his goods upon us by force.

But your Newsletter says that an assay was made of the coin. How impudent and insupportable is this! Wood takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good metal, sends them to the Tower, and they are approved; and these must answer all that he has already coined or shall coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gentleman often sends to my shop for a pattern of stuff; I cut it fairly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or sends, and compares the pattern with the whole piece, and probably we come to a bargain. But if I were to buy a hundred sheep, and the grazier should bring me one single wether, fat and well fleeced, by way of pattern, and expect the same price round for the whole hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was paid, or giving me good security to restore my money for those that were lean, or shorn, or scabby, I would be none of his customer. I have heard of a man who had a mind to sell his house, and therefore carried a piece of brick in his pocket, which he showed as a pattern to encourage purchasers; and this is directly the case in point with Mr. Wood's assay.

The next part of the paragraph contains Mr. Wood's voluntary proposals for preventing any further objections or apprehensions.

His first proposal is, "That whereas he has already coined 17,000*l.* and has copper prepared to make it up 40,000*l.*, he will be content to coin no more, unless the EXIGENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, although his patent empowers him to coin a far greater quantity."

To which if I were to answer, it should be thus:—"Let Mr. Wood, and his crew of founders and tinkers, coin on, till there is not an old kettle left in the kingdom,—let them coin old leather, tobacco pipe clay, or the dirt in the street, and call their trumpery by what name they please, from a guinea to a farthing,—we are not under any concern to know how he and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope and trust that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his ware."

The king has given him a patent to coin halfpence, but has not obliged us to take them; and I have already shown, in my Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c., that the law has not left it in the power of the prerogative to compel the subject to take any money besides gold and silver of the right sterling and standard.

Wood further purposes (if I understand him right, for his expressions are dubious) that he will not coin above 40,000*l.* unless the exigencies of trade require it.

First, I observe that this sum of 40,000*l.*, is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old halfpence left. Again, I ask, who is to be judge when the exigencies of trade require it? Without doubt he means himself; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who must be utterly ruined if this project should succeed, we were never once consulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our exigencies by his own. Neither will these be ever at an end till he and his accomplices shall think they have enough; and it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and silver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the same coin.

I shall not enter into examination of the prices for which he now proposes to sell his halfpence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have said enough of it in my former letter, and it has likewise been considered by others. It is certain that, by his own first computation, we were to pay 3*s.* for what was intrinsically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and standard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is so great a difference, both in weight and badness, in several of his coins, that some of them have been nine in ten below the intrinsic value, and most of them six or seven.

His last proposal, being of a peculiar strain and nature, deserves to be very particularly considered, both on account of the matter and the style. It is as follows:

"Lastly, in consideration of the direful apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will, by such coinage, drain them of their gold and silver, he proposes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no person be obliged to receive more than 5½*d.* at one payment."

First, observe this little impudent hardwareman turning into ridicule the direful apprehensions of a whole kingdom, priding himself as the cause of them, and daring to prescribe (what no king of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation shall be obliged to take his brass coin. And he has reason to insult; for sure there was never an example in history of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread

of utter destruction,—not by a powerful invader, at the head of 20,000 men,—not by a plague or a famine,—not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt administration,—but by one single, diminutive, insignificant mechanic.

But to go on:—to remove our direful apprehensions that he will drain us of our gold and silver by his coinage, this little arbitrary mock-monarch most graciously offers to take our manufactures in exchange. Are our Irish understandings indeed so low in his opinion? Is not this the very misery we complain of, that his cursed project will put us under the necessity of selling our goods for what is equal to nothing? How would such a proposal sound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we should take their money at ten times higher than the intrinsic value? Does Mr. Wood think, for instance, that we will sell him a stone of wool for a parcel of his counters, not worth sixpence, when we can send it to England, and receive as many shillings in gold and silver? Surely there was never heard such a compound of impudence, villany, and folly!

His proposals conclude with perfect high treason. He promises that no person shall be obliged to receive more than 5½*d.* of his coin in one payment. By which it is plain that he pretends to oblige every subject in this kingdom to take so much in every payment if it be offered; whereas his patent obliges no man, nor can the prerogative, by law, claim such a power, as I have often observed; so that here Mr. Wood takes upon him the entire legislature, and an absolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's advisers? Who are his supporters, abettors, encouragers, or sharers? Mr. Wood will oblige me to take fivepence halfpenny of his brass in every payment; and I will shoot Mr. Wood and his deputies through the head, like highwaymen or housebreakers, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of 100*l.* It is no loss of honour to submit to the lion; but who, with the figure of a man, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a rat? He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of 17*s.* at least, in the pound; a tax, I say, not only upon lands, but interest-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants.

Shopkeepers, look to yourselves!—Wood will oblige and force you to take 5½*d.* of his trash in every payment, and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or else you can hardly find bread. And pray consider how much that will amount to in a year. Twenty times 5½*d.* is 9*s.* 2*d.* which is above 160*l.* a-year; wherein you will be losers of at least 140*l.* by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr. Wood on such conditions, you may; but, for my own particular, let his money perish with him! If the famous Mr. Hampden rather chose to go to prison than pay a few shillings to king Charles I. without authority of parliament, I will rather choose to be hanged than have all my substance taxed at 17*s.* in the pound, at the arbitrary will and pleasure of the venerable Mr. Wood.

The paragraph concludes thus:—"N.B." (that is to say, *nota bene*, or *mark well*) "No evidence appeared from Ireland, or elsewhere, to prove the mischiefs complained of, or any abuses whatsoever committed, in the execution of the said grant."

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went before. First, the house of commons in Ireland, which represents the whole people of the kingdom, and, secondly, the privy-council, addressed his majesty against these halfpence. What could be done more to express the universal sense of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely against it, would not that be sufficient to reject it? Must a committee of the whole house of commons, and our whole privy-council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr. Wood? To what end did the king give his patent for coining halfpence for Ireland? Was it not because it was represented to his sacred majesty that such a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom and of all his subjects here? It is to the patentee's peril if this representation be false, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he so wicked and foolish to think that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or four score thousand pounds to himself? Before he was at the charge of passing a patent, much more of raking up so much filthy dross, and stamping it with his majesty's image and superscription, should he not first, in common sense, in common equity, and common manners, have consulted the principal party concerned,—that is to say, the people of the kingdom, the house of lords or commons, or the privy-council? If any foreigner should ask us whose image and superscription there is on Wood's coin, we should be ashamed to tell him it was Cæsar's. In that great want of copper halfpence which he alleges we were, our city set up our Cæsar's* statue in excellent copper, at an expense that is equal in value to 30,000 pounds of his coin, and we will not receive his image in worse metal.

I observe many of our people putting a melancholy case on this subject. "It is true," say they, "we are all undone if Wood's halfpence must pass; but what shall we do if his majesty puts out a proclamation commanding us to take them?" This has been often dinned in my ears; but I desire my countrymen to be assured that there is nothing in it. The king never issues out a proclamation but to enjoin what the law permits him. He will not issue out a proclamation against law; or, if such a thing should happen by a mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Besides, his majesty will never command us by a proclamation what he does not offer to command us in the patent itself. There he leaves it to our discretion, so that our destruction must be entirely owing to ourselves; therefore, let no man be afraid of a proclamation which will never be granted, and if it should, yet, upon this occasion, will be of no force.

The king's revenues here are nearly 400,000*l.* a-year. Can you think his ministers will advise him to take them in Wood's brass, which will reduce the value to 50,000*l.*? England gets a million sterling by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almost reduced to nothing. And do you think those who live in England upon Irish estates will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in Wood's drossy?

If Wood and his confederates were not convinced of our stupidity, they never would have attempted so audacious an enterprise. He now sees a spirit has been raised against him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about watching when to devour us. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him; and at last, out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with opposition, we shall be forced to yield; and therefore, I confess, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your spirits and resentments. If I tell you "there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forward you will certainly break your necks;" if I point to it before your eyes, must I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's hearts waxed gross? Are their ears dull of hearing? And have they closed their eyes? I fear

* A statue of George I. in Dublin.

there are some few vipers among us, who for 10*l.* or 20*l.* gain would sell all their souls and their country; although at last it should end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like "the deaf adder, who refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely."

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr. Harding, yet I intend it for all my countrymen. I have no interest in this affair but what is common to the public. I can live better than many others; I have some gold and silver by me, and a shop well furnished; and shall be able to make a shift when many of my betters are starving. But I am grieved to see the coldness and indifference of many people with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a proclamation; others shrug up their shoulders, and cry, "What would you have us to do?" Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted that it will be a common calamity, and they shall fare no worse than their neighbours. Will a man who hears midnight robbers at his door get out of bed and raise his family for a common defence; and shall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr. Wood comes, at the head of his confederates, to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our posterity for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to save your life; but, God be thanked, Mr. Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your side; when he or his accomplices offer you his dross, it is but saying no, and you are safe. If a madman should come into my shop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of stuff, I would pity or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deserved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr. Wood comes to demand my gold and silver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and silver, in exchange for his trash, can he deserve or expect better treatment?

When the evil day is come (if it must come), let us mark and observe those who presume to offer these halfpence in payment. Let their names and trades and places of abode be made public, that every one may be aware of them as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr. Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the first honest discoverer give the word about that Mr. Wood's halfpence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end if I attempted to say all that this melancholy subject will bear. I will conclude with humbly offering one proposal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this destructive project at once. Let some skilful judicious pen draw up an advertisement to the following purpose:—

"Whereas one William Wood, hardwareman, now or lately sojourning in the city of London, has, by many misrepresentations, procured a patent for coining 108,000*l.* in copper halfpence for this kingdom, which is a sum five times greater than our occasions require: And whereas it is notorious that the said Wood has coined his halfpence of such base metal and false weight that they are at least six parts in seven below the real value: And whereas we have reason to apprehend, that the said Wood may at any time hereafter clandestinely coin as many more halfpence as he pleases: And whereas the said patent neither does nor can oblige his majesty's subjects to receive the said halfpence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice; because by law the subject cannot be obliged to take any money, except gold or silver: And whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the said patent, the said Wood has declared that every person shall be obliged to take 5*s.* of his coin in every payment: And whereas the house of commons and privy council have severally addressed his most sacred majesty, representing the ill consequences which the said coinage may have upon this kingdom: And lastly, whereas it is universally agreed that the whole nation to a man (except Mr. Wood and his confederates) are in the utmost apprehensions of the ruinous consequences that must follow from the said coinage: Therefore we whose names are underwritten, being persons of considerable estates in this kingdom, and residers therein, do unanimously resolve and declare that we will never receive one farthing or halfpenny of the said Wood's coining, and that we will direct all our tenants to refuse the said coin from any person whatsoever; of which, that they may not be ignorant, we have sent them a copy of this advertisement, to be read to them by our stewards, receivers," &c.

I could wish that a paper of this nature might be drawn up and signed by two or three hundred principal gentlemen of this kingdom, and printed copies thereof sent to their several tenants. I am deceived if anything could sooner defeat this execrable design of Wood and his accomplices. This would immediately give the alarm, and set the kingdom on their guard; this would give courage to the meanest tenant and cottager. "How long, O Lord, righteous and true," &c.

I must tell you in particular, Mr. Harding, that you are much to blame. Several hundred persons have inquired at your house for my "Letter to the Shopkeepers," &c., and you had none to sell them. Pray keep yourself provided with that letter, and with this: you have got very well by the former; but I did not then write for your sake, any more than I do now. Pray advertise both in every newspaper; and let it not be your fault or mine if our countrymen will not take warning. I desire you likewise to sell them as cheap as you can.

I am your servant, M. B.

The following Report, taken from the "*Hibernian Patriot*" (Dublin, 1730), will be found extremely interesting from the circumstance of its containing all the arguments brought forward by the government in favour of Wood's patent, in order to fix the charge of contumacy and disaffection upon the dean in exciting the people of Ireland.

The Report of the committee of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, in relation to Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings, &c.

At the council-chamber at Whitehall, the 24th day of July, 1724.

In obedience to your majesty's order of reference, upon the several resolutions and addresses of both houses of parliament of Ireland, during their late session, the late address of your majesty's justices and privy council of that kingdom, and the petitions of the county and city of Dublin, concerning a patent granted by your majesty to William Wood, esq., for the coining and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in the kingdom of Ireland to such persons as would voluntarily accept the same; and upon the petition of the said William Wood concerning the same coinage, the lords of the committee have taken into their consideration the said patent, addresses, petitions, and all matters and papers relating thereto, and have heard and examined all such persons as, upon due and sufficient notice, were desirous and willing to be heard upon the subject-matter under their consideration, and have agreed upon the following report, containing a true state of the whole matter, as it appeared before them, with their humble opinion, to be laid before

your majesty for your royal consideration and determination upon a matter of such importance.

The several addresses to your majesty from your subjects of Ireland contain in general terms the strongest representations of the great apprehensions they were under from the importing and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in Ireland, by virtue of the patent granted to Mr. Wood, which they conceived would prove highly prejudicial to your majesty's revenue, destructive of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the properties of a subject. They represent that the patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland; that if the terms of the patent had been complied with, this coinage would have been of infinite loss to the kingdom, but that the patentee, under colour of the powers granted to him, had imported and endeavoured to utter great quantities of different impressions and of less weight than required by the patent, and had been guilty of notorious frauds and deceit in coining the said copper-money: And they humbly beseech your majesty that you would give such directions as in your great wisdom you should think proper to prevent the fatal effects of uttering any halfpence or farthings by virtue of the said patent: And the house of commons of Ireland, in a second address upon this subject, pray that your majesty would be pleased to give directions to the several officers intrusted in the receipt of your majesty's revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatever, receive or utter any of the said copper halfpence or farthings.

In answer to the addresses of the houses of parliament of Ireland, your majesty was most graciously pleased to assure them "that if any abuses had been committed by the patentee, you would give the necessary orders for inquiring into and punishing those abuses; and that your majesty would do everything that was in your power for the satisfaction of your people."

In pursuance of this your majesty's most gracious declaration, your majesty was pleased to take this matter into your royal consideration; and, that you might be the better enabled effectually to answer the expectations of your people of Ireland, your majesty was pleased, by a letter from lord Carteret, one of your principal secretaries of state, dated March 10, 1723-4, to signify your pleasure to your lord-lieutenant of Ireland, "That he should give directions for sending over such papers and witnesses as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent, and against the patentee in the execution of the powers given him by the patent."

Upon the receipt of these your majesty's orders, the lord-lieutenant, by his letter of the 20th March, 1723-4, represented the great difficulty he found himself under to comply with these your majesty's orders; and, by another letter, of the 24th of March, 1723-4, "after consulting the principal members of both houses who were immediately in your majesty's service, and of the privy-council," acquainted your majesty, "that none of them would take upon them to advise how any material persons or papers might be sent over on this occasion; but they all seemed apprehensive of the ill-temper any miscarriage, in a trial upon *scire facias* brought against the patentee, might occasion in both houses, if the evidence were not laid as full before a jury as it was before them," and did therefore a second time decline sending over any persons, papers, or materials whatsoever, to support this charge brought against your majesty's patent and the patentee.

As this proceeding seemed very extraordinary, that, in a matter that had raised so great and universal a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament of Ireland; that no papers, no materials, no evidence whatsoever of the mischiefs arising from this patent, or of the notorious frauds and deceit committed in the execution of it, could now be had, to give your majesty satisfaction herein; "your majesty, however, desirous to give your people of Ireland all possible satisfaction, but sensible that you cannot in any case proceed against any of the meanest of your subjects but according to the known rules and maxims of law and justice," repeated your orders to your lord-lieutenant of Ireland, that, by persuasion, and making proper allowances for their expenses, new endeavours might be used to procure and send over such witnesses as should be thought material to make good the charge against the patent.

In answer to these orders, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland acquaints your majesty, by his letter of the 23rd of April to one of your principal secretaries of state, "that, in order to obey your majesty's commands as far as possibly he could, at a meeting with my lord chancellor, the chief judges, your majesty's attorney and solicitor-general, he had earnestly desired their advice and assistance to enable him to send over such witnesses as might be necessary to support the charge against Mr. Wood's patent, and the execution of it. The result of this meeting was such that the lord-lieutenant could not reap the least advantage or assistance from it, every one being so guarded with caution against giving any advice or opinion in this matter of state, apprehending great danger to themselves from meddling in it."

The lords of the committee think it very strange that there should be such great difficulty in prevailing with persons who had already given their evidence before the parliament of Ireland to come over and give the same evidence here, and especially that the chief difficulty should arise from a general apprehension of a miscarriage in an inquiry before your majesty, or in a proceeding by due course of law, in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced and satisfied, upon evidence and examinations taken in the most solemn manner.

At the same time that your majesty sent your orders to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to send over such evidences as were thought material to support the charge against the patent, that your majesty might, without any further loss of time than was absolutely necessary, be as fully informed as was possible, and that the abuses and frauds alleged to be committed by the patentee, in executing the powers granted to him, might be fully and strictly inquired into and examined, your majesty was pleased to order that an assay should be made of the fineness, value, and weight of this copper money, and the goodness thereof, compared with the former coinages of copper money for Ireland, and the copper money coined in your majesty's mint in England; and it was accordingly referred to sir Isaac Newton, Edward Southwell, and John Scrope, esqrs., to make the said assay and trial.

By the reports made of this assay, which are hereunto annexed, it appears "that the pix of the copper moneys coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the trial pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at your majesty's mint at the Tower; that the comptroller's account of the quantities of halfpence and farthings coined, agreed with Mr. Wood's account, amounting to 59 tons, 3 hundred, 1 quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 ounces; that by the specimens of this coinage which had from time to time been taken from the several parcels coined, and sealed up in papers, and put into the pix, 60 halfpence weighed fourteen ounces troy, and 18 pennyweight, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight avoirdupois; and 30

farthings weighed 3¼ oz. 46 gr. troy, which is also above the weight required by the patent. It also appears that both halfpence and farthings, when heated red-hot, spread thin under the hammer without cracking; that the copper of which Mr. Wood's coinage is made is of the same goodness and value with the copper of which the copper money is coined in your majesty's mint for England, and worth, in the market, about 13*d.* per pound weight avoirdupois; that a pound of copper wrought into bars or fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the mint at the Tower of London, is worth 18*d.* per pound, and always cost as much, and is coined into 23 pence of copper money, by tale, for England. It likewise appears that the halfpence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in the reigns of king Charles II., king James II., and king William and queen Mary, considerably exceeds them all in weight, very far exceeds them all in goodness, fineness, and value of the copper, none of them bearing the fire so well, not being malleable, wasting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value at all; specimens of all which, as likewise of Mr. Wood's copper money, upon trials and assays made by sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scrope, were laid before this committee for their information."

The lords of the committee beg leave, upon this article of the complaint, that notorious frauds and deceits had been committed by the patentee in executing the powers granted him, to observe to your majesty that this is a fact expressly charged upon the patentee, and, if it had in any manner been proved, it might have enabled your majesty, by due course of law, to have given the satisfaction to your people of Ireland that has been so much insisted upon; but, as it is now above four months since your majesty was pleased to send over to Ireland for such evidence as might prove a fact alleged to be so notorious, and no evidence at all has been as yet transmitted, nor the least expectation given of any that may hereafter be obtained, and the trials and assays that have been taken of the halfpence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood proving so unquestionably the weight, goodness, and fineness of the copper money coined, rather exceeding the conditions of the patent than being any way defective, the lords of the committee cannot advise your majesty, by a writ of *scire facias*, or any other manner, to endeavour vacating the said patent, when there is no probability of success in such an undertaking.

As these trials and assays fully show that the patentee hath acted fairly according to the terms and conditions of his patent, so they evidently prove that the care and caution made use of in this patent, by proper conditions, checks, and comptrols, have effectually provided that the copper money coined for Ireland by virtue of this patent should far exceed the like coinages for Ireland in the reigns of your majesty's royal predecessors.

And that your majesty's royal predecessors have exercised this undoubted prerogative of granting to private persons the power and privilege of coining copper halfpence and farthings for the kingdom of Ireland was proved to this committee by several precedents of such patents granted to private persons by king Charles II. and king James II., none of which were equally beneficial to your kingdom of Ireland, nor so well guarded with proper covenants and conditions for the due execution of the powers thereby granted, although the power and validity of those patents, and a due compliance with them, was never in any one instance, till this time, disputed or controverted.

By these former patents, the sole power of coining copper money for Ireland was granted to the patentees for the term of 21 years, to be coined in such place as they should think convenient, and such quantities as they could conveniently issue within the term of 21 years, without any restriction of the quantity to be coined within the whole term, or any provision of a certain quantity, only to be coined annually to prevent the ill consequences of too great a quantity to be poured in at once, at the will and pleasure of the patentees; no provision was made for the goodness and fineness of the copper, no comptroller appointed to inspect the copper in bars and fillets, before coined, and take constant assays of the money when coined, and the power of issuing not limited to such as would voluntarily accept the same; but, by the patent granted to John Knox, the money coined by virtue of that patent is made and declared to be the current coin of the kingdom of Ireland, and a pound-weight of copper was allowed to be coined into 2*s.* 8*d.*, and whatever quantity should be coined, a rent of 16*l.* per annum only was reserved to the crown, and 700 tons of copper were computed to be coined within 21 years, without any complaint.

The term granted to Mr. Wood for coining copper money is for 14 years only, the quantity for the whole term limited to 360 tons; 100 tons only to be issued within one year, and 20 tons each year, for the 13 remaining years: a comptroller is appointed by the authority of the crown, to inspect, comptrol, and assay the copper, as well not coined as coined; the copper to be fine British copper, cast into bars or fillets, which, when heated red-hot, would spread thin under the hammer; a pound weight of copper to be coined into 2*s.* 6*d.*, and without any compulsion or currency enforced to be received by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same; a rent of 800*l.* *per annum* is reserved to your majesty, and 200*l.* *per annum* to your majesty's clerk comptroller, to be paid annually by the patentee, for the full term of the 14 years, which, for 13 years, when 20 tons of copper only are coined, is not inconsiderable; these great and essential differences in the several patents that have been granted for coining copper money for the kingdom of Ireland seemed sufficiently to justify the care and caution that was used in granting the letters-patent to Mr. Wood.

It has been further represented to your majesty that these letters-patent were obtained by Mr. Wood in a clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by gross misrepresentations of the state of the kingdom of Ireland. Upon inquiring into this fact, it appears, that the petition of Mr. Wood for obtaining this coinage was presented to your majesty at the time that several other petitions and supplications were made to your majesty, for the same purpose, by sundry persons well acquainted and conversant with the affairs of Ireland, setting forth the great want of small money and change in all the common and lower parts of traffic and business throughout the kingdom, and the terms of Mr. Wood's petition seeming to your majesty most reasonable, thereupon a draught of warrant, directing a grant of such coinage to be made to Mr. Wood, was then referred to your majesty's then attorney and solicitor-general of England, to consider and report their opinion to your majesty: sir Isaac Newton, as the committee is informed, was consulted in all the steps of settling and adjusting the terms and conditions of the patent; and after mature deliberation, your majesty's warrant was signed, directing an indenture in such manner as is practised in your majesty's mint in the Tower of London, for the coining of gold and silver moneys, to pass the great seal of Great Britain, which was carried through all the usual forms and offices without haste or precipitation; that the committee cannot discover the least

pretence to say this patent was passed or obtained in a clandestine or unprecedented manner, unless it is to be understood, that your majesty's granting a liberty of coining copper money for Ireland, under the great seal of Great Britain, without referring the consideration thereof to the principal officers of Ireland, is the grievance and mischief complained of. Upon this head, it must be admitted that letters-patent under the great seal of Great Britain, for coining copper money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of your majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory or invasive of any liberties or privileges of your subjects of Ireland. When any matter or thing is transacting that concerns or may affect your kingdom of Ireland, if your majesty has any doubts concerning the same, or sees just cause for considering your officers of Ireland, your majesty is frequently pleased to refer such considerations to your chief governors of Ireland; but the lords of the committee hope it will not be asserted that any legal orders or resolutions of your majesty can or ought to be called in question or invalidated, because the advice or consent of your chief governors of that kingdom was not previously had upon them. The precedents are many wherein cases of great importance to Ireland, and that immediately affected the interests of that kingdom, warrants, orders, and directions, by the authority of your majesty and your royal predecessors, have been issued under the royal sign manual, without any previous reference, or advice of your officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with and obeyed. And as it cannot be disputed but this patent might legally and properly pass under the great seal of Great Britain, so their lordships cannot find any precedents or references to the officers of Ireland, of what passed under the great seal of England; on the contrary, there are precedents of patents passed under the great seal of Ireland, where in all the previous steps the references were made to the officers of England.

By the misrepresentation of the state of Ireland, in order to obtain this patent, it is presumed is meant, that the information given to your majesty of the great want of small money, to make small payments, was groundless, and that there is no such want of small money. The lords of the committee inquired very particularly into this article, and Mr. Wood produces several witnesses that directly asserted the great want of small money for change, and the great damage that retailers and manufacturers suffered for the want of such copper money. Evidence was given that considerable manufacturers have been obliged to give tallies, or tokens in cards, to their workmen, for want of small money, signed upon the back, to be afterwards exchanged for larger money: That a premium was often given to obtain small money for necessary occasions: Several letters from Ireland to correspondents in England were read, complaining of the want of copper money, and expressing the great demand there was for this money.

The great want of small money was further proved by the common use of *raps*, a counterfeit coin, of such base metal that what passes for a halfpenny is not worth half a farthing; which raps appeared to have obtained a currency out of necessity, and for want of better small money to make change with; and by the best accounts, the lords of the committee have reason to believe that there can be no doubt that there is a real want of small money in Ireland, which seems to be so far admitted on all hands, that there does not appear to have been any misrepresentation of the state of Ireland in this respect.

In the second address from the house of commons to your majesty, they most humbly beseech your majesty that you will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several officers intrusted with the receipt of your majesty's revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatsoever, receive or utter such halfpence or farthings; and Mr. Wood, in his petition to your majesty, complains that the officers of your majesty's revenue had already given such orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of this coin.

Your majesty, by your patent under the great seal of Great Britain, wills, requires, and commands your "lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of your kingdom of Ireland, and all other officers and ministers of your majesty, your heirs and successors, in England, Ireland, or elsewhere, to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood, his executors, &c., in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters, or things, to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit and advantage, by virtue and in pursuance of the said indentures, in all things as becometh," &c.—And if the officers of the revenue have, upon their own authority, given any orders, directions, significations, or intimations, to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering the copper money coined and imported pursuant to your majesty's letters-patent, this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding.

In another paragraph of the patent your majesty has covenanted and granted unto the said William Wood, his executors, &c. "That upon performance of covenants on his and their parts, he and they shall peaceably and quietly have, hold, and enjoy all the powers, authorities, privileges, licences, profits, advantages, and all other matters and things thereby granted, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial of your majesty, your heirs or successors, or of or by any of your or their officers or ministers, or any person or persons," &c.—This being so expressly granted and covenanted by your majesty, and there appearing no failure, non-performance, or breach of covenants, on the part of the patentee, the lords of the committee cannot advise your majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue not to receive or utter any of the said copper halfpence or farthings, as has been desired.

Mr. Wood, having been heard by his counsel, produced his several witnesses; all the papers and precedents which he thought material having been read and considered; and having, as he conceived, fully vindicated both the patent and the execution thereof. For his further justification, and to clear himself from the imputation of attempting to make to himself any unreasonable profit or advantage, and to enrich himself at the expense of the kingdom of Ireland, by endeavouring to impose upon them, and utter a greater quantity of copper money than the necessary occasions of the people shall require and can easily take off, delivered a proposal in writing, signed by himself, which is hereunto annexed; and Mr. Wood having, by the said letters-patent, "covenanted, granted, and promised to, and with your majesty, your heirs and successors, that he shall and will, from time to time, in the making of the said copper farthings and halfpence in England, and in transporting the same from time to time in Ireland, and in uttering, vending, disposing, and dispersing the same there, and in all his doings and accounts concerning the same, submit himself to the inspection, examination, order, and comptrol of your majesty and your commissioners of the treasury, or high-treasurer, for the time being;" the lords of the committee are of opinion that your majesty, upon this voluntary offer and proposal of Mr. Wood, may give proper orders and directions for the execution and due performance of such parts of the said proposal as shall be judged most for the interest and accommodation of your subjects of Ireland. In the mean time, it not appearing to their lordships that Mr. Wood has done or

committed any act or deed that may tend to invalidate or make void his letters-patent, or to forfeit the privileges and advantages thereby granted to him by your majesty, it is but just and reasonable that your majesty should immediately send orders to your commissioners of the revenue, and all other your officers in Ireland, to revoke all orders, directions, significations, or intimations whatsoever, that may have been given by them or any of them, to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering this copper money, and that the halfpence and farthings already coined by Mr. Wood, amounting to about 17,000*l.*, and such further quantity as shall make up the said 17,000*l.* to 40,000*l.*, "be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial of any of your majesty's officers or ministers whatsoever, to pass and be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive the same." At the same time, it may be advisable for your majesty to give the proper orders that Mr. Wood shall not coin, import into Ireland, utter, or dispose of any more copper halfpence or farthings than to the amount of 40,000*l.*, according to his own proposal, without your majesty's special licence or authority, to be had for that purpose; and if your majesty shall be pleased to order that Mr. Wood's proposal, delivered to the lords of the committee, shall be transmitted to your majesty's chief governor, deputies, or other your ministers or officers in Ireland, it will give them a proper opportunity to consider whether, after the reduction of 360 tons of copper, being in value 100,800*l.*, to 142 tons 17 cwt. 16 pounds, being in value 40,000*l.* only, anything can be done for the further satisfaction of the people of Ireland.

LETTER THE THIRD.

Some observations on a paper called The Report of the Committee of the most Honourable the Privy-Council in England, relating to Wood's halfpence.

TO THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

August 25th, 1724.

HAVING already written two letters to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very pressing occasion for writing a third, I thought I could not more properly address it than to your lordships and worships.

The occasion is this:—A printed paper was sent to me on the 18th instant, entitled "A Report[a] of the Committee of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council in England, relating to Mr. Wood's Halfpence and Farthings." There is no mention made where the paper was printed, but I suppose it to have been in Dublin; and I have been told that the copy did not come over in the Gazette, but in the London Journal, or some other print of no authority or consequence. And, for anything that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to fright us; or a project of some printer who has a mind to make a penny by publishing something upon a subject which now employs all our thoughts in this kingdom. Mr. Wood, in publishing this paper, would insinuate to the world as if the committee had a greater concern for his credit, and private emolument than for the honour of the privy-council and both houses of parliament here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it seems intended as a vindication of Mr. Wood, not without several severe reflections on the houses of lords and commons of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a dispute between William Wood on the one part, and the lords-justices, privy-council, and both houses of parliament, on the other; the design of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other side with casting rash and groundless aspersions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr. Wood has treated the committee with great rudeness, by publishing an act of theirs in so unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the government and privy-council of Ireland, to whom the committee advised that it should be transmitted. But, with all deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is hitherto a law in either kingdom; and, until any point is determined to be a law, it remains disputable by every subject.

This, may it please your lordships and worships, may seem a strange way of discoursing in an illiterate shopkeeper. I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that small portion of reason God has been pleased to give me; and when reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for instance, if any lawyer should tell me that such a point were law, from which many gross palpable absurdities must follow, I would not, I could not, believe him. If sir Edward Coke should positively assert (which he nowhere does, but the direct contrary) "that a limited prince could, by his prerogative, oblige his subjects to take half an ounce of lead, stamped with his image, for twenty shillings in gold," I should swear he was deceived, or a deceiver; because a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood has advanced in some of his papers, and what suspicious people may possibly apprehend from some passages in that which is called the report.

That paper mentions such persons to have been examined, who were desirous and willing to be heard upon this subject. I am told they were four in all—Colehy, Brown, Mr. Finley the banker, and one more, whose name I know not. The first of these was tried for robbing the treasury in Ireland; and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every person in the court believed him to be guilty. The second was tried for a rape, and stands recorded in the votes of the house of commons for endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the life of John Bingham, esq.

But, since I have gone so far as to mention particular persons, it may be some satisfaction to know who is this Wood himself, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almost two years together. I find that he is in the patent entitled *esquire*, although he were understood to be only a hardware-man, and so I have been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a '*squire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropshire: where, pretending to have been robbed, and suing the county, he was cast, and, for the infamy of the fact, lost his employment.

I have heard another story of this 'squire Wood,

[a] "The Report, though drawn up with great precision and clearness, made no impression. It was answered by Swift in the Drapier's Letters; his hardy assertions and false representations were implicitly believed; and the popular outcry was so violent, that the lords-justices refused to issue the orders for the circulation of the coin. A general panic seized even the king's best friends, who were apprehensive of popular commotions. People of all descriptions and parties flocked in crowds to the bankers to demand their money, and drew their notes with an express condition to be paid in gold or silver. The publishers of the most treasonable pamphlets escaped with impunity, provided Wood and his patent were introduced into the work. The grand juries could scarcely be induced to find any bill against such delinquents; no witnesses in the prosecution were safe in their persons; and no juries were inclined, or if inclined could venture, to find them guilty. Not content with refusing to bring in a bill of indictment against the printer of the Drapier's Letters, the next grand jury of Dublin, in a presentment drawn up by Swift, presented all persons as enemies to the government who should endeavour, by fraud or otherwise, to impose Wood's halfpence on the people."—Coxe, p. 226.

from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was sent for, six years ago, by sir Isaac Newton, to try the coinage of four men, who then solicited a patent for coining halfpence for Ireland; their names were Wood, Costor, Eliston, and Parker. Parker made the fairest offer, and Wood the worst; for his coin were three halfpence in a pound weight less value than the other. By which it is plain with what intentions he solicited his patent; but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alleged in the said paper, called the Report, "that, upon repeated orders from a secretary of state for sending over such papers and witnesses as should be thought proper to support the objections made against the patent by both houses of parliament, the lord-lieutenant represented the great difficulty he found himself in, to comply with these orders; that none of the principal members of both houses, who were in the king's service or council, would take upon them to advise how any material, person, or papers, might be sent over on this occasion," &c. And this is often repeated, and represented as a proceeding that seems very extraordinary; and that, in a matter which had raised so great a clamour in Ireland, no one person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in support of the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland; especially, that the chief difficulty should arise from a general apprehension of a miscarriage, in an inquiry before his majesty, or in a proceeding by due course of law, in a case where both houses of parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced and satisfied upon evidence and examinations taken in the most solemn manner.

How shall I, a poor ignorant shopkeeper, utterly unskilled in law, be able to answer so weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reason, unassisted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council has already prejudged the whole case, by calling the united sense of both houses of parliament in Ireland "a universal clamour." Here the addresses of the lords and commons of Ireland, against a ruinous destructive project of an obscure single undertaker, is called "a clamour." I desire to know how such a style would be resented in England from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many impeachments would follow upon it? But supposing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise minister who despised the universal clamour of a people; and if that clamour can be quieted by disappointing the fraudulent practice of a single person, the purchase is not exorbitant.

But, in answer to this objection: First, it is manifest that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with such limitations as have been formerly specified in other patents, and granted to persons of this kingdom, or even of England, able to give sufficient security, few or no inconveniences could have happened. As to Mr. Knox's patent, mentioned in the report, security was given into the exchequer, that the patentee should upon all demands be obliged to receive his halfpence back, and pay gold or silver in exchange for them. And Mr. Moor (to whom I suppose that patent was made over) was, in 1694, forced to leave off coining before the end of that year, by the great crowds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the same reason. This entirely alters the case, for there is no such condition in Wood's patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatsoever.

Put the case, that the two houses of lords and commons of England, and the privy-council there, should address his majesty to recall a patent from whence they apprehend the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom; and, to make it stronger if possible, that the whole nation, almost to a man, should thereupon discover "the most dismal apprehensions," as Mr. Wood styles them; would his majesty debate half an hour what he had to do? Would any minister dare to advise him against recalling such a patent? Or would the matter be referred to the privy-council, or to Westminster-hall; the two houses of parliament plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? And is there even the smallest difference between the two cases?

Were not the people of Ireland born as free as those of England? How have they forfeited their freedom? Is not their parliament as fair a representative of the people as that of England? And has not their privy-council as great or a greater share in the administration of public affairs? Are not they subjects of the same king? Does not the same sun shine upon them? And have they not the same God for their protector? Am I a freeman in England, and do I become a slave in six hours by crossing the Channel? No wonder, then, if the boldest persons were cautious to interpose in a matter already determined by the whole voice of the nation, or to presume to represent the representatives of the kingdom, and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a treatment as they would deserve at the next session. It would seem very extraordinary if any inferior court in England should take a great matter out of the hands of the high court of parliament during a prorogation, and decide it against the opinion of both houses.

It happens, however, that although no persons were so bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of the objections made against this patent by the high court of parliament here, yet these objections stand good, notwithstanding the answers made by Mr. Wood and his counsel.

The Report says, "that upon an assay made of the fineness, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in every article." This is possible enough in the pieces upon which the assay was made; but Wood must have failed very much in point of dexterity if he had not taken care to provide a sufficient quantity of such halfpence as would bear the trial; which he was able to do, although they were taken out of several parcels; since it is now plain that the bias of favour has been wholly on his side.

But what need is there of disputing, when we have a positive demonstration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point? I have seen a large quantity of these halfpence weighed by a very skilful person, which were of four different kinds, three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between these four sorts; by which it appears that the fourth sort, or the lightest, differs from the first to a degree, that, in the coinage of three hundred and sixty tons of copper, the patentee will be a gainer, only by that difference, of 24,494*l.*; and, in the whole, the public will be a loser of 82,168*l.* 16*s.*, even supposing the metal in point of goodness to answer Wood's contract, and the assay that has been made, which it infallibly does not. For this point has likewise been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon several trials on many of these halfpence, have found them to be at least one-fourth part below the real value, not including the raps or counterfeits that he or his accomplices have already made of his own coin, and scattered about. Now, the coinage of 360 tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lightest sort of his halfpence, will amount to 122,488*l.* 16*s.*; and if we subtract a fourth part of the real value by the base mixture in the metal, we must add to the public loss one-fourth part to be subtracted from the intrinsic value of the copper: which in 360 tons amount to 10,080*l.*; and this, added to the former

sum of 82,168*l.* 16*s.*, will make in all 92,248*l.* loss to the public; besides the raps or counterfeits that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the dross exclusive or inclusive with his 360 tons of copper, which, however, will make a very considerable difference in the account.

You will here please to observe that the profit allowed to Wood by the patent is twelvepence out of every pound of copper valued at one shilling and sixpence; whereas fivepence only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the English halfpence; and this difference is almost twenty-five *per cent.*, which is double to the highest exchange of money, even under all the additional pressures and obstructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at present. This one circumstance, in the coinage of 360 tons of copper, makes a differeuce of 27,720*l.*, between English and Irish halfpence, even allowing those of Wood to be all of the heaviest sort.

It is likewise to be considered, that of every halfpenny in a pound weight exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer, in the coinage of 360 tons of copper, of 1680*l.* profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his comptrollers easy upon that article.

As to what is alleged, that these halfpence far exceed the like coinage for Ireland in the reigns of his majesty's predecessors, there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true; which, however, is altogether mistaken; not by any fault in the committee, but by the fraud and imposition of Wood, who certainly produced the worst patterns he could find; such as were coined in small numbers by permissions to private men, as butchers' halfpence, black dogs, and others the like; or perhaps the small St. Patrick's coin, which passes now for a farthing, or at best some of the smallest raps of the latest kind. For I have now by me halfpence coined in the year 1680, by virtue of the patent granted to my lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than those of Wood, and of much better metal; and the great St. Patrick's halfpence are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the present debate? If, under the various exigencies of former times, by wars, rebellions, and insurrections, the kings of England were sometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixed or base money, God forbid that the necessities of turbulent times should be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and settlement.

In the patent above mentioned, granted to lord Dartmouth in the reign of king Charles II., and renewed to Knox, the securities given into the exchequer, obliging the patentee to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy against all inconveniences: and the copper was coined in our kingdom; so that we were in no danger to purchase it with the loss of all our silver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redressing of any abuse.

That the kings of England have exercised their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England is not the present question: but, to speak in the style of the report, it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a king should think fit to exercise his prerogative by coining copper in Ireland, to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom, to be informed whether the grant were reasonable, and whether the people desired it or not, and without regard to the addresses of his parliament against it. God forbid that so mean a man as I should meddle with the king's prerogative; but I have heard very wise men say "that the king's prerogative is bounded and limited by the good and welfare of his people." I desire to know whether it be not understood and avowed that the good of Ireland was intended by this patent? But Ireland is not consulted at all in the matter; and as soon as Ireland is informed of it, they declare against it: the two houses of parliament and the privy-council address his majesty upon the mischiefs apprehended by such a patent; the privy-council in England take the matter out of the parliament's cognisance; the good of the kingdom is dropped; and it is now determined, that Mr. Wood shall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can suppose that such patents as these were originally granted with a view of being a job for the interest of a particular person, to the damage of the public. Whatever profit must arise to the patentee was surely meant, at best, but as a secondary motive; and since somebody must be a gainer, the choice of the person was made either by favour or something else, or by the pretence of merit and honesty. This argument returns so often and strongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his majesty, when he consented to the passing of this patent, conceived he was doing an act of grace to his most loyal subjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr. Wood further than as an instrument; but the people of Ireland think this patent (intended, no doubt, for their good) to be a most intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr. Wood can never succeed without an open avowal that his profit is preferred, not only before the interest, but the very safety and being of a great kingdom, and a kingdom distinguished for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the jurisdiction of the house of lords abolished at a stroke, by the hardships of the act of navigation newly enforced, by all possible obstructions in trade, and by a hundred other instances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the least attempt toward an insurrection in favour of the pretender. Therefore, whatever justice a free people can claim, we have at least an equal title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can bestow on the most loyal subjects, we have reason to expect it. Neither has this kingdom any way deserved to be sacrificed to one single, rapacious, obscure, ignominious projector.

Among other clauses mentioned in this patent, to show how advantageous it is to Ireland, there is one which seems to be of a singular nature: "That the patentee shall be obliged, during his term, to pay 800*l.* a-year to the crown and 200*l.* a-year to the comptroller." I have heard, indeed, that the king's council do always consider, in the passing of a patent, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewise heard that it is at the same time considered whether passing of it may be injurious to any other persons or bodies politic. However, although the attorney and solicitor be servants to the king, and therefore bound to consult his majesty's interest, yet I am under some doubt whether 800*l.* a-year to the crown would be equivalent to the ruin of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid 8000*l.* a-year into his majesty's coffers, in the midst of all our taxes (which, in proportion, are greater in this kingdom than ever they were in England, even during the war), than purchase such an addition to the revenue at the price of our utter undoing.

But here it is plain that 14,000*l.* are to be paid by Wood, only as a small circumstantial charge for the purchase of his patent. What were his other visible costs I know not, and what were his latent is variously conjectured; but he must be surely a man of some wonderful merit. Has he saved any other kingdom at his own expense, to give him a title of reimbursing himself by the destruction of ours? Has he discovered

the longitude or the universal medicine? No; but he has found the philosopher's stone after a new manner, by debasing copper, and resolving to force it upon us for gold.

When the two houses represented to his majesty that this patent to Wood was obtained in a clandestine manner, surely the committee could not think the parliament would insinuate that it had not passed in the common forms, and run through every office where fees and perquisites were due. They knew very well, that persons in places were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of the crown could not be kept in the dark. But the late lord-lieutenant [duke of Grafton] of Ireland affirmed it was a secret to him; and who will doubt his veracity, especially when he swore to a person of quality, from whom I had it, "that Ireland should never be troubled with these halfpence?" It was a secret to the people of Ireland, who were to be the only sufferers; and those who best knew the state of the kingdom, and were most able to advise in such an affair, were wholly strangers to it.

It is allowed by the report that this patent was passed without the knowledge of the chief governor or officers of Ireland; and it is there elaborately shown that former patents have passed in the same manner, and are good in law. I shall not dispute legality of patents, but am ready to suppose it in his majesty's power to grant a patent for stamping round bits of copper to every subject he has. Therefore, to lay aside the point of law, I would only put the question, Whether, in reason and justice, it would not have been proper, in an affair upon which the welfare of this kingdom depends, that the said kingdom should have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the patentee and the officers of the crown, who were to be the only gainers by it?

The parliament, who, in matters of this nature, are the most able and faithful counsellors, did represent this grant to be destructive of trade and dangerous to the properties of the people; to which the only answer is, that the king has a prerogative to make such a grant.

It is asserted "that, in the patent to Knox, his halfpence are made and declared the current coin of the kingdom; whereas, in this to Wood, there is only a power given to issue them to such as will receive them." The authors of the report, I think, do not affirm that the king can, by law, declare anything to be current money by his letters-patent. I dare say they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it power contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his majesty's just and merciful reign? But, although that clause be not in Wood's patent, yet possibly there are others the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that whereby a power is given to William Wood to break into houses in search of any coin made in imitation of his. This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the subject; yet this is a precedent taken from Knox's patent, where the same power is granted, and is a strong instance what uses may be sometimes made of precedents.

But although, before the passing of this patent, it was not thought necessary to consult any persons of this kingdom, or make the least inquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent has long passed, when Wood has already coined 17,000*l.*, and has his tools and implements prepared to coin six times as much more, the committee has been pleased to make this affair the subject of inquiry; Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which consist, as I have already observed, of four in number, whereof Coleby, Brown, and Mr. Finley the banker, are three. And these were to prove that copper money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The first had been out of the kingdom almost twenty years, from the time that he was tried for robbing the treasury; and therefore his knowledge and credibility are equal. The second may be allowed a more knowing witness, because I think it is not above a year since the house of commons ordered the attorney-general to prosecute him for endeavouring to take away the life of John Bingham, esq., member of parliament, by perjury and subornation. He asserted that he was forced to tally with his labourers for want of small money, which has often been practised in England by sir Ambrose Crawley,[a] and others; but those who knew him better give a different reason, if there be any truth at all in the fact, that he was forced to tally with his labourers, not for want of halfpence, but of more substantial money: which is highly possible, because the race of subornors, forgers, perjurers, and ravishers, are usually people of no fortune, or of those who have run it out by their vices and profuseness. Mr. Finley, the third witness, honestly confessed that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper or not; but his only intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a large discount, and sell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thousand pounds for himself.

But suppose there were not one single halfpenny of copper coin in this whole kingdom (which Mr. Wood seems to intend, unless we will come to his terms, as appears by employing his emissaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the shilling more than they pass for), it could not be any real evil to us, although it might be some inconvenience. We have many sorts of small silver coins, to which they are strangers in England; such as the French threepences, fourpence-halfpennies, and eightpence-farthings, the Scotch fivepences and tenpences, beside their twenty-pences and three-and-fourpences, by which we are able to make change to a halfpenny of almost any piece of gold and silver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a sealed card, with the little gold and silver still remaining, it will, I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither obliged by his patent, nor HITHERTO able by his estate, to make good.

The Report further tells us, "It must be admitted, that letters-patent, under the great seal of Great Britain for coining copper money for Ireland, are legal and obligatory, a just and reasonable exercise of his majesty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory or invasive of any liberty or privilege of his subjects of Ireland." First, we desire to know why his majesty's prerogative might not have been as well asserted by passing this patent in Ireland, and subjecting the several conditions of the contract to the inspection of those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, since the mixed money in queen Elizabeth's time, during the difficulties of a rebellion; whereas now, upon the greatest imposition that can possibly be practised, we must go to England with our complaints, where it has been for some time the fashion to think, and to affirm, that we cannot be too hardly used. Again, the report says "that such patents are obligatory." After long thinking, I am not able to find out what can possibly be meant here by this word *obligatory*. The patent of Wood neither obliges him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or, if it did the latter, it would be so far void, because no patent can oblige the subject against law; unless an illegal patent passed in one kingdom can bind another and not itself.

Lastly, it is added, "That such patents are in no manner derogatory, or invasive of any liberty or privilege of the king's subjects of Ireland." If this propo-

[a] Who was proprietor of an extensive iron-manufactory.

sition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expressed or implied, it must follow, that a king of England may at any time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his subjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half-a-crown, as was practised by the late king James; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuse, from the necessity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner derogatory nor invasive of any liberties of privileges of the subjects of Ireland, it ought to have been expressed what our liberties and privileges are, and whether we have any at all; for, in specifying the word *Ireland*, instead of saying "his majesty's subjects," it would seem to insinuate that we are not upon the same foot with our fellow-subjects in *England;* which, however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted; for I do not understand that Poyning's act deprived us of our liberty, but only changed the manner of passing laws here (which, however, was a power most indirectly obtained), by leaving the negative to the two houses of parliament. But, waving all controversies relating to the legislature, no person I believe was ever yet so bold as to affirm that the people of Ireland have not the same title to the benefits of the common law with the rest of his majesty's subjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by common law, we of Ireland have the same; so that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland*, standing in that proposition, was, in the mildest interpretation, a lapse of the pen.

The Report further asserts, "that the precedents are many wherein cases of great importance to Ireland, and which immediately affected the interests of that kingdom, such as warrants, orders, and directions by the authority of the king and his predecessors, have been issued under the royal sign manual, without any previous reference or advice of his majesty's officers of Ireland, which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with and obeyed." It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it; because it may prove an eternal source of discontent. However, among all these precedents, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing has perplexed me more than this doctrine of precedents. If a job is to be done, and upon searching records you find it has been done before, there will not want a lawyer to justify the legality of it by producing his precedents, without ever considering the motives and circumstances that first introduced them; the necessity or turbulence or iniquity of times; the corruptions of ministers, or the arbitrary disposition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by persons eminent in the law, "that the worst actions which human nature is capable of may be justified by the same doctrine." How the first precedents began of determining cases of the highest importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its interests, without any previous reference or advice to the king's officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the submission of Tyrone in the last year of queen Elizabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years which was a various scene of war and peace between the English pale and the Irish natives; and the government of that part of this island which lay in the English hands was, in many things, under the immediate administration of the king; silver and copper were often coined here among us; and once at last, upon great necessity, a mixed or base metal was sent from England. The reign of king James I. was employed in settling the kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; and this nation flourished extremely till the time of the massacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs the nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in Dublin.

By all that I can discover, the copper coin of Ireland, for three hundred years past, consisted of small pence and halfpence; which particular men had licence to coin, and were current only within certain towns and districts, according to the personal credit of the owner, who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again, whereof I have seen many sorts; neither have I heard of any patent granted for coining copper for Ireland till the reign of king Charles II., which was in the year 1680, to George Legge, lord Dartmouth; and renewed by king James II., in the first year of his reign (1685), to John Knox. Both patents were passed in Ireland; and in both, the patentees were bound to receive their coin again from any that would offer them twenty shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay gold or silver.

The patents, both of lord Dartmouth and Knox, were referred to the attorney-general here, and a report made accordingly; and both, as I have already said, were passed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the remainder of the term granted to lord Dartmouth; the patent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by Roger Moor to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; and upon the report of the attorney and solicitor, that it was not for his majesty's service, or interest of the nation, to have it renewed, it was rejected by king William. It should therefore seem very extraordinary that a patent for coining copper halfpence, intended and professed for the good of the kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that kingdom for the good of which it is declared to be intended; and this, upon the application of a poor, private, obscure mechanic; and a patent of such a nature, that as soon as ever the kingdom is informed of its being pass d, they cry out unanimously against it, as ruinous and destructive. The representatives of the nation in parliament, and the privy-council, address the king to have it recalled; yet the patentee, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private interest shall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St. Paul says, "All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient." We are answered "that this patent is lawful:" but, is it expedient? We read that the high-priest said "it was expedient that one man should die for the people;" and this was a most wicked proposition: but that a whole nation should die for one man was never heard of before.

But, because much weight is laid on the precedents of other patents for coining copper for Ireland, I will set this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever has read the Report will be apt to think that a dozen precedents at least could be produced of copper coined for Ireland by virtue of patents passed in England, and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident there cannot be one precedent shown of a patent passed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above one hundred years past; and if there were any before, it must be in times of confusion. The only patents I could ever hear of are those already mentioned to lord Dartmouth and Knox; the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now let us compare these patents with that granted to Wood. First, the patent to Knox, which was under the same conditions as that granted to lord Dartmouth, was passed in Ireland; the government, and the attorney and solicitor-general, making report that it would be useful to this kingdom.

The patent was passed with the advice of the king's council here; the patentee was obliged to receive his coin from those who thought themselves surcharged, and to give gold and silver for it. Lastly, the patentee was to pay only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to the crown.

Then, as to the execution of that patent. First, I

find the halfpence were milled, which, as it is of great use to prevent counterfeits (and therefore industriously avoided by Wood), so it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as for the weight and goodness of the metal, I have several halfpence now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than those coined by Wood, and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impression is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to some of Wood's, by a fraud natural to such patentees; but not so immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for this circumstance Mr. Wood must serve for a precedent in future times.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It passed upon very false suggestions of his own, and of a few confederates; it passed in England, without the least reference hither; it passed unknown to the very lord-lieutenant, then in England. Wood is empowered to coin 108,000*l.*, and all the officers in the kingdom (civil and military) are commanded in the Report to countenance and assist him. Knox had only power to utter what we would take, and was obliged to receive his coin back again at our demand, and to enter into security for so doing. Wood's halfpence are not milled, and therefore more easily counterfeited by himself, as well as by others. Wood pays 1000*l.* *per annum* for 14 years: Knox paid only 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum for 21 years.

It was the Report that set me the example of making a comparison between those two patents, wherein the committee was grossly misled by the false representation of William Wood; as it was by another assertion "that 700 tons of copper were coined during the 21 years of lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents." Such a quantity of copper, at the rate of 2*s.* 8*d.* per pound, would amount to about 190,000 pounds; which was very near as much as the current cash of the kingdom in those days; yet during that period Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for several years there was no coining at all: besides, I am assured that, upon inquiring into the custom-house books, all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eight years of the 21 (besides one year allowed for the troubles), did not exceed 47 tons. And we cannot suppose even that small quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage: so that I believe there was never any comparison more unluckily made, or so destructive of the design for which it was produced.

The Psalmist reckons it an effect of God's anger when "he selleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them." That we have greatly offended God by the wickedness of our lives is not to be disputed; but our king we have not offended in word or deed: and although he be God's vicegerent on earth, he will not punish us for any offences, except those we shall commit against his legal authority, his sacred person (which God preserve!), or the laws of the land.

The Report is very profuse in arguments, "that Ireland is in great want of copper money." Who were the witnesses to prove it has been shown already; but, in the name of God, who are to be judges? Does not the nation best know its own wants? Both houses of parliament, the privy-council, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we desire they may not be supplied by Mr. Wood: we know our own wants but too well: they are many, and grievous to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let England be satisfied: as things go, they will in a short time have all our gold and silver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home; for we are determined not to purchase it with our manufactures, which Wood has graciously offered to accept. Our wants are not so bad by a hundredth part as the method he has taken to supply them. He has already tried his faculty in New England; and I hope he will meet at least with an equal reception here; what that was, I leave to public intelligence. I am supposing a wild case; that if there should be any persons already receiving a monstrous pension out of this kingdom, who were instrumental in procuring this patent,[a] they have not either well consulted their own interests, or Wood must put more dross into his copper, and still diminish its weight.

Upon Wood's complaint, "that the officers of the king's revenue here had already given orders to all the inferior officers not to receive any of his coin," the Report says "that this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding, and contrary to the powers given in the patent." The committee say, "they cannot advise his majesty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here not to receive or utter any of the said coin, as has been desired in the addresses of both houses: but, on the contrary, they think it both just and reasonable that the king should immediately give orders to the commissioners of the revenue, &c., to revoke all orders, &c., that may have been given by them, to hinder or obstruct the receiving of the said coin." And accordingly, we are told, such orders are arrived. Now this was a cast of Wood's politics; for this information was wholly false and groundless, which he knew very well: and that the commissioners of the revenue here were all, except one, sent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken such a step: but Wood was wise enough to consider that such orders of revocation would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noise, and possibly create some terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he has gained, that, although any orders of revocation will be needless, yet a new order is to be sent (and perhaps is already here) to the commissioners of the revenue, and all the king's officers in Ireland, that Wood's halfpence be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, molestation, or denial, of any of the king's officers or ministers whatsoever, to pass and be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive them. In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all officers, both civil and military, from the lord high chancellor to a justice of peace, and from the general to an ensign; so that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of managers enough. For my own part, as things stand, I have but little regret to find myself out of the number; and therefore I shall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-subjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much quicker and larger steps than have hitherto been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The matter is come to an issue. His majesty, pursuant to the law, has left the field open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood has liberty to offer his coin; and we have law, reason, liberty, and necessity to refuse it. A knavish jocky may rids an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words "voluntary" and "willing to receive it" will be understood and applied in their true natural meaning, as commonly understood by protestants. For if a fierce captain comes to my shop to buy six yards of scarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a sack of Wood's coin upon his shoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my scarlet lies ready out

[a] Alluding to the duchess of Kendal, who was to share in Wood's gains.

upon the compter; if he then gives me the word of command to receive my money in Wood's coin, and calls me "a disaffected, Jacobite dog," for refusing it (although I am as loyal a subject as himself, and without hire), and thereupon seizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy; in this case I shall hardly be brought to think that I am left to my own will. I shall therefore on such occasions first order the porter aforesaid to go off with his pack, and then see the money in silver and gold in my possession, before I cut or measure my cloth. But if a common soldier drinks his pot first, and then offers payment in Wood's halfpence, the landlady may be under some difficulty; for if she complains to his captain or ensign, they are likewise officers included in this general order for encouraging these halfpence to pass as current money. If she goes to a justice of peace, he is also an officer to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore advise her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before she parts with them. However, I should have been content, for some reasons, that the military gentlemen had been excepted by name; because I have heard it said, that their discipline is best confined within their own district.

His majesty, in the conclusion of his answer to the address of the house of lords against Wood's coin, is pleased to say, "that he will do everything in his power to the satisfaction of his people." It should seem, therefore, that the recalling of the patent is not to be understood as a thing in his power. But however, since the law does not oblige us to receive this coin, and consequently the patent leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from ruin but that the whole kingdom should continue in a firm, determinate resolution never to receive or utter this fatal coin. After which let the officers to whom these orders are directed (I would willingly except the military), come with their exhortations, their arguments, and their eloquence, to persuade us to find our interest in our undoing. Let Wood and his accomplices travel about the country with cart-loads of their ware, and see who will take it off their hands: there will be no fear of his being robbed, for a highwayman would scorn to touch it.

I am only in pain how the commissioners of the revenue will proceed in this juncture; because I am told they are obliged by an act of parliament to take nothing but gold and silver in payment for his majesty's customs; and I think they cannot justly offer this coinage of Mr. Wood to others unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

The sum of the whole is this. The Committee advises the king to send immediate orders to all his officers here, that Wood's coin be suffered and permitted, without any let, suit, trouble, &c., to pass and be received as current money by such as shall be willing to receive the same. It is probable that the first willing receivers may be those who must receive it whether they will or not, at least under the penalty of losing an office. But the landed undepending men, the merchants, the shopkeepers, and bulk of the people, I hope and am almost confident will never receive it. What must the consequence be? The owners will sell it for as much as they can get. Wood's halfpence will come to be offered for six a penny (yet then he will be a sufficient gainer), and the necessary receivers will be losers of two-thirds in their salaries or pay.

This puts me in mind of a passage I was told many years ago in England. At a quarter-session in Leicester, the justices had wisely decreed to take off a halfpenny in a quart from the price of ale. One of them who came in after the thing was determined, being informed of what had passed, said thus: "Gentlemen, you have made an order that ale should be sold in our country for three halfpence a quart; I desire you will now make another, to appoint who must drink it, for by G—, I will not."

I must beg leave to caution your lordships and worships in one particular. Wood has graciously promised to load us at present only with 40,000*l.* of his coin till the exigencies of the kingdom require the rest. I entreat you will never suffer Mr. Wood to be a judge of your exigencies. While there is one piece of silver or gold left in the kingdom, he will call it an exigency. He will double his present *quantum* by stealth as soon as he can; he will pour his own raps and counterfeits upon us; France and Holland will do the same; nor will our own coiners at home be behind them: to confirm which, I have now in my pocket a rap or counterfeit halfpenny, in imitation of his, but so ill performed that in my conscience I believe it is not of his coining.

I must now desire your lordships and worships, that you will give great allowance for this long undigested paper. I find myself to have gone into several repetitions, which were the effects of haste, while new thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm that I have fully answered every paragraph in the report; which, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the spirit of a pleader who can find the most plausible topics in behalf of his client, yet there was no great skill required to detect the many mistakes contained in it; which however are by no means to be charged upon the right honourable committee, but upon the most false, impudent, and fraudulent representations of Wood and his accomplices. I desire one particular may dwell upon your minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; that after all the weight laid upon precedents, there is not one produced in the whole report of a patent for coining copper in England to pass in Ireland; and only two patents referred to (for indeed there were no more), which were both passed in Ireland, by references to the king's council here; both less advantageous to the coiner than this of Wood; and in both securities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and silver in lieu of it. This demonstrates the most flagrant falsehood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the right honourable committee his instruments (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain) to ruin a kingdom which has deserved quite different treatment.

I am very sensible that such a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen; but when a house is attempted to be robbed, it often happens the weakest in the family runs first to stop the door. All the assistance I had were some informations from an eminent person; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a few, by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the rest I was not able to manage: I was in the case of David, who could not move in the armour of Saul, and therefore I rather chose to attack this uncircumcised Philistine (Wood I mean) with a sling and a stone. And I may say, for Wood's honour as well as my own, that he resembles Goliath in many circumstances very applicable to the present purpose; for Goliath had "a helmet of brass upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of brass; and he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a target of brass between his shoulders." In short, he was like Mr. Wood, all over brass, and he defied the armies of the living God. Goliath's conditions of combat were likewise the same with those of Wood: "if he prevail against us, then shall we be his servants." But if it happens that I prevail over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; "he shall never be a servant of

mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any honest man's shop."

I will conclude with my humble desire and request which I made in my second letter, that your lordships and worships would please to order a declaration to be drawn up, expressing in the strongest terms your resolution never to receive or utter any of Wood's halfpence or farthings, and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the said declaration may be signed by as many persons as possible* who have estates in this kingdom, and be sent down to your several tenants aforesaid.

And if the dread of Wood's halfpence should continue until next quarter-sessions, which I hope it will not, the gentlemen of every county will then have a fair opportunity of declaring against them with unanimity and zeal.

I am, with the greatest respect,

(May it please your lordships and worships,)

Your most dutiful and obedient servant, M.B.

LETTER THE FOURTH.

TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

In this Letter the government of Ireland discovered matter for prosecution.]

My dear Countrymen, Oct. 23, 1724.

Having already written three letters upon so disagreeable a subject as Mr. Wood and his halfpence, I conceived my task was at an end; but I find that cordials must be frequently applied to weak constitutions, political as well as natural. A people long used to hardships lose by degrees the very notions of liberty. They look upon themselves as creatures at mercy, and that all impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are, in the phrase of the Report, legal and obligatory. Hence proceed that poverty and lowness of spirit to which a kingdom may be subject, as well as a particular person. And when Esau came fainting from the field at the point to die, it is no wonder that he sold his birthright for a mess of pottage.

I thought I had sufficiently shown to all who could want instruction by what methods they might safely proceed, whenever this coin should be offered to them; and I believe there has not been for many ages an example of any kingdom so firmly united in a point of great importance, as this of ours is at present against that detestable fraud. But however it so happens that some weak people begin to be alarmed anew by rumours industriously spread. Wood prescribes to the newsmongers in London what they are to write. In one of their papers, published here by some obscure printer, and certainly with a bad design, we are told "That the Papists in Ireland have entered into an association against his coin," although it be notoriously known that they never once offered to stir in the matter; so that the two houses of parliament, the privy-council, the great number of corporations, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries and principal gentlemen of several counties, are stigmatized in a lump under the name of "papists."

This impostor and his crew do likewise give out, that by refusing to receive his dross for sterling we "dispute the king's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to shake off the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of England." To countenance which reports he has published a paragraph in another newspaper, to let us know that "the lord-lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his halfpence."

I entreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the least concern upon these and the like rumours, which are no more than the last howls of a dog dissected alive, as I hope he has sufficiently been. These calumnies are the only reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled loyalty will never be called in question, for not suffering ourselves to be robbed of all that we have by one obscure ironmonger.

As to disputing the king's prerogative, give me leave to explain to those who are ignorant what the meaning of that word *prerogative* is.

The kings of these realms enjoy several powers, wherein the laws have not interposed. So they can make war and peace without the consent of parliament—and this is a very great prerogative: but if the parliament does not approve of the war, the king must bear the charge of it out of his own purse—and this is a great check on the crown. So the king has a prerogative to coin money without consent of parliament; but he cannot compel the subject to take that money except it be sterling gold or silver, because herein he is limited by law. Some princes have, indeed, extended their prerogative further than the law allowed them; wherein, however, the lawyers of succeeding ages, as fond as they are of precedents, have never dared to justify them. But to say the truth, it is only of late times that prerogative has been fixed and ascertained; for whoever reads the history of England will find that some former kings, and those none of the worst, have upon several occasions ventured to control the laws, with very little ceremony or scruple, even later than the days of queen Elizabeth. In her reign that pernicious counsel of sending base money hither very narrowly failed of losing the kingdom—being complained of by the lord-deputy, the council, and the whole body of the English here; so that soon after her death it was recalled by her successor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you some notion of what is meant by "the king's prerogative," as far as a tradesman can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great lord Bacon: "That, as God governs the world by the settled laws of nature, which he has made, and never transcends those laws but upon high and important occasions, so among earthly princes those are the wisest and the best who govern by the known laws of the country, and seldomest make use of their prerogative."

Now here you may see that the vile accusation of Wood and his accomplices, charging us with disputing the king's prerogative by refusing his brass, can have no place—because compelling the subject to take any coin which is not sterling is no part of the king's prerogative, and I am very confident if it were so we should be the last of his people to dispute it; as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his majesty as from the treatment we might, in such a case, justly expect from some who seem to think we have neither common sense nor common senses. But God be thanked, the best of them are only our fellow-subjects and not our masters. One great merit I am sure we have, which those of English birth can have no pretence to—that our ancestors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of England; for which we have been rewarded with a worse climate,—the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not consent,—a ruined trade,—a house of peers without jurisdiction,—almost an incapacity for all employments,—and the dread of Wood's halfpence.

But we are so far from disputing the king's prerogative in coining, that we own he has power to give a patent to any man for setting his royal image and superscription upon whatever materials he pleases, and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan; only attended with one small limitation—that nobody alive is obliged to take them.

Upon these considerations, I was ever against all

* A declaration was signed soon after by the most considerable persons of the kingdom.

recourse to England for a remedy against the present impending evil; especially when I observed that the addresses of both houses, after long expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT, altogether in favour of Wood; upon which I made some observations in a former letter, and might at least have made as many more, for it is a paper of as singular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake; for before this Report was made, his majesty's most gracious answer to the house of lords was sent over, and printed; wherein are these words, granting the patent for coining halfpence and farthings, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, &c. That king Charles II. and king James II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpose is indisputable, and I have shown it at large. Their patents were passed under the great seal of Ireland, by references to Ireland; the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound, on demand, to receive his coin back in Ireland and pay silver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great seal of England; the brass coined in England; not the least reference made to Ireland; the sum immense, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again and give good money for it. This I only mention, because in my private thoughts I have sometimes made a query whether the penner of those words in his majesty's most gracious answer, "agreeable to the practice of his royal predecessors," had maturely considered the several circumstances which, in my poor opinion, seem to make a difference.

Let me now say something concerning the other great cause of some people's fear, as Wood has taught the London newswriter to express it, that his excellency the lord-lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's halfpence.

We know very well, that the lords-lieutenants, for several years past, have not thought this kingdom worthy the honour of their residence longer than was absolutely necessary for the king's business, which consequently wanted no speed in the dispatch. And therefore it naturally fell into most men's thoughts that a new governor, coming at an unusual time, must portend some unusual business to be done; especially if the common report be true that the parliament, prorogued to I know not when, is by a new summons revoking that prorogation to assemble soon after the arrival; for which extraordinary proceeding the lawyers on the other side the water have by great good fortune found two precedents.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my head, that so little a creature as Wood could find credit enough with the king and his ministers, to have the lord-lieutenant of Ireland sent hither in a hurry upon his errand.

For let us take the whole matter nakedly as it lies before us, without the refinements of some people, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent granted under the great seal of England, upon false suggestions, to one William Wood, for coining copper halfpence for Ireland. The parliament here, upon apprehensions of the worst consequences from the said patent, address the king to have it recalled. This is refused; and a committee of the privy council report to his majesty that Wood has performed the conditions of his patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his halfpence, no man being obliged to receive them; the people here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his ware.

By this plain account of the fact it is manifest, that the king and his ministry are wholly out of the case, and the matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any man, therefore, attempt to persuade me that a lord-lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great haste before the ordinary time, and a parliament summoned by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put a hundred thousand pounds into the pocket of a sharper, by the ruin of a most loyal kingdom?

But supposing all this to be true, by what arguments could a lord-lieutenant prevail on the same parliament, which addressed with so much zeal and earnestness against this evil, to pass it into a law? I am sure their opinion of Wood and his project is not mended since their last prorogation; and supposing those methods should be used which detractors tell us have been sometimes put in practice for gaining votes, it is well known that in this kingdom there are few employments to be given; and if there were more it is as well known to whose share they must fall.

But, because great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you some reasons why there are so few employments to be disposed of in this kingdom.

All considerable offices for life are here possessed by those to whom the reversions were granted; and these have been generally followers of the chief governors, or persons who had interest in the court of England. So the lord Berkeley of Stratton holds that great office of master of the rolls; the lord Palmerstown is first remembrancer, worth near 2000*l.* per annum. One Dodington, secretary to the earl of Pembroke, begged the reversion of clerk of the pells, worth 2500*l.* a-year, which he now enjoys by the death of the lord Newtown. Mr. Southwell is secretary of state, and the earl of Burlington lord high treasurer of Ireland by inheritance. These are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reversion of several employments during pleasure is granted the same way. This, among many others, is a circumstance whereby the kingdom of Ireland is distinguished from all other nations upon earth, and makes it so difficult an affair to get into a civil employ that Mr. Addison was forced to purchase an old obscure place, called keeper of the records in Bermingham's tower, of 10*l.* a-year, and to get a salary of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half-a-crown either for curiosity or use. And we lately saw a favourite secretary* descend to be master of the revels, which by his credit and extortion he has made pretty considerable. I say nothing of the under-treasurership, worth about 9000*l.* a-year, nor of the commissioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in England, for I think none of these are granted in reversion. But the jest is, that I have known upon occasion some of these absent officers as keen against the interest of Ireland as if they had never been indebted to her for a single groat.

I confess I have been sometimes tempted to wish that this project of Wood's might succeed; because I reflected with some pleasure what a jolly crew it would bring over among us of lords and squires and pensioners of both sexes, and officers civil and military, where we should live together as merry and sociable as beggars, only with this one abatement, that we should neither have meat to feed nor manufactures to clothe us, unless we could be content to prance about in coats of mail or eat brass as ostriches do iron.

I return from this digression to that which gave me the occasion of making it. And I believe you are now convinced that if the parliament of Ireland were as temptable as any other assembly within a mile of Christendom (which God forbid!), yet the managers must of necessity fail for want of tools to work with. But I will yet go one step further, by supposing that a hundred new employments were erected on purpose to gratify compliers; yet still an insuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that money

* Mr. Hopkins, secretary to the duke of Grafton.

is neither Whig nor Tory—neither of town nor country party; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather choose to live upon his own estate, which brings him gold and silver, than with the addition of an employment, when his rents and salary must both be paid in Wood's brass at above 80 per cent. discount.

For these and many other reasons I am confident you need not be under the least apprehension from the sudden expectation of the lord lieutenant,[a] while we continue in our present hearty disposition, to alter which no suitable temptation can possibly be offered. And if, as I have often asserted from the best authority, the law has not left a power in the crown to force any money, except sterling, upon the subject, much less can the crown devolve such a power upon another.

This I speak with the utmost respect to the person and dignity of his excellency the lord Carteret, whose character was lately given me by a gentleman that has known him from his first appearance in the world. That gentleman describes him as a young man of great accomplishments, excellent learning, regular in his life, and of much spirit and vivacity. He has since, as I have heard, been employed abroad; was principal secretary of state; and is now, about the thirty-seventh year of his age, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. From such a governor this kingdom may reasonably hope for as much prosperity as, under so many discouragements, it can be capable of receiving.

It is true, indeed, that within the memory of man there have been governors of so much dexterity as to carry points of terrible consequence to this kingdom by their power with those who are in office; and by their arts in managing or deluding others with oaths, affability, and even with dinners. If Wood's brass had in those times been upon the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what methods would have been taken. Depending persons would have been told in plain terms, "that it was a service expected from them, under the pain of the public business being put into more complying hands." Others would be allured by promises. To the country gentlemen, beside good words, burgundy, and closeting, it might perhaps have been hinted, "how kindly it would be taken to comply with a royal patent, although it were not compulsory; that if any inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other graces or favours hereafter; that gentlemen ought to consider whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England. They would be desired to think of some good bills for encouraging of trade and setting the poor to work; some further acts against papery, and for uniting protestants." There would be solemn engagements, "that we should never be troubled with above 40,000*l.* in his coin, and all of the best and weightiest sort, for which we should only give our manufactures in exchange, and keep our gold and silver at home." Perhaps a seasonable report of some invasion would have been spread in the most proper juncture; which is a great smoother of rubs in public proceedings; and we should have been told "that this was no time to create differences when the kingdom was in danger."

These, I say, and the like methods would, in corrupt times, have been taken to let in this deluge of brass among us; and I am confident, even then would not have succeeded; much less under the administration of so excellent a person as the lord Carteret, and in a country where the people of all ranks, parties, and denominations, are convinced to a man that the utter undoing of themselves and their posterity for ever will be dated from the admission of that execrable coin; that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or moderate quantity than a plague can be confined to a few families; and that no equivalent can be given by any earthly power, any more than a dead carcase can be recovered to life by a cordial.

There is one comfortable circumstance in this universal opposition to Mr. Wood, that the people sent over hither from England, to fill up our vacancies, ecclesiastical, civil and military, are all on our side. Money, the great divider of the world, has, by a strange revolution, been a great uniter of a most divided people. Who would leave 100*l.* a-year in England (a country of freedom) to be paid 1000*l.* in Ireland out of Wood's exchequer? The gentleman they have lately made primate [Dr. Hugh Boulter] would never quit his seat in an English house of lords, and his preferments at Oxford and Bristol, worth 1200*l.* a-year, for four times the denomination here but not half the value; therefore, I expect to hear he will be as good an Irishman, at least upon this one article, as any of his brethren, or even of us who have had the misfortune to be born in this island. For those who in the common phrase do not come hither to learn the language would never change a better country for a worse, to receive brass instead of gold.

Another slander spread by Wood and his emissaries is "that by opposing him we discover an inclination to throw off our dependence upon the crown of England." Pray observe how important a person is this same William Wood, and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved in his private interest. First, all those who refuse to take his coin are Papists; for he tells us, "that none but Papists are associated against him." Secondly, "they dispute the king's prerogative." Thirdly, "they are ripe for rebellion." And, fourthly, "they are going to shake off their dependence upon the crown of England;" that is to say, they are going to choose another king; for there can be no other meaning in this expression, however some may pretend to strain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to those who are ignorant another point, which has often swelled in my breast. Those who come over hither to us from England, and some weak people among ourselves, whenever in discourse we make mention of liberty and property, shake their heads, and tell us that "Ireland is a depending kingdom;"[a] as if they would seem by this phrase to intend that the people of Ireland are in some state of slavery or dependence different from those of England; whereas a depending kingdom is a modern term of art, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient civilians and writers upon government; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in some statutes "an imperial crown," as held only from God; which is as high a style as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore, by this expression, "a depending kingdom," there is no more to be understood than that, by a statute made here in the 33rd year of Henry VIII., the king and his successors are to be kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of England. I have looked over all the English and Irish statutes without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England does upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourselves to have the same king with them; and consequently they are obliged to have the same king with us. For the law was made by our own parliament; and our ancestors then were not such fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign) to bring themselves under I know not what dependence, which is now talked of without any ground of law, reason, or common sense.

Let whoever thinks otherwise, I, M.B., drapier, desire to be excepted; for I declare, next under God, I depend only on the king my sovereign and on the laws of my own country. And I am so far from depending upon

[a] Lord Carteret, afterwards earl Granville, to some respects a favourite of the dean.

[a] This passage was one of those selected for prosecution by the government.

the people of England, that if they should ever rebel against my sovereign (which God forbid!) I would be ready, at the first command from his majesty, to take arms against them, as some of my countrymen did against theirs at Preston. And if such a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, I would venture to transgress that statute so far as to lose every drop of my blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.[a]

It is true, indeed, that within the memory of man the parliaments of England have sometimes assumed the power of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there;[b] wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as truth, reason, and justice, are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr. Molyneux,[c] an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and best Whigs in England; but the love and torrent of power prevailed. Indeed the arguments on both sides were invincible. For in reason, all government without the consent of the governed is the very definition of slavery; but in fact, eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt. But I have done; for those who have used power to cramp liberty, have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to sink too much under unreasonable fears, so we are too soon inclined to be raised by groundless hopes, according to the nature of all consumptive bodies like ours. Thus it has been given about for several days past that somebody in England empowered a second somebody to write to a third somebody here to assure us that we should no more be troubled with these halfpence. And this is reported to have been done by the same person[d] who is said to have sworn some months ago "that he would ram them down our throats," though I doubt they would stick in our stomachs; but whichever of these reports be true or false it is no concern of ours. For in this point we have nothing to do with English ministers, and I should be sorry to leave it in their power to redress this grievance or to enforce it, for the report of the committee has given me a surfeit. The remedy is wholly in your own hands, and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that spirit so seasonably raised among you, and to let you see that, by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in England.

If the pamphlets published at London by Wood and his journeymen, in defence of his cause, were reprinted here, and our countrymen could be persuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked design more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short, I make him a perfect saint in comparison of what he appears to be from the writings of those whom he hires to justify his project. But he is so far master of the field (let others guess the reason) that no London printer dare publish any paper written in favour of Ireland; and here, nobody as yet has been so bold as to publish anything in favour of him.

There was a few days ago a pamphlet sent me of near fifty pages, written in favour of Mr. Wood and his coinage, printed in London; it is not worth answering because probably it will never be published here. But it gave me occasion to reflect upon an unhappiness we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our case; which however is no wonder, since it is a point they do not in the least concern themselves about, further than perhaps as a subject of discourse in a coffeehouse when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have reason to believe that no minister ever gave himself the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, because I suppose their opinions are already determined, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices; else it would be impossible that any man could have the impudence to write such a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our neighbours, whose understandings are just upon a level with ours (which perhaps are none of the brightest), have a strong contempt for most nations, but especially for Ireland. They look upon us as a sort of savage Irish whom our ancestors conquered several hundred years ago. And if I should describe the Britons to you as they were in Cæsar's time, when they painted their bodies or clothed themselves with the skins of beasts, I should act full as reasonably as they do. However, they are so far to be excused in relation to the present subject, that hearing only one side of the cause, and having neither opportunity nor curiosity to examine the other, they believe a lie merely for their ease; and conclude, because Mr. Wood pretends to power, he has also reason on his side.

Therefore to let you see how this case is represented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of those notorious falsehoods, in point of fact and reasoning, contained therein; the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their own right sentiments, when they will see, by comparing both, how much their enemies are in the wrong.

1st. The writer positively asserts, "that Wood's halfpence were current among us for several months, with the universal approbation of all people, without one single gainsayer; and we all to a man thought ourselves happy in having them."

2dly. He affirms, "that we were drawn into dislike of them only by some cunning, evil-designing men among us, who opposed this patent of Wood to get another for themselves."

3dly. "That those who most declared at first against Wood's patent were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage."

4thly. "That our parliament and privy council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, the grand juries and merchants, and in short the whole kingdom, nay the very dogs," as he expresses it, "were fond of those halfpence, till they were inflamed by those few designing persons aforesaid."

5thly. He says directly, "that all those who opposed the halfpence were papists, and enemies to king George."

Thus far, I am confident, the most ignorant among you can safely swear from your own knowledge that the author is a most notorious liar in every article; the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole kingdom that, if occasion required, might get it confirmed under 500,000 hands.

6thly. He would persuade us, "that if we sell 5s. worth of our goods or manufactures for 2s. 4d. worth of copper, although the copper were melted down, and that we could get 5s. in gold and silver for the said goods; yet to take the said 2s. 4d. in copper would be greatly for our advantage."

And, lastly, he makes us a very fair offer, as empowered by Wood, "that if we will take off two hundred thousand pounds in his halfpence for our goods, and likewise pay him three per cent. interest for thirty years for a hundred and twenty thousand pounds (of which he computes the coinage above the intrinsic value of the copper) for the loan of his coin, he will after that time give us good money for what halfpence will be then left."

Let me place this offer in as clear a light as I can, to

[a] This paragraph gave great offence.
[b] Particularly in the reign of William III.
[c] William Molyneux, a philosopher, a scholar, and patriot, the friend of Locke.
[d] Mr. Walpole, afterwards earl of Orford.

show the insupportable villany and impudence of that incorrigible wretch. "First," says he, "I will send two hundred thousand pounds of my coin into your country; the copper I compute to be, in real value, eighty thousand pounds, and I charge you with a hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the coinage; so that, you see, I lend you a hundred and twenty thousand pounds for thirty years; for which you shall pay me three per cent., that is to say, three thousand six hundred pounds per annum, which in thirty years will amount to a hundred and eight thousand pounds. And when these thirty years are expired, return me my copper, and I will give you good money for it."

This is the proposal made to us by Wood in that pamphlet, written by one of his commissioners: and the author is supposed to be the same infamous Colehy, one of his under-swearers at the committee of council, who was tried for robbing the treasury here, where he was an under-clerk.

By this proposal he will, first, receive two hundred thousand pounds in goods or sterling, for as much copper as he values at eighty thousand pounds, but in reality not worth thirty thousand pounds. Secondly, he will receive for interest a hundred and eight thousand pounds: and when our children come thirty years hence to return his halfpence upon his executors (for before that time he will be probably gone to his own place), those executors will very reasonably reject them as raps and counterfeits, which they will be, and millions of them of his own coinage.

Methinks I am fond of such a dealer as this, who mends every day upon our hands, like a Dutch reckoning; wherein if you dispute the unreasonableness and exorbitance of the bill, the landlord shall bring it up every time with new additions.

Although these, and the like pamphlets published by Wood in London, are altogether unknown here, where nobody could read them without as much indignation as contempt would allow, yet I thought it proper to give you a specimen how the man employs his time, where he rides alone without any creature to contradict him; while our FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our silence: and the English in general, if they think of this matter at all, impute our refusal to wilfulness or disaffection, just as Wood and his hirelings are pleased to represent.

But although our arguments are not suffered to be printed in England, yet the consequence will be of little moment. Let Wood endeavour to persuade the people there, that we ought to receive his coin; and let me convince our people here, that they ought to reject it, under pain of our utter undoing; and then let him do his best and his worst.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave in all humility to tell Mr. Wood, that he is guilty of great indiscretion, by causing so honourable a name as that of Mr. Walpole to be mentioned so often and in such a manner upon this occasion. A short paper printed at Bristol, and reprinted here, reports Mr. Wood to say, "that he wonders at the impudence and insolence of the Irish in refusing his coin, and what he will do when Mr. Walpole comes to town." Where, by the way, he is mistaken; for it is the true English people of Ireland who refuse it, although we take it for granted that the Irish will do so too whenever they are asked. In another printed paper of his contriving, it is roundly expressed, "that Mr. Walpole will cram his brass down our throats." Sometimes it is given out "that we must either take those halfpence or eat our brogues:" and in another Newsletter, but of yesterday, we read, "that the same great man has sworn to make us swallow his coin in fireballs."

This brings to my mind the known story of a Scotchman, who, receiving the sentence of death with all the circumstances of hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling, and the like, cried out, "What need all this COOKERY?" And I think we have reason to ask the same question; for if we believe Wood, here is a dinner getting ready for us; and you see the bill of fare; and I am sorry the drink was forgot, which might easily be supplied with melted lead and flaming pitch.

What vile words are these to put into the mouth of a great counsellor, in high trust with his majesty and looked upon as a prime-minister! If Mr. Wood has no better a manner of representing his patrons, when I come to be a great man he shall never be suffered to attend at my levee. This is not the style of a great minister; it savours too much of the kettle and the furnace, and came entirely out of Wood's forge.

As for the threat of making us eat our brogues, we need not be in pain; for if his coin should pass, that unpolite covering for the feet would no longer be a national reproach; because then we should have neither shoe nor brogue left in the kingdom. But here the falsehood of Mr. Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. Walpole never heard of a brogue in his whole life.

As to "swallowing these halfpence in fire-balls," it is a story equally improbable. For to execute this operation, the whole stock of Mr. Wood's coin and metal must be melted down, and moulded into hollow balls with wild-fire, no bigger than a reasonable throat may be able to swallow. Now, the metal he has prepared, and already coined, will amount to at least fifty millions of halfpence, to be swallowed by a million and a half of people: so that, allowing two halfpence to each ball, there will be about seventeen balls of wild-fire a-piece to be swallowed by every person in the kingdom; and to administer this dose, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thousand operators, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, considering the squeamishness of some stomachs, and the peevishness of young children, is but reasonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of such an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be spurious, or at least only a new scheme of Mr. Wood himself; which, to make it pass the better in Ireland, he would father upon a minister of state.

But I will now demonstrate beyond all contradiction, that Mr. Walpole is against this project of Mr. Wood and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument; that he has the universal opinion of being a wise man, an able minister, and in all his proceedings pursuing the true interest of the King his master; and that as his integrity is above all corruption, so is his fortune above all temptation. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly safe from that corner, and shall never be under the necessity of contending with so formidable a power, but be left to possess our brogues and potatoes in peace, as remote from thunder as we are from Jupiter.*

I am, my dear countrymen, your loving fellow-subject, fellow-sufferer, and humble servant, M. B.

TOM PUNSIBI'S DREAM.

Presented in the year 1724-5.

"Α γὰρ πρεσεύδει νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα
Διεσᾶν ὀνείρων, ταῦτά μοι ———
Εἰ μὲν πίφηνεν ἐσθλὰ, δὸς τιλεσφόρα·
Εἰ δ' ἐχθρὰ, τοῖς ἐχθροῖσ' ν ἔμπαλιν μέθες.
Καὶ μή μ' πλούτου τοῦ παρόντος εἴ τινες
Δόλοισι βουλεύουσιν ἐκβαλεῖν, ἐφῆς.—Soph. Elec.

SINCE the heat of this business, which has of late so much and so justly concerned this kingdom, is at last in a great measure over, we may venture to abate something of our former zeal and vigour in handling it, and,

* "Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine."

looking upon it as an enemy almost overthrown, consult more our own amusement than its prejudice, in attacking it in light excursory skirmishes. Thus much I thought fit to observe, lest the world should be apt to make an obvious pun upon me; when beginning to dream on this occasion, I presented it with the nocturnal ravings of an unguided imagination, on a subject of so great importance as the final welfare or ruin of a whole nation.

But so it was, that upon reading one of the Drapier's letters I fell asleep and had the following dream:—

The first object that struck me was a woman of exquisite beauty, and a most majestic air, seated on a throne, whom, by the figure of a lion beneath her feet, and of Neptune who stood by her and paid her the most respectful homage, I easily knew to be the Genius of England. At some distance from her (though not at so great a one as seemed to be desired) I observed a matron clothed in robes so tattered and torn that they had not only very nigh lost their original air of royalty and magnificence, but even exposed her to the inclemency of the weather in several places, which, with many other afflictions, had so affected her, that her natural beauty was almost effaced, and her strength and spirits very nigh lost. She hung over a harp, with which, if she sometimes endeavoured to sooth her melancholy, she had still the misfortune to find it more or less out of tune; particularly when, as I perceived at last, it was strung with a sort of wire of so base composition that neither she nor I could make anything of it. I took particular notice that, when moved by a just sense of her wrongs, she could at any time raise her head, she fixed her eyes so stedfastly on her neighbour, sometimes with an humble and entreating, at others with a more bold and resentful regard, that I could not help (however improbable it should seem from her generous and august appearance) in a great measure to attribute her misfortunes to her; but this I shall submit to the judgment of the world.

I should now at last mention her name, were not these circumstances too unhappily singular to make that any way necessary.

As I was taken up with many melancholy reflections on this moving object, I was on a sudden interrupted by a little sort of an uproar, which, upon turning my eyes towards it, I found arose from a crowd of people behind her throne. The cause it seems was this:—

There was I perceived among them the god of merchandise, with his sandals mostly of brass, but not without a small proportion of gold and silver, and his wings chiefly of the two latter metals, but allayed with a little of the former. With those he used to trudge up and down to furnish them with necessaries; with these he'd take a flight to other countries, but not so dexterously or to so good purpose as in other places of his office, not so much for want of encouragement among them here, as on account of the haughty jealousy of their neighbours, who it seems dreading in them a rival took care to clip his wings and circumscribe his flights; the former more especially being by these and other means so much worn, he performed his office but lamely, which gave occasion to some who had their own private interest more at heart than that of the public, to patch up some of the places of his office with a metal of the same nature, indeed, but so slight and base, that though at first it might serve to carry him on their errands, it soon failed, and by degrees grew entirely useless; insomuch that he would rather be retarded than promoted in his business; and this occasioned the above disturbance among his dependents, who thereupon turned their eyes towards their mistress, for by this time she will, I presume, be better known by that than the more homely and sociable name of neighbour, and not daring of late to say or do anything without her approbation, made several humble applications to her, beseeching that she would continue them that liberty of refitting these implements themselves, which she had been formerly pleased graciously to allow them; but these, however reasonable, were all rejected, whereupon I observed a certain person (a mean ill-looking fellow), from among a great number of people that stood behind the genius of England, who during the whole affair had kept his eyes intently fixed on his neighbours, watching all their motions, like a hawk hovering over his quarry, and with just the same design: him, I say, I observed to turn off hastily, and make towards the throne, where being arrived, after some preparations requisite, he preferred a petition, setting forth the wants and necessities (but taking care to make 'em appear at least four times greater than they really were) of his neighbours, or as he might have more truly and honestly said, his own, both which, for the latter, though not expressed, he chiefly intended, but modestly or rather knavishly left to be understood, he begged the royal licence to redress, by supplying those defects which were the occasion of 'em. This humble suppliant, I observed, both before and after this petition, seemed to employ his utmost industry and art to insinuate himself into the good graces of two persons that stood on each side the throne;[a] the one on the right was a lady of large make and swarthy complexion; the other a man that seemed to be between fifty and sixty, who had an air of deep designing thought. These two he managed with a great deal of art; for the lady he employed all the little arts that win her sex; particularly I observed that he frequently took hold of her hand as in raptures to kiss it, in such a manner as made me suspect she did not always draw it back empty; for this he did so slily that it was not easy for anybody to be certain of it. The man, on the other hand, he plied his own way with politics, remonstrating to him the several things he had before the throne; which, however, as might be presumed from his manner of attending to them, seemed to make little impression; but when he came to lay before him the great advantages that might accrue from thence to their mistress, and consequently to him, he heard him with the utmost eagerness and satisfaction; at last, he kissed his hand in the same manner as he had the lady's, and so retired. By these and the like means, he soon brought over both parties to him, who with a whisper or two procured him the licence; whereupon he immediately fell to making up a metal, if it deserved the name, of a very strange composition, wherewith he purposed to refit the implements of that useful deity, but in such manner that, for the base metal he put into them, he would take care to draw away from them an infinitely more than proportionable quantity of gold and silver, and thereby render him almost incapable of taking flight to foreign countries; nay, at last perhaps utterly so, when, under pretence of their not being completed, he should filch in more of his metal and filch away more of theirs.

These things being therefore prepared, he sends 'em over to his neighbours, and there endeavoured to get them admitted by fair words and promises, being too sensible that they were not of themselves the most willing to accept of his favour; and indeed he was not deceived; for they, being advertised of his designs, had taken the alarm, and had almost to a man united in one common faction against him. This generous ardour had first taken hold of the most active and important part: and if I may be allowed thence to call it the heart of this body, from thence was, on one side, by a quick passage and in its more refined parts, communicated through the blood to the contemplative and reasoning, the head, which it inspired with noble

[a] The duchess of Kendal and sir Robert Walpole.

thoughts and resolutions; and on the other, to the inferior extremities, which were thereby rendered more expedite and readier to obey the dictates of the head in a rougher method of opposition. From each of which extremities, being carried back to its fountain, it was returned to them from thence; and so backwards and forwards till the circulation and union were confirmed and completed; the sordid, unnatural, offensive parts being in the meantime thrown off as dregs of nature and nuisances of human society; but of these in so well-tempered a constitution there must be but few: however, when there are any to be found, though they had been of the most exalted nature and bore most noble offices in this body, by any corruption become so, they shared the common fate, with this only difference, that they were rejected with greater scorn and contempt on account of their former dignity, as was found in one notorious instance. But on the other hand, among all the parts that were serviceable to the constitution on this occasion, there was not one more so than a certain one, whose name indeed is not openly known, but whose good offices and usefulness are too great ever to be forgotten; for it, by its nice diligence and skill, selected out things of the most noble and exquisite nature, by infusing and dispersing them to enliven and invigorate the whole body, which how effectually they did our bold projector sadly experienced; for, finding all his endeavours to pass his ware upon them disappointed, he withdrew. But his patron on the other side, being informed of what had passed, fell into a most terrible passion, and threatened they say I know not what, of making to swallow and ramming down throats. But while they were in deep conference together, methought all on a sudden a trap-door dropped and down fell our projector. This unexpected accident did on many accounts not a little alarm the throne, and gave it but too great occasion to reflect a little on what had been doing, as what a mean ordinary fellow it had intrusted with the care of an affair of such great consequence, that, though their neighbours' refusal might possibly have put him to such straits as might be the great occasion of this disgrace, yet that very refusal could not be universal and resolute without some reason, which could arise from nothing else but the unseasonableness or unworthiness of his offers, or both, and he consequently might deserve as much to suffer as they did; now for the better information, therefore, in these surmises, some of the neighbours might be consulted, who confirming them, things seemed to bear a good pace and be in a very fair way of clearing up. When I awoke, I cannot say whether more pleased at the present posture of affairs, when I recollected how indifferent an one they had lately been in, or anxious when upon considering that they were not yet firm and settled; I was led to reflect in general on the uncertainty of events, and in particular on the small reason the persons in hand can have to promise themselves prosperous ones, especially when they are depending in that part of the world.

SEASONABLE ADVICE TO THE GRAND JURY,

CONCERNING THE BILL PREPARING AGAINST THE PRINTER OF THE DRAPIER'S FOURTH LETTER.

[This piece was published when the bill against Harding was to be brought before the grand jury.]

Nov. 11, 1724.

Since a bill is preparing for the grand jury to find against the printer of the Drapier's last letter, there are several things maturely to be considered by those gentlemen before they determine upon it.

First, they are to consider, that the author of the said pamphlet did write three other discourses on the same subject, which, instead of being censured, were universally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raised and continued that spirit among us which has hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if those pamphlets had not been written, his coin must have overrun the nation some months ago.

Secondly, it is to be considered, that this pamphlet, against which a proclamation has been issued, is written by the same author; that nobody ever doubted the innocence and goodness of his design; that he appears, through the whole tenor of it, to be a loyal subject to his majesty and devoted to the house of Hanover, and declares himself in a manner peculiarly zealous against the Pretender. And if such a writer, in four several treatises on so nice a subject, where a royal patent is concerned and where it was necessary to speak of England and of liberty, should in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expression, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the good he had done, especially when we consider that he could have no possible design in view either of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, it ought to be well considered, whether any one expression in the said pamphlet be really liable to a just exception, much less to be found "wicked, malicious, seditious, reflecting upon his majesty and his ministry," &c.

The two points in that pamphlet which it is said the prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on are, first, where the author mentions the penner of the king's answer. First, it is well known his majesty is not master of the English tongue; and therefore it is necessary that some other person should be employed to pen what he has to say or write in that language. Secondly, his majesty's answer is not in the first person, but in the third. It is not said, WE are concerned, or OUR royal predecessors; but HIS MAJESTY is concerned, and HIS royal predecessors. By which it is plain, these are properly not the words of his majesty, but supposed to be taken from him and transmitted hither by one of his ministers. Thirdly, it will be easily seen, that the author of the pamphlet delivers his sentiments upon this particular with the utmost caution and respect, as any impartial reader will observe.

The second paragraph, which it is said will be taken notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the author says of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: he exploins all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made in Ireland, whereby it is enacted "that whoever is king of England shall be king of Ireland." Before this explanation be condemned and the bill found upon it, it would be proper that some lawyers should fully inform the jury what other law there is, either statute or common, for this dependency; and if there be no law, there is no transgression.

The fourth thing very maturely to be considered by the jury is, what influence their finding the bill may have upon the kingdom. The people in general find no fault in the Drapier's last book, any more than in the three former; and therefore, when they hear it is condemned by a grand jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favour of Wood's coin; they will think we of this town have changed our minds and intend to take those halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out: so that the question comes to this, which will be of the worst consequence? to let pass one or two expressions, at the worst only unwary, in a book written for the public service; or to leave a free, open passage for Wood's brass to overrun us, by which we shall be undone for ever.

The fifth thing to be considered is, that the members of the grand jury, being merchants and principal shop-

keepers, can have no suitable temptation offered them as a recompense for the mischief they will do and suffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loss or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the state, to make up in their own private advantages the destruction of their country; whereas those who go about to advise, entice, or threaten them to find that bill, have great employments, which they have a mind to keep, or to get a greater; as it was likewise the case of all those who signed the proclamation to have the author prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that his grace the lord archbishop of Dublin, so renowned for his piety and wisdom, and love of his country, absolutely refused to condemn the book or the author.

Lastly, it ought to be considered what consequence the finding of the bill may have upon a poor man perfectly innocent. I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expressions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But how can it be supposed that an ignorant printer can be such a critic? He knew the author's design was honest, and approved by the whole kingdom: he advised with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could see none himself: it was sent him in an unknown hand; but the same in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths that they knew not the author. And therefore, to find a bill that may bring punishment upon the innocent will appear very hard, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the author, unless he will please to discover himself; although I wonder he ever concealed his name; but I suppose what he did at first out of modesty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him!

I will conclude all with a fable ascribed to Demosthenes. He had served the people of Athens with great fidelity in the station of an orator, when, upon a certain occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies, he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the following story: Once upon a time the wolves desired a league with the sheep, upon this condition, that the cause of strife might be taken away, which was the shepherds and mastiffs: this being granted, the wolves, without all fear, made havoc of the sheep.[a]

Lord chief-justice Whitshed, after he had discharged the grand jury that refused to find the bill against Harding, the printer, received hints of the illegality of his proceedings. The following extract was distributed through the city of Dublin.

EXTRACT FROM A BOOK ENTITLED, "AN EXACT COLLECTION OF THE DEBATE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS HELD AT WESTMINSTER, OCTOBER 21, 1680," p. 150.

"*Resolutions of the House of Commons in England, November* 13, 1680.

"SEVERAL persons being examined about the dismissing a grand jury in Middlesex, the house came to the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, that the discharging of a grand jury by any judge, before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and is a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this kingdom.

"Resolved, that a committee be appointed to examine the proceedings of the judges in Westminster-hall; and report the same, with their opinion herein, to this house."

[a] Copies of this paper were distributed to every person of the grand jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited; who, probably for the reasons contained in it, refused to find the bill, upon which the lord chief-justice Whitshed, who had presided at a former prosecution of the dean's printer, discharged them in a rage. The following extract was soon after published to show the illegality of this proceeding; and the next grand jury that was empanneled made the subsequent presentment against all the abettors of Wood's project. See the letter to lord Molesworth.

A LETTER FROM A FRIEND TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE WHITSHED.

Ceteri, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur: Invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur.—*Tacit. As.*

December 1, 1724.

MY LORD,

I FEAR your lordship, in your wonted zeal for the interest of your country, will think this paper very unseasonable; but I am very confident not more than one man of this kingdom will be of your lordship's judgment.

In matters of law, your opinion has, from our first acquaintance, entirely guided me, and the things you have assured me I might depend upon as law have few of them escaped my memory, though I have had but little conversation with you since you first appeared in parliament, and moved the house to resolve, that it is the indispensable duty of the judges of this kingdom to go through their circuits; nor have I had any since you fell sick, and was made solicitor-general.

I have often heard your lordship affirm, and therefore I do affirm it, that the great ends for which grand juries were instituted, were the support of the government, the safety of every man's life and fortune; it being necessary some should be trusted to inquire after all disturbers of the peace, that they might be prosecuted and brought to condign punishment; and it is no less needful for every man's quiet and safety, that the trust of such inquisitions should be put into the hands of persons of understanding and integrity, that will suffer no man to be falsely accused or defamed; nor the lives of any to be put in jeopardy, by the malicious conspiracies of great or small, or the perjuries of any profligate wretches.

So material a part of our constitution are grand juries, so much does the security of every subject depend upon them, that though anciently the sheriff was, by express law, chosen annually by the people of the county, and trusted with the power of the county, yet the law left not the election of grand juries to the will of the sheriff, but has described their qualifications, which if they have, and the sheriff return them, no man, nay no judge, can object to their being sworn, much less may they to their serving when sworn; and to prevent the discretionary power (a new-fashioned term) of these judges over juries, you used to say was made the statute of the 11th of Henry IV.

Pardon me, my lord, if I venture to affirm, that a dissolving power is a breach of that law, or at least an evasion, as every citizen in Dublin, in sir Constantine Phips' time, perfectly understood, that disapproving the aldermen lawfully returned to the privy-council, was in effect assuming the power of choosing and returning. But your lordship and I know dissolving and disapproving are different terms.

I always understood from your lordship the trust and power of grand juries is, or ought to be, accounted amongst the greatest, and of most concern, next to the legislative; the honour, reputations, fortunes, and lives of every man being subject to their censure. The kings of England have an undoubted power of dissolving parliaments; but dissolving till one was returned to their or their ministers' liking has never been thought very righteous, and, Heaven be praised, never very successful.

I am entirely of your lordship's opinion, the oath of a grand juryman is not always sufficiently considered by the jurors, which is as follows:—

"You shall diligently inquire, and true presentment make of all such articles, matters, and things, as shall

be given you in charge, and of all other matters and things as shall come to your own knowledge, touching this present service. The king's counsel, your fellows', and your own, you shall keep secret," &c. And from some other men's behaviour, I fear oaths are not always as sacredly observed as they ought to be: "the king's counsel, your fellows', and your own, you shall keep secret." Though our grandmothers, my lord, might have thought there was a dispensing power in the pope, you and I profess no power upon earth can dispense with this oath; so that to force a man to discover the counsel he is sworn to keep, is to force him into direct perjury.

Suppose, upon information taken before your lordship of a rape committed, a bill of indictment were sent to a grand jury, and the grand jury return *ignoramus* on it, application is made to the court to recommend it to them to reconsider it, and they return as before *ignoramus*. Suppose a judge, with more than decent passion, should ask them their reasons (which is their counsel) for so doing, nay, should be so particular as to demand of them whether they thought the woman a whore, must not all the world conclude somebody had forgot the oath of a grand juryman? Yes sure, or his own, or worse. But suppose they should ask a juror a question might criminate himself? My lord, you know I put not bare possibilities, it is generally believed these things have been done within an oak of this town; and if I am rightly informed, the restraint a juror is under by his oath is so well understood, that a certain person desired the clerk of the crown to change the form of it by adding this exception,—"unless by leave or order of the court."

These things, my lord, would seem strange in Westminster-hall, and would be severely noted in St. Stephen's Chapel. The honour of the crown would be thought a very false, as well as weak, plea for such proceedings there, as indeed it is an infamous one everywhere; for 'tis a scandal upon a king, if he is represented in a court of justice as if he were partially concerned, or rather inclined to desire that a party should be found guilty, than that he should be declared innocent.

The king's interest and honour is more concerned in the protection of the innocent, than in the punishment of the guilty, as in all the immediate actions of his majesty wa find that maxim pursued, a maxim can never run a prince into excesses. We do not only find those princes represented in history under odious characters who have basely betrayed the innocent, but such as, by their spies and informers, were too inquisitive after the guilty; whereas none was ever blamed for clemency, or for being too gentle interpreters of the law. Though Trajan was an excellent prince, endowed with all heroical virtues, yet the most eloquent writers, and his best friends, found nothing more to be praised in his government, than that, in his time, all men might think what they pleased, and every man speak what he thought. This I say, that if any amongst us, by violent measures, and a dictatorial behaviour, have raised jealousies in the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects, the blame may lie at their door.

I know it has been said for his majesty's service, grand juries may be forced to discover their counsels: but you will confess a king can do nothing against law, nor will any honest man judge that for his service which is not warranted by law. If a constant uninterrupted usage can give the force of law, then the grand jurymen are bound by law, as well as by their oaths, to keep their king's, their fellows', and their own counsel secret. Bracton and Britton, in their several generations, bear witness that it was then practised; and greater proof of it needs not be sought than the disputes that appear by the law-books to have been amongst the ancient lawyers, Whether it was treason or felony for a grand juryman to discover their counsels? The trust of grand juries was in those days thought so sacred, and their secrecy of so great concern to the kingdom, that whosoever should break their oaths, was by all thought worthy to die, only some would have them suffer as traitors, others as felons.

If a king's commands should come to the judges of a court of justice or to a jury, desiring them to vary from the direction of the law, (which it is criminal to say, and no man ought to be believed therein,) they are bound by their oaths not to regard them. The statute of 2nd of Edward III., 8th and 20th Edward III. I., are express; and the substance of these and other statutes is inserted into the oaths taken by every judge; and if they be under the most solemn and sacred tie in the execution of justice, to hold for nothing the commands of the king under the great seal, then surely political views and schemes, the pleasure or displeasure of a minister, in the like case, ought to be less than nothing.

It is a strange doctrine that men must sacrifice the law to secure their properties. If the law is to be fashioned for every occasion, if grand jurymen, contrary to their oaths, must discover their fellows' and their own counsels, and betray the trust the law has reposed in them; if they must subject the reasons of their verdicts to the censure of the judges, whom the law did never design to trust with the liberty, property, or good name of their fellow-subjects,—no man can say he has any security for his life or fortune; and they who do not themselves, may, however, see their best friends and nearest relations suffer the utmost violences and oppressions.

Which leads me to say a few words of the petit jury, not forgetting Mr. Walters. I am assured by an eminent lawyer, that the power and office of a petit jury is judicial; that they only are the judges from whose sentence the indigent are to expect life or death. Upon their integrity and understanding the lives of all that are brought in judgment do ultimately depend; from their verdict there lies no appeal, by finding guilty or not guilty. They do complicately resolve both law and fact. As it hath been the law, so it hath always been the custom and practice of these juries (except as before) upon all general issues, pleaded in cases civil as well as criminal, to judge both of the law and fact. So it is said in the report of the lord chief-justice Vaughan in Bushell's case, that these juries determine the law in all matters, where issue is joined and tried, in the principal case, whether the issue be about trespass or debt, or decision in assizes, or a tort, or any such like; unless they should please to give a special verdict, with an implicit faith in the judgment of the court to which none can oblige them against their wills.

It is certain we may hope to see the trust of a grand juryman best discharged when gentlemen of the best fortunes and understandings attend that service; but it is as certain we must never expect to see such men or juries, if, for differing with a judge in opinion, when they only are the lawful judges, they are liable to be treated like villains, like perjurers, and enemies to their king and country; I say, my lord, such behaviour to juries will make all gentlemen avoid that duty, and instead of men of interest, of reputation, and abilities, our lives, our fortunes, and our reputations, must depend upon the basest and meanest of the people.

I know it is commonly said, *boni judicis est ampliare jurisdictionem*. But I take that to be better advice, which was given by the lord-chancellor Bacon upon swearing a judge, That he would take care to contain the jurisdiction of the court within the ancient mere-stones, without removing the mark.

I intend to pay my respects to your lordship once

every month till the meeting of the parliament, when our betters may consider of these matters, and therefore will not trouble you with any more on this subject at present; but conclude, most heartily praying, that from depending upon the will of a judge, who may be corrupted or swayed by his own passions, interests, or the impulse of such as support him, and may advance him to greater honours, the God of mercy and of justice deliver this nation!

I am, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant, _____ N. N.

A SECOND LETTER FROM A FRIEND TO THE RIGHT HON THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE WHITSHED.

Ubi semel recto decerratum est, in praeceps pervenitur——a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in praecipitia.—*Vell. Pater.*

Self love is the love of oneself, and of everything else for one's own sake: it makes a man the idolater of himself, and the tyrant of others.—*Rochefoucault.*

MY LORD, January 4, 1724-5.

I THINK the best service men employed by his majesty can do for him and this country is to show such prudence and temper in their behaviours as may convince every man they are not intrusted with any power but what is necessary, and will always be exercised, for the advantage and security of his majesty's subjects.

For my own part, I hold it the duty of every man, though he has not the honour of serving his majesty in public employment, not only not to misrepresent the actions of his servants, but, in matters of small concern, to wink at their follies and mistakes. I know the jacobites and papists, our irreconcilable enemies, are too watchful to lay hold of every occasion to misrepresent his majesty, and turn the faults of ambitious and self-interested servants upon the best of kings.

I hear some men say, that in my last to your lordship, there appears more of the satirist than becomes a man engaged merely in the defence of liberty and justice; but I am satisfied I can with charity affirm they are either such as have no knowledge of the several steps that have been taken to bring this poor country into ruin and disgrace, or they are of the number of those who have had a share in the actings and contrivances against it; for, my lord, he must rather be an insensible stoic than an angry cynic, who can survey the measures of some men without horror and indignation. To see men act as if they had never taken an oath of fidelity to their king, whose interest is inseparable from that of his people, but had sworn to support the ruinous projects of abandoned men (of whatever faction), must rouse the most lethargic if honest soul.

I, who have always professed myself a Whig, do confess it has mine.

I beg leave, in this place, to explain what I intended in my last by the words, "unless by leave or order of the court," lest, whilst I plead for justice, I should do an injury to your lordship.

I do declare I never heard that story of your lordship, and I hope no man did believe it of you. My intention was, by that hint, to remember you of judge U * * *, and a certain assizes held at Wicklow, as I believe your lordship understood it, and as I now desire all the world may.

Having learned from your lordship and other lawyers of undoubted abilities that no judge ought, by threats or circumvention, to make a grand-juryman discover the king's counsels, his fellows', or his own, I should not at present say anything in support of that position; but that I find a most ridiculous and false explanation seems to mislead some men in that point: say they, by the word counsel is understood such bills as are before the grand jury, and the evidence the prosecutors for the crown have to support the charge against the subject; lest, that being known, the party indictable may fly from justice, or he may procure false witnesses to discredit the evidence for the king, or he may, by bribes and other indirect measures, take off the witnesses for the crown.

I confess I take that to be the meaning of the word counsel, but I am certain that is not all that is meant by it; that is what must be understood when it is called the king's counsel, *id est*, the counsel or reasons for which the king, by his servants, his attorney-general, or coroner, has drawn and sent to the grand jury a charge against a subject.

But the counsel of a juror is a different thing; it is the evidence, the motives, and reasons, that induce him or his fellow-jurors to say *billa vera*, or *ignoramus*, and the opinion he or they happen to be of when the question is put by the foreman for finding or not finding: this counsel every man is sworn to keep secret, that so their opinion and advice may not be of prejudice to them hereafter; that as they are sworn to act without favour or affection, so may they also act without FEAR. Whereas, were it otherwise, the spirit of revenge is so universal, there are but few cases wherein a juror could act with safety to himself. Either the prosecuted, as where the bill is found, or the prosecutor, where it is returned *ignoramus*, may contrive to defame the jurors who differ from them in opinion, as I am told has happened to some very honest citizens who are represented to be jacobites since their opinions were known to be against * * *. And sometimes revenge or ambition may prompt men to carry it farther, as in the case of Mr. Wilmer, who, in king Charles II.'s time, was very severely handled for being one of the *ignoramus* jury. It is not necessary to say whom he disobliged by being so. But, if I remember right, his case was this:—

He was a merchant (and, as I said, an *ignoramus* juryman), had covenanted with a servant boy to serve him in the West Indies, and accordingly sent him beyond sea. Upon suggestion and affidavit, by which any person might have it, a writ *de homine replegiando* was granted against Mr. Wilmer; the sheriffs would have returned on the writ the agreement and the boy's consent, but the court, (in the case of this Wilmer,) Easter, 34, cha. ii. in B. R. ruled they must return *replegiari fecimus*, or *elongavit*, that is, they had replevied the boy, or that Wilmer had carried him away where they could not find him; in which last case, Mr. Wilmer, though an innocent person, must have gone to gaol until he brought the boy into court, or he must have been outlawed.—Shower's Rep. 2nd Part.

I do not say this, that I think the same thing will be practised again, or anything like it, though I know that very homely proverb, More ways of killing a dog than hanging him. But I instance it to show the counsels of every grand juryman should be kept secret, that he may act freely, and without apprehensions of resentment from the prosecuted or prosecutor.

My resolution, when I wrote to you last, was not to have said anything in this concerning the powers of dissolving or dispensing; but as I have been forced to say something of the dispensing, for the same reason I must of the dissolving, power—a power undoubtedly in effect including that of returning, which makes me wish two men of great interest in this kingdom, differing in every other thing, had not undertaken to defend it, or they had better reasons for it than I have yet heard.

'Tis said, "this power is in the court, as a right of resistance is in the people, as the people have a power superior to the prerogative of the prince, though no written or express law for it; so of necessity, though no statute directs it, and it may seem to overturn the greatest security men have for their liberties, yet the court has a power of dissolving grand juries, if they refuse to find or present as the court shall direct."

Pray let us consider how well this concludes.

The people may do anything in defence of their lives, their religion, and liberties, and consequently resistance is lawful; therefore an inferior court, a *bene placito* judge may. Monstrous absurdity!

Another, I am sorry I cannot say more modest, argument to support it is this:—

"Considering," say they, "grand juries, it is but reasonable a discretionary power of dissolving them should be lodged in the judges."

By the words "considering grand juries" I must understand considering their understanding, their fortunes, or their integrity; for from a want of one or more of those qualifications must arise the reason of such a discretionary power in the judges.

Though I shall not urge it as far as I could, I will venture to say the argument is at least as strong the other way—considering the judges.

First, as to their understandings, it must be confessed the benches are infinitely superior to the lower professors of the law; yet surely it cannot give offence to say the gentlemen of the several counties have understandings sufficient to discharge the duty of grand jurymen. If want of fortune be an objection to grand jurymen, *a pari ratione* it is an objection to some other men. Besides that the fact is not true; for in their circuits no judge goes into any county where he does not meet at least a dozen gentlemen returned upon every grand jury, every one of whom have better estates than he himself has, and these not during pleasure; which last consideration saves me the trouble of showing the weakness of the objection in the third qualification.

Ay. But it was a necessary expedient to keep out Wood's brass.

Are the properties of the commons of this kingdom better secured by the knight-errantry of that day? In the name of common sense, what are we to believe? Has the undaunted spirit, the tremendous voice of * * * frightened Wood and his accomplices from any further attempts? Or rather has not the ready compliance of * * * encouraged them to further trials? The officers and attendants of his court may tremble when he frowns; but who else regards it more than they do one of Wood's farthings?

"There is no comparison," says another, "between the affair of sir W. Scroggs and this of * * *. Sir W. discharged a grand jury because they were about to present the duke of York for being a papist, but * * * discharged the grand jury for not presenting a paper he recommended to them to present as scandalous (and in which I say he was a party reflected on)."

I agree there is a mighty difference, but whom does it make for?

A grand jury of a hundred (part of a county) takes upon them to present a no less considerable person than the king's brother and heir presumptive of the crown; the chief-justice thinks this a matter of too much moment for men of such degree to meddle in, but a matter more proper for the consideration of parliament. I would not be understood to condemn the jury; I think they acted as became honest Englishmen and lovers of their country; but I say if judges could in any case be allowed to proceed by rules of policy, surely here was a sufficient excuse. However the commons impeached him.

The determinations of ignorant or wicked judges, as they are precedents of little weight, so they are but of little danger, and therefore it will become the commons at all times to animadvert most carefully upon the actions of the most knowing men in that profession.

I say, my lord, at all times, because I hear former merit is pleaded to screen this action from any inquiry.

I am sensible much is due to the man who has always preferred the public interests to his private advantages, as * * * has done. When a man has signalized himself, when he has suffered for that principle, he deserves universal respect. Yet men should act agreeably to the motive of that respect, and not ruin the liberty of their country to show their gratitude; and so, my lord, where a man has the least pretence to that character, I think 'tis best to pass over small offences, but never such as will entail danger and dishonour upon us and our posterity.

The Romans, my lord, when a question was in the senate whether they should ransom fifteen thousand citizens who had merited much by their former victories, but losing one battle were taken prisoners, were determined by the advices of that noble Roman Attilius Regulus not to redeem them, as men unworthy their further care, though probably it was their misfortunes not their faults lost that day:—

> —— Flagitio additis
> Damnum: neque amissos colores
> Lana refert medicata fuco:

He thought they were not worthy to be trusted again. To show them pity, in his mind would betray the Romans to perpetual danger: Et exemplo trahenti

> Perniciem veniens in avum;
> Si non periret immiserabilis
> Captiva pubes.

I hear some precedents have been lately found out to justify that memorable action; but if precedents must control reason and justice, if a man may swear he will keep his counsels secret, and yet by precedents may be forced to divulge them, I would advise gentlemen very seriously to consider the danger we are in, and examine what precedents there are on each side of the question; for my part, I think the commons of England are not a worse precedent than the judges of England.

Besides, it must be remembered that precedents in some cases will not excuse a judge, even where they are according to the undoubted law of the land. As, for instance, suppose a man says what is true not knowing it to be true, though it be logically a truth as it is distinguished, yet it is morally false; and so suppose a judge gave judgment according to law, not knowing it to be so, as if he did not know the reason of it at that time, but bethought himself of a reason or precedent for it afterwards, though the judgment be legal and according to precedent, yet the pronouncing of it is unjust, and the judge shall be condemned in the opinions of all men; as happened to the lord chief-justice Popham, a person of great learning and parts, who upon the trial of sir Walter Raleigh, when sir Walter objected to reading or giving in evidence lord Cobham's affidavit taken in his absence without producing the lord face to face, the lord being then forthcoming, the chief-justice overruled the objection and was of opinion it should be given in evidence against sir Walter; and summing up the evidence to the jury, the chief-justice said, just then it came into his mind why the accuser should not come face to face to the prisoner, because, &c. Now if any judge has since found precedents, or has since picked up the opinion of lawyers, I fear he will come within the case I have put.

I foresee if ever this question happens to be debated you know where, gentlemen will be divided, some will be desirous to do their country justice, and free us from all future danger of this kind; others, upon motives not quite so laudable, will strive to screen; and with other private friendship will prevail. But I would recommend to your friends who really love their country to consider the several circumstances concurring in your lordship which probably may not in your successor. Let them suppose a person were to fill your place, from whose manifest ignorance in the law we may reasonably conclude his only merit is an inveteracy and

hatred to this country; I say, how could your best friends excuse themselves, if, in regard to your lordship, they should suffer such a precedent to be handed down to such a man unobserved or uncensured?

Invenit etiam æmulos infelix nequitia. Ambitious men have not always been deterred by the unhappy fate of their predecessors. *Quid si floreat vigeatque?* But what lengths will they run if injustice and corruption shall ride triumphant?

Had somebody received a reprimand upon his knees in a proper place, for treating a printer's jury like men convicted of perjury, forcing them to find a special verdict, I dare to say he had not been quite so hardy as to have discharged the grand jury, or treated them in the manner he did because they had not an implicit faith in the court; nor had he dared not to receive a presentment made by the second grand jury against Wood's farthings upon pretence it was informed, which I mention because the worthy Drapier has mistaken the fact.

Some of your lordship's screens, I hear, advise you to show great humility and contrition for what is past, as the only means to appease the just indignation all sorts of men have conceived against you. Were I well secured you will not recommend this letter to the next grand jury to be presented, I could give you more seasonable advice; but, happen as it may, I will venture to give you a little.

Fawning and cajoling will have but little effect on those who have had the honour of your acquaintance these ten years past; for Caligula, who used to hide his head if he heard the thunder, would piss upon the statues of the gods when he thought the danger over.

A better expedient is this,—tell men the Drapier is a Tory and a Jacobite. That he writ the conduct of the allies. That he writ not his letter with a design to keep out Wood's halfpence, but to bring in the pretender; persuade them, if you can, the dispute is no longer about the power of judges over juries, nor how much the liberty of the subject is endangered by dissolving them at pleasure, but that it is now become mere Whig and Tory, a dispute between his majesty's friends and the Jacobites; and it were better to see a thousand grand juries discharged than the Tories carry a question, though in the right. *Hæc vulnera pro libertate publica excepi, hunc oculum pro vobis impendi.* Try this cant, pin a cloth over your eyes, look very dismal, and cry "I was turned out of employment when the Drapier was rewarded with a d * * * y." I say, my lord, if you can once bring matters thus to bear, I have not the least doubt you may escape without censure.

To your lordship's zeal and industry without doubt is owing that the papists and the Tories have not delivered this kingdom over to the pretender; so Cæsar conquered Pompey, that *Legum auctor et eversor*, and it was but just the liberty and laws of Rome should afterwards depend upon his will and pleasure. The Drapier in his letter to lord Molesworth has made a fair offer; secure his country from Wood's coinage, then condemn all he has writ and said as false and scandalous; when your lordship does as much, I must confess it will be somewhat difficult to discover the impostor.

Thus to keep my word with your lordship, I have, much against my inclinations, written this, which shall be my last upon the ungrateful subject. If I have leisure, and find a safe opportunity of giving it to the printer, my next shall explain what has long duped the true Whigs of this kingdom. I mean honesty in the worst of times.

Though your lordship object to my last, that what I wrote was taken out of lord Coke, lord Sommers, sir William Jones, or the writings of some other great men, yet I will venture to end this with the sentiments of Philip de Comines, upon some thorogoing courtiers.

"If a sixpenny tax is to be raised, they cry by all means it ought to be double. If the prince is offended with any man, they are directly for hanging him. In other instances they maintain the same character. Above all things, they advise their king to make himself terrible as they themselves are proud, fierce, and overbearing, in hopes to be dreaded by that means, as if authority and place were their inheritance."

I am, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant, N. N.

THE PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY

OF THE COUNTY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

[The discharge of the grand jury produced no change upon popular opinion.]

Whereas several great quantities of base metal coined, commonly called *Wood's halfpence*, have been brought into the port of Dublin and lodged in several houses of this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely among his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, notwithstanding the addresses of both houses of parliament and the privy-council, and the declarations of most of the corporations of this city against the said coin: And whereas his majesty has been graciously pleased to leave his loyal subjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuse the said halfpence:

We, the grand jury of the county of the city of Dublin, this Michaelmas term, 1724, having entirely at heart his majesty's interest and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do present all such persons as have attempted or shall endeavour by fraud, or otherwise, to impose the said halfpence upon us contrary to his majesty's most gracious intentions, as enemies to his majesty's government and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom; whose affections have been so eminently distinguished by their zeal to his illustrious family before his happy accession to the throne, and by their continued loyalty ever since.

As we do, with all just gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such patriots as have been eminently zealous for the interest of his majesty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, and preventing the passing of his base coin; so we do, at the same time, declare our abhorrence and detestation of all reflections on his majesty and his government; and that we are ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his most sacred majesty against the pretender, and all his majesty's open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad.

Given under our hands at the Grand Jury chamber, this 28th of November, 1724.

George Forbes,	David Tew,
William Empson,	Thomas How,
Nathaniel Pearson,	John Jones,
Joseph Nuttal,	James Brown,
William Aston,	Charles Lyndon,
Stearn Tighe,	Jerom Bredin,
Richard Walker,	John Sican,
Edmond French,	Anthony Brunton,
John Vereilles,	Thomas Gaven,
Philip Pearson,	Daniel Elwood,
Thomas Robins,	John Brunet.
Richard Dawson,	

LETTER THE FIFTH.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH.

Robert Molesworth, created by George I. viscount Molesworth of Swords in 1716, incurred the resentment of lord Oxford's administration in 1713, for an alleged affront to the clergy of Ireland.

"They compassed me about also with words of deceit, and fought against me without a cause.
"For my love they are my adversaries; but I give myself unto prayer.
"And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love."—Psalm cix. 3, 4, 5.
"Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; lest at any time thou fear the person of the mighty, and lay a stumbling-block in the way of thy uprightness.
"Offend not against the multitude of a city, and then thou shalt cast not thyself down among the people.
"Bind not one sin upon another, for in one thou shalt not be unpunished."—Eccl. vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mnestheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! sed superent, quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti.[a]
Virg. Æn. V. 194.

DIRECTIONS TO THE PRINTER.

From my Shop in St. Francis' Street,
Dec. 24, 1724.

Mr. Harding,

When I sent you my former papers, I cannot say I intended you either good or hurt: and yet you have happened, through my means, to receive both. I pray God deliver you from any more of the latter, and increase the former. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is, of all others, the most unfortunately circumstantiated; for as you deal in the most worthless kind of trash, the penny productions of pennyless scribblers, so you often venture your liberty, and sometimes your lives, for the purchase of half-a-crown; and, by your own ignorance, are punished for other men's actions.

I am afraid you, in particular, think you have reason to complain of me, for your own and your wife's confinement in prison, to your great expense as well as hardship, and for a prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Harding, how that matter stands.

Since the press has lain under so strict an inspection, those who have a mind to inform the world are become so cautious, as to keep themselves, if possible, out of the way of danger. My custom therefore is, to dictate to a 'prentice, who can write in a feigned hand, and what is written we send to your house by a blackguard boy.[b] But at the same time I do assure you, upon my reputation, that I never did send you anything for which I thought you could possibly be called to an account; and you will be my witness, that I always desired you, by letter, to take some good advice before you ventured to print,—because I knew the dexterity of dealers in the law at finding out something to fasten on, where no evil is meant. I am told, indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very able persons, and even some who afterwards appeared against you: to which I can only answer, that you must either change your advisers, or determine to print nothing that comes from a Drapier.

I desire you will send the enclosed letter, directed "To my lord viscount Molesworth, at his house at Brackdenstown, near Swords;" but I would have it sent printed, for the convenience of his lordship's reading, because this counterfeit hand of my apprentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publish it, I would have you first get it read over by some notable lawyer. I am assured, you will find enough of them who are friends to the Drapier, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford after all your expenses. For although I have taken so much care, that I think it impossible to find a topic out of the following papers for sending you again to prison, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This ensuing letter contains only a short account of myself, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, especially the last,—with little mention of Mr. Wood or his halfpence, because I have already said enough upon that subject, until occasion shall be given for new fears; and, in that case, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am your friend and servant, M. B.

P.S.—For want of intercourse between you and me, which I never will suffer, your people are apt to make very gross errors in the press, which I desire you will provide against.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORD VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH,

At his house at Brackdenstown, near Swords.

From my Shop in St. Francis' Street,
Dec. 14, 1724.

My Lord,

I reflect too late on the maxim of common observers, "that those who meddle in matters out of their calling will have reason to repent;" which is now verified in me, for by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myself the displeasure of the government signified by a proclamation, promising a reward of 300*l.* to the first faithful subject who shall be able and inclined to inform against me; to which I may add the laudable zeal and industry of my lord chief-justice Whitshed, in his endeavours to discover so dangerous a person. Therefore, whether I repent or not, I have certainly cause to do so; and the common observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how, in the course of human affairs, that a man shall be made liable to legal animadversion where he has nothing to answer for, either to God or his country, and condemned at Westminster-hall for what he will never be charged with at the day of judgment.

After strictly examining my own heart, and consulting some divines of great reputation, I cannot accuse myself of any malice or wickedness against the public, —of any designs to sow sedition,—of reflecting on the king and his ministers,—or of endeavouring to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from those of England.[a] All I can charge myself with is, a weak attempt to serve a nation in danger of destruction by a most wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its assistance; which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burden upon my conscience. God knows whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myself into a second danger by offering thus much in my own vindication; for I have heard of a judge who, upon the criminal's appeal to the dreadful day of judgment, told him he had incurred a *premunire*, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction; and of another in Wales, who severely checked the prisoner for offering the same plea, taxing him with "reflecting on the court by such a comparison, because comparisons were odious."

But in order to make some excuse for being more speculative than others of my condition, I desire your lordship's pardon while I am doing a very foolish thing; which is to give you some little account of myself.

I was bred at a free-school, where I acquired some little knowledge in the Latin tongue. I served my ap-

[a] I seek not now the foremost palm to gain;
Though yet—but, ah! that haughty wish!
Let those enjoy it whom the gods ordain.
Dryden.

[b] His butler acted as amanuensis.

[a] Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation

prenticeship in London, and there set up for myself with good success; until, by the death of some friends and the misfortunes of others, I returned into this kingdom and began to employ my thoughts in cultivating the woollen manufacture through all its branches, wherein I met with great discouragement and powerful opposers, whose objections appeared to be very strange and singular. They argued "that the people of England would be offended if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs;" and even some of the weaving trade were my enemies, which I could not but look upon as absurd and unnatural. I remember your lordship at that time did me the honour to come into my shop, where I showed you a piece of black and white stuff just sent from the dyer,[a] which you were pleased to approve of and be my customer for.

However I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future to sit quietly in my shop, and deal in common goods like the rest of my brethren; until it happened some months ago, considering with myself that the lower and poorer sort of people wanted a plain strong coarse stuff, to defend them against cold easterly winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time together, I contrived one[b] on purpose, which sold very well all over the kingdom, and preserved many thousands from agues. I then made a second and a third kind of stuffs[c] for the gentry, with the same success; insomuch that an ague has hardly been heard of for some time.

This incited me so far that I ventured upon a fourth piece,[d] made of the best Irish wool I could get; and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the best lord or judge of the land. But of late some great folks complain, as I hear, "that when they had it on they felt a shuddering in their limbs,"—and have thrown it off in a rage, cursing to hell the poor drapier who invented it; so that I am determined never to work for persons of quality again, except for your lordship and a very few more.

I assure your lordship, upon the word of an honest citizen, that I am not richer by the value of one of Mr. Wood's halfpence, with the sale of all the several stuffs I have contrived, for I give the whole profit to the dyers and pressers [printers]; and therefore I hope you will please to believe, that no other motive beside the love of my country could engage me to busy my head and hands to the loss of my time, and the gain of nothing but vexation and ill-will.

I have now in hand one piece of stuff, to be woven on purpose for your lordship; although I might be ashamed to offer it to you after I have confessed, that it will be made only from the shreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former. However I shall work it up as well as I can; and at worst you need only give it among your tenants.

I am very sensible how ill your lordship is likely to be entertained with the pedantry of a drapier, in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very sparingly, into an affair of state; for such is now grown the controversy with Mr. Wood, if some great lawyers are to be credited. And as it often happens at play that men begin with farthings, and go on to gold, till some of them lose their estates and die in jail; so it may possibly fall out in my case, that by playing too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence I may be drawn in to pay a fine double to the reward for betraying me, be sent to prison, and not be delivered thence until I shall have paid the uttermost farthing.

There are, my lord, three sorts of persons with whom I am resolved never to dispute, a highwayman with a pistol at my breast; a troop of dragoons who come to plunder my house, and a man of the law who can make a merit of accusing me. In each of these cases, which are almost the same, the best method is to keep out of the way; and the next best is to deliver your money, surrender your house, and confess nothing.

I am told that the two points in my last letter, from which an occasion of offence has been taken, are, where I mention his majesty's answer to the address of the house of lords upon Mr. Wood's patent; and where I discourse upon Ireland's being a dependent kingdom. As to the former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost respect and caution; and I thought it necessary to show where Wood's patent differed, in many essential parts, from all others that ever had been granted; because the contrary had, for want of due information, been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of Ireland's dependency, I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to understand what it meant. This gave me the curiosity to inquire among several eminent lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the statutes of both kingdoms, without the least information, further than an Irish act, that I quoted, of the 33rd of Henry VIII., uniting Ireland to England under one king. I cannot say I was sorry to be disappointed in my search, because it is certain I could be contented to depend only upon God and my prince, and the laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations. But since my betters are of a different opinion, and desire further dependencies, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting, in my own heart, upon the exception I made of M. B., drapier. Indeed, that hint was borrowed from an idle story I had heard in England, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but because it insinuates neither treason nor sedition, I will just barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were so great that the commons were looked upon as little better than their dependents, a bill was brought in for making some new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drewe, a member of the house, stood up, and said, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it pass; but however, for some reasons best known to himself, he desired that a clause might be inserted for excepting the family of the Drewes. The oddness of the proposition taught others to reflect a little, and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken or went too far in examining the dependency must be left to the impartial judgment of the world as well as to the courts of judicature, although indeed not in so effectual and decisive a manner. But to affirm, as I hear some do in order to countenance a fearful and servile spirit, that this point did not belong to my subject, is a false and foolish objection. There were several scandalous reports industriously spread by Wood and his accomplices to discourage all opposition against his infamous project. They gave it out "that we were prepared for a rebellion, that we disputed the king's prerogative and were shaking off our dependency." The first went so far, and obtained so much belief against the most visible demonstrations to the contrary, that a great person of this kingdom, now in England, sent over such an account of it to his friends as would make any good subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that calumny as it deserved. Then I proved, by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to dispute his majesty's prerogative; because the prerogative was not concerned in the question; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing that copper is not money. And lastly, to clear us from the imputation of shaking off our dependency, I showed wherein I thought, and shall ever think, this dependence

[a] The Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures.
[b] The Drapier's first letter.
[c] The second and third letters.
[d] The fourth letter, against which the proclamation was issued.

consisted, and cited the statute above mentioned, made in Ireland, by which it is enacted, "that whoever is king of England shall be king of Ireland, and that the two kingdoms shall be for ever knit together under one king." This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our dependency, because it was altogether out of our power; for surely no king of England will ever consent to the repeal of this statute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accusation. It is said "I went too far when I declared that if ever the pretender should come to be fixed upon the throne of England (which God forbid), I would so far venture to transgress this statute, that I would lose the last drop of my blood before I would submit to him as king of Ireland."

This, I hear on all sides, is the strongest and weightiest objection against me, and which has given the most offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct statute, and that any motive, how strong soever, could make me reject a king whom England should receive. Now if, in defending myself from this accusation, I should freely confess "that I went too far; that the expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my zeal for his present majesty and his protestant line in the house of Hanover; that I shall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment and sorrow for my error will be some atonement and a little soften the hearts of my powerful adversaries;" I say, if I should offer such a defence as this, I do not doubt but some people would wrest it to an ill meaning by a spiteful interpretation. And therefore, since I cannot think of any other answer which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but still without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordship a secret wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know that this habit of writing and discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ from almost the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wish, was acquired during my apprenticeship in London and a long residence there after I had set up for myself. Upon my return and settlement here, I thought I had only changed one country of freedom for another. I had been long conversing with the writings of your lordship,* Mr. Locke, Mr. Molyneux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of liberty as a blessing to which the whole race of mankind have an original title, whereof nothing but unlawful force can divest them. I knew a great deal of the several Gothic institutions in Europe, and by what incidents and events they came to be destroyed; and I ever thought it the most uncontrolled and universally agreed maxim, that *freedom* consists in a people's being governed by laws made with their own consent, and *slavery* in the contrary. I have been likewise told, and believed it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known use and signification in this kingdom; and that the very lawyers pretend to understand and have them often in their mouths. These were the errors which have misled me, and to which alone I must impute the severe treatment I have received. But I shall in time grow wiser and learn to consider my driver, and the road I am in, and with whom I am yoked. This I will venture to say,—that the boldest and most obnoxious words I ever delivered would in England have only exposed me as a stupid fool who went to prove that the sun shone on a clear summer's day; and I have witnesses ready to depose that your lordship has said and writ fifty times worse; and, what is still an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and stronger arguments: so that, as politics run, I do not know a person of more exceptionable principles than yourself; and if ever I shall be discovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine and support me in prison, or else I may chance to inform against you by way of reprisal.

In the meantime, I beg your lordship to receive my confession, that if there be any such thing as a dependency of Ireland upon England, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the law of God, of nature, of reason, of nations, or of the land (which I shall die rather than grant), then was the proclamation against me the most merciful that ever was put out; and instead of accusing me as malicious, wicked, and seditious, it might have been directly, as guilty of high treason.

All I desire is, that the cause of my country against Mr. Wood may not suffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the king, and the law, I hope no man will assert that it depends upon Mr. Wood. I should be heartily sorry that this commendable spirit against me should accidentally (and what, I hope, was never intended) strike a damp upon that spirit in all ranks and corporations of men against the desperate and ruinous design of Mr. Wood. Let my countrymen blot out those parts in my last letter which they dislike; and let no rust remain on my sword, to cure the wounds I have given to our most mortal enemy. When sir Charles Sedley was taking the oaths, where several things were to be renounced, he said, "he loved renouncing;" asked "if any more were to be renounced; for he was ready to renounce as much as they pleased." Although I am not so thorough a renouncer, yet let me have but good city security against this pestilent coinage, and I shall be ready not only to renounce every syllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully with my own hands into those of the common hangman, to be burnt with no better company than the coiner's effigies; if any part of it has escaped out of the secular hands of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the sentiments of some people may be, I think it is agreed that many of those who subscribed against me are on the side of a vast majority in the kingdom who opposed Mr. Wood; and it was with great satisfaction that I observed some right honourable names very amicably joined with my own, at the bottom of a strong declaration against him and his coin. But if the admission of it among us be already determined, the worthy person who is to betray me ought in prudence to do it with all convenient speed; or else it may be difficult to find 300*l.* sterling for the discharge of his hire, when the public shall have lost 500,000*l.*, if there be so much in the nation; besides four-fifths of its annual income for ever.

I am told by lawyers that in quarrels between man and man it is of much weight which of them gave the first provocation or struck the first blow. It is manifest that Mr. Wood has done both, and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first hanged and his dross thrown into the sea, after which the drapier will be ready to stand his trial. "It must needs be that offences come, but woe unto him by whom the offence comes." If Mr. Wood had held his hand, everybody else would have held their tongues; and then there would have been little need of pamphlets, juries, or proclamations upon this occasion. The provocation must needs have been very great which could stir up an obscure indolent drapier to become an author. One would almost think the very stones in the street would rise up in such a cause, and I am not sure they will not do so against Mr. Wood if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known story of the dumb boy whose tongue forced a passage for speech by the horror of seeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may les-

* Alluding to lord Molesworth's account of the arbitrary government of Denmark.

sen the wonder that a tradesman hid in privacy and silence should cry out, when the life and being of his political mother are attempted before his face, and by so infamous a wretch.

But in the mean time Mr. Wood, the destroyer of a kingdom, walks about in triumph (unless it be true that he is in jail for debt), while he who endeavoured to assert the liberty of his country is forced to hide his head for occasionally dealing in a matter of controversy. However, I am not the first who has been condemned to death for gaining a great victory over a powerful enemy, by disobeying for once the strict orders of military discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual proceeding of mankind, because it is too late) the advice given me by a certain dean.[a] He showed the mistake I was in of trusting to the general good-will of the people, "that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that some unfortunate circumstantial lapse would bring me within the reach of power; that my good intentions would be no security against those who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterness of my soul." He produced an instance of "a person as innocent, as disinterested, and as well-meaning as myself, who had written a very seasonable and inoffensive treatise, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which however the printer was prosecuted with the utmost virulence, the jury sent back nine times, and the man given up to the mercy of the court." The dean further observed "that I was in a manner left alone to stand the battle, while others who had ten thousand times better talents than a drapier were so prudent as to lie still; and perhaps thought it no unpleasant amusement to look on with safety, while another was giving them diversion at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a sufficient recompense by a little applause. Whereupon he concluded with a short story of a Jew at Madrid, who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of schoolboys following him to the stake, and apprehending they might lose their sport if he should happen to recant, would often clap him on the back and cry, "*sta firme, Moyse:* Moses, continue steadfast."

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his observations just; and in one respect my condition is worse than that of the Jew, for no recantation will save me. However, it should seem by some late proceedings that my state is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the steadiness of two impartial grand juries, which has confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained, that, as philosophers say, virtue is seated in the middle, so in another sense the little virtue left in the world is chiefly to be found among the middle rank of mankind, who are neither allured out of her paths by ambition, nor driven by poverty.

Since the proclamation occasioned by my last letter, and a due preparation for proceeding against me in a court of justice, there have been two printed papers clandestinely spread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by conjecture; which, with its usual charity, lays them to my account. The former is entitled, "Seasonable Advice," and appears to have been intended for the information of the grand jury, upon the supposition of a bill to be prepared against that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings in the year 1680, containing an angry resolution of the house of commons in England against dissolving grand juries. As to the former, your lordship will find it to be the work of a more artful hand than that of a common drapier. It has been censured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiassed; and for that reason it is manifest that no judge was ever known, either upon or off the bench, either by himself or his dependents, to use the least insinuation that might possibly affect the passions or interests of any one single juryman, much less of a whole jury; whereof every man must be convinced who will just give himself the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: so as it is amazing to think what a number of upright judges there have been in both kingdoms for above sixty years past; which, considering how long they held their offices during pleasure, as they still do among us, I account next to a miracle.

As to the other paper, I must confess it is a sharp censure from an English house of commons against dissolving grand juries by any judge, before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration and not presented, as arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and as a means to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom.

However, the publisher seems to have been mistaken in what he aimed at. For whatever dependence there may be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not insinuate that the proceedings of a lord chief-justice in Ireland must depend upon a resolution of an English house of commons. Besides, that resolution, although it were levelled against a particular lord chief-justice, sir William Scroggs, yet the occasion was directly contrary. For Scroggs dissolved the grand jury of London for fear they should present; but ours in Dublin was dissolved because they would not present; which wonderfully alters the case. And therefore a second grand jury supplied that defect, by making a presentment that pleased the whole kingdom. However, I think it is agreed by all parties that both the one and the other jury behaved themselves in such a manner as ought to be remembered to their honour, while there shall be any regard left among us for virtue or public spirit.

I am confident your lordship will be of my sentiments in one thing—that some short, plain, authentic tract might be published for the information both of petty and grand juries, how far their power reaches, and where it is limited; and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court, to be consulted by the jurymen before they consider of their verdict: by which abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced from former times; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an Eastern king, who put a judge to death for an iniquitous sentence, and ordered his hide to be stuffed into a cushion, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy such a memorial might not have been unuseful to a son of sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his successors would often wriggle in their seats as long as the cushion lasted. I wish the relater had told us what number of such cushions there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your lordship how nice and dangerous a point it is grown for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair where the public interest and safety are so highly concerned as that of Mr. Wood; and this, in a country where loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people, seems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the first who introduced that commendable acuteness into the courts of judicature; but how far this practice has been imitated by his successors, or strained upon occasion, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets unpleasing to the ministry were presented as libels, he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him; and he was often so very happy in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding dubious hints, (the two common

[a] The author is supposed to mean himself.

expedients among writers of that class for escaping the law,) that he discovered much more than ever the authors intended, as many of them, or their printers, found to their cost. If such methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the subject of Mr. Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my understanding and caution to avoid being entrapped; unless he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this dilemma,—either to let my learned works hang for ever drying upon his lines, or venture to publish them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your lordship where the difficulty lies. It is true that the king and the laws permit us to refuse this coin of Mr. Wood; but at the same time it is equally true that the king and the laws permit us to receive it. Now it is barely possible that the ministers of England may not suppose the consequences of uttering that brass among us to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because, perhaps, if they understood it in that light, they would, in common humanity, use their credit with his majesty for saving a most loyal kingdom from destruction. But, as long as it shall please those great persons to think that coin will not be so very pernicious to us, we lie under the disadvantage of being censured as obstinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make use of that liberty which the king and the laws have left us, by continuing to refuse this coin; and, by frequent remembrances, to keep up that spirit raised against it which otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to sink altogether. For any public order against receiving or uttering Mr. Wood's halfpence is not reasonably to be expected in this kingdom, without directions from England; which I think nobody presumes or is so sanguine as to hope.

But to confess the truth, my lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer, and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my brethren, the makers of songs and ballads, who perhaps are the best qualified at present to gather up the gleanings of this controversy. As to myself, it has been my misfortune to begin and pursue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falsehoods of this vile impostor Wood in every part, I foolishly disdained to have recourse to whining, lamenting, and crying for mercy; but rather chose to appeal to law and liberty, and the common rights of mankind, without considering the climate I was in.

Since your last residence in Ireland I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds, where I fancied myself to feel an air of freedom breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradesman did not qualify me to wait on you at your house; for then I am afraid my writings would not have escaped severer censures. But I have lately sold my nag and honestly told his greatest fault, which was that of snuffing up the air about Brackdenstown; whereby he became such a lover of liberty that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried at the bottom of a strong chest your lordship's writings under a heap of others that treat of liberty, and spread over a layer or two of Hobbes, Filmer, Bodin, and many more authors of that stamp, to be readiest at hand whenever I shall be disposed to take up a new set of principles in government. In the mean time I design quietly to look to my shop, and keep as far out of your lordship's influence as possible; and if you ever see any more of my writings on this subject, I promise you shall find them as innocent, as insipid, and without a sting, as what I have now offered you. But if your lordship will please to give me an easy lease of some part of your estate in Yorkshire, thither will I carry my chest, and, turning it upside down, resume my political reading where I left off, feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free honest English farmer; but not without regret for leaving my countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of Mr. Wood;—my most loyal and innocent countrymen, to whom I owe so much for their good opinion of me and my poor endeavours to serve them.

I am, with the greatest respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant, M. B.

*** These papers (for the sixth and seventh letters were not published till long afterward) prevailed, notwithstanding threats, prosecutions, and imprisonment, against all the influence of power and all the artifices of cunning: persons of every sect united with the drapier in the common cause, his health was a perpetual toast, and his effigies was displayed in every street; Wood was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his halfpence were totally suppressed.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

From the edition in the year 1735.

The former of the two following papers is dated October 6th, 1724, by which it appears to be written a little after the proclamation against the author of the Drapier's Fourth Letter. It is delivered with much caution, because the author confesses himself to be dean of St. Patrick's, and I could discover his name subscribed at the end of the original, although blotted out by some other hand. I can tell no other reason why it was not printed than what I have heard, that the writer, finding how effectually the drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the people in power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep it in his cabinet. However, having received some encouragement to collect into one volume all the papers relating to Ireland supposed to be written by the drapier, and knowing how favourably the author's writings of that kind have been received by the public, to make the volume more complete I procured a copy of the following letter from one of the author's friends, with whom it was left while the author was in England; and I have printed it as near as I could in the order of time.

The next treatise is called "An Address," &c. It is without a date, but seems to be written during the first session of parliament in lord Carteret's government. The title of this address is in the usual form, by M. B., Drapier. There is but a small part of it that relates to William Wood and his coin. The rest contains several proposals for the improvement of Ireland; the many discouragements it lies under; and what are the best remedies against them.

By many passages in some of the drapier's former letters, but particularly in the following address, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland by absentees, importation of foreign goods, balances of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains and been well informed in the business of computing; all his reasonings upon that subject, although he doth not here descend to particular sums, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others who have since made that inquiry their particular study. And it is observable that in this address, as well as in one of his printed letters, he hath specified several articles that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him.

LETTER THE SIXTH.

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

My Lord, Deanery House, October, 1724.

I desire you will consider me as a member who comes in at the latter end of a debate, or as a lawyer who

speaks to a cause when the matter has been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember some months ago I was at your house upon a commission where I am one of the governors; but I went thither, not so much on account of the commission as to ask you some questions concerning Mr. Wood's patent to coin halfpence for Ireland; where you very freely told me, in a mixed company, how much you had been always against that wicked project,[a] which raised in me an esteem for you so far that I went in a few days to make you a visit after many years' intermission. I am likewise told that your son wrote two letters from London (one of which I have seen) empowering those to whom they were directed to assure his friends, that, whereas there was a malicious report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. Walpole for 40,000*l.* of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the said report was false and groundless, and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And although it be a long time since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations, yet I have been told, by those who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to allege when we consider that the ruinous consequences of Wood's patent have been so strongly represented by both houses of parliament, by the privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, by so many corporations, and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in most counties at their quarter-sessions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence that the currency of these halfpence would, in the universal opinion of our people, be utterly destructive to this kingdom; and consequently that it is every man's duty, not only to refuse this coin himself, but, as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like: and whether this be done in private or in print is all a case; as no layman is forbidden to write or to discourse upon religious or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit, at least in our church. Neither is this an affair of state until authority shall think fit to declare it so; or, if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, since the drapier will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his place as not to incur his fortune; for I have learned from old experience that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope that, preserving both those characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones, to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that good spirit raised among them, to preserve themselves from utter ruin by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two propositions: First, that we are a most loyal people; and, secondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well that you and I did, many years ago, in discourse differ much, in the presence of lord Wharton, about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to Ireland. But, if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which I doubt my lord chief-justice Whitshed would call me to account for if I venture to bestow: for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be, *Libertas et natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both.

Now, as for our loyalty to his present majesty, if it has ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it has never been exceeded: and I am confident he has not a minister in England who could ever call it once in question; but that some hard rumours, at least, have been transmitted from the other side of the water, I suppose you will not doubt; and rumours of the severest kind, which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. Wood and his emissaries, as if he endeavoured it should be thought that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal people, so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a king that a loyal and free people can expect; among which we all agree in reckoning this to be one, that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to wish when we dare no longer express our wishes, although there were no such mortal as a drapier in the world.

I am heartily sorry that any writer should, in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council to charge him with paragraphs "highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers; tending to alienate the affections of his good subjects in England and Ireland from each other, and to promote sedition among the people."[a] I must confess that, with many others, I thought he meant well, although he might have the failing of better writers, not to be always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the drapier is but one man, I shall think I do a public service by asserting that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning out of his pamphlets to reflect on the king or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

I solemnly declare that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the king on the subject of Mr. Wood's coin; for in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at were the duke of Grafton and Mr. Walpole: the former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared "that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. Wood before it was passed," although he was then lord-lieutenant; and therefore I suppose everybody believes that his grace has been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several newspapers, where it is said that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of Ireland, for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the drapier wholly clears Mr. Walpole of this charge by very strong arguments, and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present where the company gave their opinion that Mr. Walpole favoured Mr. Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part never once opened my lips against that minister, either in mixed or particular meetings; and my reason for this reservedness was, because it pleased him in the queen's time (I mean queen Anne of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me by name, in the house of commons, as I was told a very few minutes after, in the court of requests, by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here (if anything here may be called great), cannot be ignorant that whoever is understood by public voice to be chief minister will, among the general talkers, share the

[a] Lord Middleton, though he signed the proclamation against the drapier, was an enemy to Wood's patent.

[a] The expressions of the proclamation.

blame, whether justly or not, of everything that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many instances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.

But whatever unpleasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr. Walpole on account of those halfpence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr. Wood. Many persons of credit come from England have affirmed to me and others, that they have seen letters under his hand, full of arrogance and insolence towards Ireland, and boasting of his favour with Mr. Walpole; which is highly probable, because he reasonably thought it for his interest to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have sufficiently justified the people of Ireland from learning any bad lesson out of the drapier's pamphlets with regard to his majesty and his ministers; and therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition among us, God be thanked the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other, I believe the drapier, whatever his intentions were, has left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most men in the dispositions of each people toward the other. By the people I understand here only the bulk of the common people, and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; further than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence; and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea; for they have a tradition that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them; "that the wild Irish were taken in toils; but that in some time they would grow so tame as to eat out of your hands." I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Pepper-hara, "whether I had come from Ireland by sea?" and, upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country-town, I have known crowds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman, now in Dublin, affirms "that, passing some months ago through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a flurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations, upon asking the cause, he was told that it was for joy that the Irish had submitted to receive Wood's halfpence." This I think plainly shows what sentiments that large town has of us; and how little they made it their own case; although they lie directly in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of Irish papists, who are as inconsiderable in point of power as the women and children; or of English protestants, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used. However I confess I do not see that it is of any great consequence how the personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you whether those from England have reason to complain when they come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or whether the people of Ireland have reason to boast when they go to England upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of Ireland are a free people; this I suppose you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However I am sure it is not criminal to affirm it; because the words liberty and property, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both houses of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below; whence it must follow that the people of Ireland do or ought to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law; such as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment except gold and silver, I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of William Wood, who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the drapier's case in another light, by supposing that a person going into his shop would agree for thirty shillings' worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper pieces intrinsically not worth above a crown; I desire to know whether the drapier would not be actually robbed of five-and-twenty shillings; and how far he could be said to be master of his property? The same question may be applied to rents, and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do what the drapier has done more than once before me, which is to relate the naked fact as it stands in the view of the world.

One William Wood, esq., a hardwareman, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000*l.* in copper to pass in Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare that they will not accept this coin. To justify these declarations, they generally offer two reasons; first, because by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice; and, secondly, because they are not obliged by law; so that you see there is *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr. Wood gets the victory, at the expense of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself, I doubt both present and future ages will at least think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess I look upon it as my duty, so far as God has enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no, not so much as one single halfpenny; for if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I shall be thus employed I will never give myself leave to suppose that what I say can either offend my lord-lieutenant, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness), or the ministers in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the privy-council here, who, as I am informed, did send an address to his majesty against Mr. Wood's coin; which, if it be a mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a spreader of false news; but I confess I am so great a stranger to affairs that, for anything I know, the whole body of the council may since

have been changed; and although I observe some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the drapier, yet possibly they may be different persons; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are likely to continue so.

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St. George's Channel, his majesty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned if Mr. Wood and his advocates had not made it necessary, by giving out that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin, but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore absolutely necessary for the drapier to remove this difficulty; and accordingly, in one of his former pamphlets, he produced invincible arguments (wherever he picked them up) that the king's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed on the subject except gold and silver; and that copper is not money, but, as it has been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the drapier having not received any public censure, I look upon them to be without exception, and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr. Wood. As for his last letter, against which a proclamation is issued, I shall only say that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way objectionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake if my abilities were equal; but being naturally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good designs without any visible motive either of profit or honour, I might pore for ever without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter is where the drapier affirms, "that if a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the pretender on the throne of England, he would venture so far to transgress the Irish statute which unites Ireland to England under one king as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland."

I shall not presume to vindicate any man who openly declares he would transgress a statute, and a statute of such importance; but with the most humble submission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think that the loyal intention of the writer might be at least some small extenuation of his crime, for in this I confess myself to think with the drapier.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections against that pamphlet; but I suppose they will all appear at the prosecution of the drapier. And I think, whoever in his own conscience believes the said pamphlet to be "wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his majesty and his ministers," &c., would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers,) although the reward of 300*l.* had not been tacked to the discovery. I own it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers, upon this case; because you cannot but know there often happen occasions wherein it would be very convenient that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore it has been the wisdom of the English parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either house of parliament there, nothing is more usual than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here in the case of Mr. Wood and his coin, since the two houses gave their opinion by addresses how dangerous the currency of copper would be to Ireland, it was without all question both lawful and convenient that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done than by particular persons to whom God has given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in Ireland which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed that the arguments and writings of some without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters; because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property has some share in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in some degree every such man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wish to know whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer so much as to mention the prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatsoever. I know it is often debated in Westminster-hall; and sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books.

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the subject which is not sterling; such as lead, brass, copper mixed metal, shells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phrase of a "depending kingdom," as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency consists?

Lastly, In what points relating to liberty and property the people of Ireland differ, or at least ought to differ, from those of England?

If these particulars were made so clear that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom, and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My lord Somers, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of Ireland differed as far as heaven and earth from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me that the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of parliament, should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means he said the public often suffered great inconveniences, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person to justify my desires that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment how far a writer may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly, by the oratory and comments of lawyers, be charged with many crimes which from his very soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known, in my lifetime, a printer prosecuted and convicted for publishing a pamphlet* where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection upon the subject of Mr. Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet,

* "A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures."

if it were now printed and published, I cannot say I would ensure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.*

I have heard the late chief-justice Holt affirm that, in all criminal cases, the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes; though often very ill practised, by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, where sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client by alleging that the words were not injurious; for *knave*, in the old and true signification, imported only a servant; and *villain* in Latin is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a bailiff.

If sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer, with a very small measure of discretion, might easily be safe; but I doubt in practice it has been frequently controlled, at least before his time; for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read or heard a passage of seignior Gregorio Leti, an Italian, who, being in London, busying himself with writing the History of England, told king Charles II. "that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as Solomon." The king answered, "that, if this were the case, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs, as Solomon did." But Leti lay under no public necessity of writing; neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worse whether he writ or not.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected, "What have private men to do with the public?—what call had a drapier to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state?—would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop, or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? He would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors hourly watching over the public weal?" All this may be true; and yet, when the addresses from both houses of parliament against Mr. Wood's halfpence failed of success, if some pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin; to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner; and to lay open the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin; I might appeal to many hundred thousand people whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frighted, and greedy to swallow misinformations; for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion; but as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my king, and my country, to inform the people that the proclamation lately issued against the drapier doth not in the least affect the case of Mr. Wood and his coin, but only refers to certain paragraphs in the drapier's last pamphlet (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before; neither is any man obliged to believe that those honourable persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the drapier have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr. Wood or his coin.

Therefore, concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation (whether the real author were a real drapier or not is little to the purpose) against this horrid design of Mr. Wood; at the same time carefully watching every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public censure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief-justice Whitshed as a criminal. Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men, upon the highest penalties, to offer anything in writing or discourse against Mr. Wood's halfpence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them, because I will never receive them at all; for, although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience and the public safety.

I desire to put a case which I think the drapier in some of his books has put before me, although not so fully as it requires:—

You know the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now suppose that, instead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to some private obscure person for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom to what Mr. Wood is preparing in this, and all of it at least five times below the intrinsic value: the current money of England is reckoned to be 20,000,000*l.*; and ours under 500,000*l.*; by this computation, as Mr. Wood has power to give us 108,000*l.*, so the patentee in England, by the same proportion, might circulate 4,320,000*l.*, besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits; I desire to know from you whether the parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion; what success they probably would have had; and how many drapiers would have risen to pester the world with pamphlets? Yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours in the like case; because their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the chests of cautious thrifty men until better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me why this country is treated in so very different a manner in a point of such high importance; whether it be on account of Poinings' act, of subordination, dependence, or any other term of art which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible that the good or ill success of Mr. Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom; because I hear you are so prudent as to make all your purchases in England: and truly so would I if I had money, although I were to pay 100 years' purchase; because I should be glad to possess a freehold that could not be taken from me by any law to which I did not give my own consent; and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixed copper, at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live in ease and plenty at Pepper-hara, in Surrey, and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute, by showing without reserve your disapprobation of Mr. Wood's design: at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me, which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do

* The sermon "On doing Good, occasioned by Wood's Project."

not remember to have fallen under the drapier's observation. If these halfpence should once gain admittance, it is agreed that, in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a necessity of transmitting money from England to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers; for I do not conceive how a judge, for instance, could support his dignity with 1000*l.* a-year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near 200*l.* To argue that these halfpence, if no other coin were current, would answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake: and the drapier has made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by showing us what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large in his 2nd and 3rd Letters, to which I refer you.

Before I conclude I cannot but observe that for several months past there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps has been known in any other nation in so short time (I speak in general from the drapier down to the maker of ballads), and all without any regard to the common motives of writers, which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured by persons of credit that the best ballad upon Mr. Wood will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding[a] declares he never made the drapier any present except one pair of scissors. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by opposing Mr. Wood, is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject, and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon myself, the drapier, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future is only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. Wood's halfpence, and to be referred for conviction to the drapier's reasons. For a man of the most superior understanding will find it impossible to make the best use of it while he writes in constraint, perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer or himself under a prosecution from my lord chief-justice Whitshed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being soundly beaten by a weaver for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons I am convinced that what I have now written will appear low and insipid, but if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us for opposing this fatal project of Mr. Wood, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer, (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain,) who, after many alterations, returned them back with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent, without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the bellman of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, "Past twelve o'clock!—beware of Wood's halfpence!" it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets; provided that in country-towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St. Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of Mr. Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my countrymen, but only these few words—

BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALFPENCE!

I am, with due respect, your most obedient humble servant, J. S.

[a] The printer of the Drapier's Letters.

LETTER THE SEVENTH.

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.*

By M. B., DRAPIER.

"Multa gemens plagasque superbi
Victoris———"

I HAVE been told that petitions and addresses to either king or parliament are the right of every subject, provided they consist with that respect which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I remember that the modest proposals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the style of advice; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if proposals should be looked upon as too assuming, yet I hope every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's wishes. For instance, I may be allowed to wish that some further laws were enacted for the advancement of trade; for the improvement of agriculture, now strangely neglected, against the maxims of all wise nations; for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; for setting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm it is the hearty wish of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament, in this session, would begin by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hardwareman, who illegally and clandestinely, as appears by your own votes and addresses, procured a patent in England for coining halfpence in that kingdom to be current here. This I say is the wish of the whole nation, very few excepted, and upon account of those few is more strongly and justly the wish of the rest; those few consisting either of Wood's confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak judgment and strong ambition, who think to find their accounts in the ruin of the nation by securing or advancing themselves. And because such men proceed upon a system of politics to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of 1500*l.* a-year, salary and perquisites, and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a-year real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be set on foot—such for instance as this of Wood—which, if it succeed in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, although I am confident it would have done so five-sixths: suppose I conceive that the countenancing or privately supporting this project will please those by whom I expect to be preserved or higher exalted; nothing then remains but to compute and balance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my

* This address is without a date; but it appears to have been written during the first session in lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inserted, with the preceding Letter, in the Dublin edition of 1735.

employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This, at 1500*l.* a-year, amounts in ten years to 15,000*l.* My estate, by the success of the said project, sinks 400*l.* a-year; which, at 20 years' purchase, is but 8000*l.*; so that I am clear gainer of 7000*l.* upon the balance. And during all that period I am possessed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And if the project miscarry, my private merit is still entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practised and applied in conjunctures whereon depended the ruin or safety of a nation; although probably the charity and virtue of a senate will hardly be induced to believe that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise lord Bacon mentions a sort of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would "set a house on fire for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame."

But whoever is old enough to remember, and has turned his thoughts to observe, the course of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the Revolution, must acknowledge that the highest points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons, upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have supposed. The only wonder is, how these artists were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public assemblies, to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience, latitude enough for vice if a man in station be allowed to act injustice upon the usual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, serving his party, or consulting his preferment, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of particular persons; but to deliver up our whole country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to certain destruction, has not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable casuists on the side of corruption. It were far better that all who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom should be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatsoever above the degree of a constable, (according to the scheme and intention of a great minister,* *gone to his own place.*) than to live under the daily apprehension of a few false brethren among ourselves; because in the former case we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed,—since none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true that, in this desperate affair of the new halfpence, I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shopkeeper to have been hitherto so bold as, in direct terms, to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of some very mollifying expressions which were used, and very gentle expedients proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate; but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened that the most ignorant can plainly see their own ruin in the success of Wood's attempt, these grand compounders have been more cautious.

But that the same spirit still subsists has manifestly appeared, (among other instances of great compliance,) from certain circumstances that have attended some late proceedings in a court of judicature. There is not any commonplace more frequently insisted on by those who treat of our constitution than the great happiness and excellency of trials by juries; yet, if this blessed part of our law be eludible at pleasure, by the force of power, frowns, and artifice, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in Europe. And surely these high proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their necessary subsistence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; because it was obvious that so much superabundant zeal could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to damp that spirit raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of William Wood and his abettors,—to which spirit alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being hitherto preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up and strongly countenanced by your wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanour upon a more charitable foundation than that of putting our interest in over balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance to show the bad consequences that might follow from any public resentment to the disadvantage of his ally Mr. Wood, principally alleging the danger of all employments being disposed of from England. One of these emissaries came to me and urged the same topic. I answered naturally, "that I knew there was no office of any kind which a man from England might not have if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here as only in the conditions of leasers and gleaners." Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of "the countryman who entreated his ass to fly, for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the ass refused to give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason—because he could not possibly change his present master for a worse; the enemy could not make him fare harder, beat him more cruelly, or load him with heavier burdens."

Upon these and many other considerations, I may affirm it to be the wish of the whole nation that the power and privileges of juries were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature, and that whoever has been manifestly known to violate them might be stigmatized by public censure; not from any hope that such a censure will amend their practices or hurt their interest (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both), but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself, for I write in great security, and am resolved that none shall merit at my expense, further than by showing their zeal to discover, prosecute, and condemn me, for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country; and yet I am conscious to myself that I never had the least intention to reflect on his majesty's ministers, nor any other person except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet, conceive to be of that number. However, some would have it that I went too far; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have gone farther, and I think I could not easily have fared worse. And, therefore, I was no further affected with their proclamation and subsequent proceedings than a good clergyman is with the sins of the people. And as to the poor printer, he is now gone to appear before a higher and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies the general wishes of the nation, and as I have already declared it our principal wish that your first proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood, so I must add, as the universal opinion, that all schemes of commutation, composition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the public,—against the dignity of a free kingdom,—and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim

* The earl of Sunderland.

which no man at present disputes, that even a connivance to admit 1000*l.* in these halfpence, will produce, in time, the same ruinous effects as if we openly consented to admit 1,000,000. It were, therefore, infinitely more safe and eligible to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present (which, however, God forbid!), and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that aversion, than submit to apply those palliatives which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are, upon all occasions and in all diseases, so ready to administer.

In the small compass of my reading (which however has been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling) I have observed that grievances have always preceded supplies. And if ever grievances had a title to such pre-eminence, it must be this of Wood; because it is not only the greatest grievance that any country could suffer, but a grievance of such a kind that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any supplies at all, except in adulterate copper; unless a tax were laid for paying the civil and military lists and the large pensions with real commodities instead of money. Which however might be liable to some few objections, as well as difficulties; for although the common soldiers might be content with beef, and mutton, and wool, and malt, and leather, yet I am in some doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous pensioners, the civil officers, and others, who all live in England upon Irish pay, as well as those few who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular which, although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country, neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost astonishment.

After the unanimous addresses to his sacred majesty, against the patent of Wood, from both houses of parliament, which are the three estates of the kingdom, and likewise an address from the privy-council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is intrusted, the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one side, and a few volunteers, without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question, as I remember, chiefly turned upon the want of halfpence in Ireland. Witnesses are called on the behalf of Wood, of what credit I have formerly shown. Upon the issue, the patent is found good and legal; all his majesty's officers here (not excepting the military) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both houses of parliament, of the privy-council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever; and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonsuited in default of appearance, as if it were a private cause between John Doe, plaintiff, and William Roe, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not understood them to be our governors, councillors, or judges. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question whether Ireland wanted halfpence or no? For there is no doubt but we do want both halfpence, gold, and silver; and we have numberless other wants, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation; to which no other is subject whom God has blessed with religion and laws, or any degree of soil and sunshine; but for what demerits on our side, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember that our want of halfpence was either affirmed or denied in any of our addresses or declarations against those of Wood. We alleged the fraudulent obtaining and executing of his patent; the baseness of his metal, and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth from foreign importation and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and discouraged trade. We urged that the patent was passed without the least reference hither, and without mention of any security given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like cases. These and many other arguments we offered, but still the patent went on; and at this day our ruin would have been half completed if God in his mercy had not raised a universal detestation of these halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them; since we are not under obligations to do so by any law, either human or divine.

But in the name of God and of all justice and piety, when the king's majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood that he conceived, believed, and intended it as a gracious act for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom; of the most loyal kingdom upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up against him; a kingdom where the passage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where papists have less power and less land than in England? Can it be denied or doubted that his majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, the good of this nation, when they advised the passing of this patent? Can the person of Wood be otherwise regarded than as the instrument, the mechanic, the head-workman, to prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps? If I employ a shoe-boy, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the person of William Wood alone, because no other appears; and we are not to reason upon surmises, neither would it avail if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore (for we cannot do less) that this patent for the coining of halfpence was wholly intended by a gracious king and a wise public-spirited ministry for the advantage of Ireland, yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do, upon maturest consideration, universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these halfpence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to complete the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country; is it, was it, can it, or will it ever be a question, not, whether such a kingdom, or William Wood, should be a gainer; but whether such a kingdom should be wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated, made a scene of misery and desolation, for the sake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment! And it is our universal wish that God would put it into your hearts to be his instruments for so good a work.

For my own part, who am but one man of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death, rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that shall be liable to these objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions? shall another proclamation issue against me because I presume to take my country's part against William Wood where her final destruction is intended? But whenever you shall please to impose silence upon me I will submit, because I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have

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been taught and do believe to be in some manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at mercy under so vile an adversary is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth; and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment as is worthy of a parliament.

It is likewise our universal wish that his majesty should grant liberty to coin halfpence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament here shall advise; since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every petty prince abroad, and was always practised by Scotland to the very time of the Union; yet surely Scotland, as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself the fourth part the value of Ireland, for bishop Burnet says, "it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of Britain;" and with respect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess that a mote in the eye or a thorn in the side is more dangerous and painful than a beam or spike at a distance.

The histories of England and of most other countries abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical, effects from the abuses of coin by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon occasions to the public loss; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tenderest point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unsettled, no man can well be said to have any property at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some indulgence from England, not only upon the score of christianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immense profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe from what it does at present.

The rents of land in Ireland, since they have been of late so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one-third part at least is directly transmitted to those who are perpetual absentees in England, as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those who understand accounts better than I pretend to do:—

The occasional absentees for business, health, or diversion.

Three-fourths of the revenue of the chief governor during his absence, which is usually four-fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the post-office.

The numerous pensions paid to persons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in England, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue always absent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the house of lords and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court and the two universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to England for coals, whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from England, the effect of our own great wisdom in discouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian stuffs and calicoes to gratify the vanity and folly of our women, which, besides the profit to England, is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to England, by selling them all our wool at their own rates, whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost; a proceeding without example in the christian or heathen world.

Our own wool returned upon us in English manufactures, to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all mines accruing to England, an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in England.

These, and many other articles which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near 700,000*l.* per annum clear profit to England; and, upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of commerce, he shall find that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a loser, which we do not possess in the highest perfection; somewhat in every particular that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he stands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this subject of perpetual absentees I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections; and, considering the usual motives of human actions, which are pleasure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in any of the three. I speak not of those English peers or gentlemen who, besides their estates at home, have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords and wealthy knights or squires, whose birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances), are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during several years when I resided in England, and truly I could not discover that the figure they made was by any means a subject for envy, at least it gave me two very different passions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or sometimes appearing behind a crowd at court, or adding to the ring of coaches at Hyde Park, or losing their money at the chocolate-house, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I say besides these, and a few other privileges of less importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a foreign country, when he might live with lustre in his own, and even at less than half that expense which he strains himself to make without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog when he would needs contend for size with the ox. I have been told by scholars that Cæsar said he would rather be the first man in I know not what village than the second in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæsar: but to be preceded by thousands and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or distinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable situation of life to a person of title or wealth, who can so cheaply and easily shine in his native country.

But besides the depopulating of the kingdom, leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country-seats and plantations, the cutting

down of all the woods to supply expenses in England, the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons has been the cause of another fatal consequence which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that very considerable number of lords who possess the amplest fortunes here had been content to live at home and attend the affairs of their own country in parliament, the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble house would in all human probability have prevented certain proceedings which are now ever to be lamented, because they never can be remedied; and we might have then decided our own properties among ourselves without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to another kingdom for justice, to our infinite expense, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of servitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered upon what motives the peerage of England were so desirous to determine our controversies, because I have been assured and partly know that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irksome to that illustrious body; and whoever has frequented the painted chamber and courts of requests must have observed that they are never so nobly filled as when an Irish appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that bleak and barren climate; and although some of them made frequent journeys to London, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families till very lately to have made England their constant habitation before the Union; or if they did, I am sure it was generally to their own advantage, and whatever they got was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates; and by that means enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich absentees under the degree of peers, what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom beside those already mentioned may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether those who live in another kingdom upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the revenues they receive from it; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to vacant seats who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and consequently can have no views but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this I am sure is a very melancholy question, if it be a question at all.

But besides the prodigious profit which England receives by the transmittal thither of two-thirds of the revenues of this old kingdom, it has another mighty advantage by making our country a receptacle wherein to disburden themselves of their supernumerary pretenders to offices, persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, like birds of passage, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their credit and employments are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say what Luther said of himself, POOR Ireland makes many rich!

If amid all our difficulties I should venture to assert that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing what possible advantage could ever fall to our share. However it is certain that all the regular seeds of party and faction among us are entirely rooted out; and if any new ones shall spring up they must be of equivocal generation, without any seed at all; and will be justly imputed to a degree of stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our birthplace and climate.

The parties in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, 1st, of those who have been charged or suspected to favour the pretender, and those who were zealous opposers of him. 2ndly, of those who were for and against a toleration of dissenters by law 3rdly, of high and low church, or (to speak in the cant of the times) of Whig and Tory. And, 4thly, of court and country. If there be any more they are beyond my observation or politics; for as to subaltern or occasional parties, they have been all derivations from the same originals.

Now it is manifest that all these incitements to faction, party, and division, are wholly removed from among us. For as to the pretender, his cause is both desperate and obsolete. There are very few now alive who were men in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others the obligation of conscience has no place.[a] Even the papists in general, of any substance or estates, and their priests almost universally, are what we call Whigs in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the smart and see the scars of their former wounds, and very well know that they must be made a sacrifice to the least attempts toward a change; although it cannot be doubted that they would be glad to have their superstition restored under any prince whatsoever.

2ndly, The dissenters are now tolerated by law, neither do we observe any murmurs at present from that quarter except those reasonable complaints they make of persecution, because they are excluded from civil employments, but their number being very small in either house of parliament, they are not yet in a situation to erect a party; because, however indifferent men may be with regard to religion, they are now grown wise enough to know that if such a latitude were allowed to dissenters the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find other hands to lay hold on them.

3rdly, The dispute between high and low church is now at an end; two-thirds of the bishops having been promoted in this reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed all preferments in their gift to those they could well confide in; the deaneries, all except three, and many principal church-livings, are in the donation of the crown: so that we already possess such a body of clergy as will never engage in controversy upon that antiquated and exploded subject.

Lastly, as to court and country parties, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English parliaments, this kingdom has not for several years past been a proper scene whereon to exercise such contentions, and is now less proper than ever; many great employments for life being in distant hands, and the reversions diligently watched and secured; the temporary ones of any inviting value are all bestowed elsewhere as fast as they drop; and the few remaining are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers or tradesmen like myself. And therefore to institute a court and country party without materials would be a very new system in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before, nor unless in a nation of idiots can ever succeed, for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not sell his cow for a groat.

Therefore I conclude that all party and faction, with regard to public proceedings, are now extinguished in this kingdom; neither does it appear in view how they can possibly revive, unless some new causes be administered; which cannot be done without crossing the interests of those who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures. And general calamities, without hope of redress, are allowed to be the great uniters of mankind.

However we may dislike the causes, yet this effect of begetting a universal concord among us in all national

[a] The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.

debates, as well as in cities, corporations, and country neighbourhoods, may keep us at least alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in peace and amity. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the subject of the quarrel; which when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in quiet. The former part has been our case, I hope the latter will be so too; that we shall sit down amicably together, at least until we have something that may give us a title to fall out, since nature has instructed even a brood of goslings to stick together while the kite is hovering over their heads.

It is certain that a firm union in any country, where every man wishes the same thing with relation to the public, may, in several points of the greatest importance, in some measure supply the defect of power, and even of those rights which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind. If the universal wish of the nation upon any point were declared by the unanimous vote of the house of commons and a reasonable number of lords, I should think myself obliged in conscience to act in my sphere according to that vote; because in all free nations I take the proper definition of law to be the will of the majority of those who have the property in land; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such votes or declarations have not received such a confirmation for certain accidental reasons, yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the subject, provided they neither oppose the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for instance, if nine in ten of the house of commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare that whoever received or uttered brass coin, excepting under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as enemies to the king and nation, I should think it a heinous sin in myself to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same censure against those who wore Indian stuffs and calicoes, or woollen manufactures imported from abroad, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, I should readily, heartily, and cheerfully pay obedience and to my utmost power persuade others to do the like; because there is no law of this land obliging us either to receive such coin or to wear such foreign manufactures.

Upon this last article I could humbly wish that the reverend the clergy would set us an example, by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Irish drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the laity, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the cheapness, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by too many among that venerable body. And in order to this, I could heartily desire that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade could contrive some decent stuffs and silk for clergymen at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporation of weavers in silk and woollen would publish some proposals (I wish they would do it to both houses of parliament) inviting persons of all degrees, and of both sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn mutual engagements that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate without the trouble of cheapening; so that if I sent a child for a piece of stuff of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or, if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman who did me the wrong should be published and warning given not to deal with him for the future, unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, besides the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation; and the gentry call for English cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have (and often too justly by our own faults) that the goodness more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides it has been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen, upon any great demand of goods, either at home or from abroad, to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of this foul and foolish proceeding too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one, whereby this poor kingdom has received such a fatal blow, in the only article of trade allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of Wood's project could outdo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain: but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the northern weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent persons that, if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishments were to be inflicted on numbers of men, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of traitors and enemies to God and their country; who, for the prospect of a little present gain, do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an example to the rest and a blessing to the nation), but sell their souls to hell and their country to destruction. And if the plague could have been confined only to those who were partakers in the guilt, had it travelled hither from Marseilles, those wretches would have died with less title to pity than a highwayman going to the gallows.

But it happens very unluckily that, for some time past, all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the public service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to my knowledge, has been the style of some persons, whose ancestors (I mean those among them who had any), and themselves, have been flying in princes' faces these fourscore years; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them rather to fly in the face of a kingdom which has given them wings to enable them for such a flight.

Thus about four years ago, when a discourse was published endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the king, and without the least party hint, it was termed "flying in the king's face;" the printer was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope it will somewhere be remembered further, the jury kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a special verdict, the judge on the bench invoking God for his witness when he asserted "that the author's design was to bring in the pretender."

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent

the ruin of my country by the admission of Wood's coin were called by the same persons "flying in the king's face," which I directly deny; for I cannot allow that vile representation of the royal countenance in William Wood's adulterate copper to be his sacred majesty's face; or, if it were, my flying was not against the impression, but the baseness of the metal; because I well remembered that the image which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship it, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry we have so few royal images of that metal among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our veneration for his majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much enliven it with the mixture of comfort and satisfaction.

Alexander the Great would suffer no statuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in stone or metal. How must he have treated such an operator as Wood, who goes about with sacksful of dross, odiously misrepresenting his prince's countenance; and would force them by thousands upon every one of us, at about six times the value!

But notwithstanding all that has been objected by William Wood himself, together with his favourers, abettors, supporters, either public or private; by those who connive at this project, or discountenance his opposers, for fear of lessening their favour or hazarding their employments; by those who endeavour to damp the spirit of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as, by their writings or discourses, do all they can to keep it up; by those softeners, sweeteners, compounders, and expedient-mongers, who shake their heads so strongly that we can hear their pockets jingle; I did never imagine that, in detecting the practices of such enemies to the kingdom, I was flying in the king's face; or thought they were better representers of his majesty than that very coin for which they are secret or open advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those wishes of the nation which may be in our power to attain, I think they might be summed up in these few following.

1st. That an end might be put to our apprehensions of Wood's halfpence, and to any danger of the like destructive scheme for the future.

2dly. That halfpence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint, with due limitations.

3dly. That the sense of both houses of parliament, at least of the house of commons, were declared, by some unanimous and hearty votes, against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing Indian silks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation, because we are under a greater necessity to do so, since we are not allowed to export any woollen manufactures of our own, which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

4thly. That some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives, in all those parts of this kingdom where the Irish abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the least spirit of a projector, I would engage that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge.

5thly. That due encouragement should be given to agriculture; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance, whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

6thly. That the defects in those acts for planting forest-trees might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual, except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen; and even there, in general, very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither has there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity, for want of skill and industry. The neglect of copsing woods cut down hath likewise been of very ill consequence. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of cutting down their own woods before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For I believe there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country, either in shipping or building.

I may add that absurd practice of cutting turf without any regularity, whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the turf more difficult to come at and carry home, and less fit for burning; the air made unwholesome by stagnating pools and marshes; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed of cutting scraws, (as they call them,) which is flaying off the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and sometimes in low ground, within a thin greensward, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful countrymen that by these two practices in turf and scraws the kingdom loses some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year, besides the irreparable loss of many skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for turf; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their turf home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These and some other speculations of the like kind I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of parliament; because in some periods of my life I had opportunity and curiosity to observe from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all possible means to avoid. And for the same reason I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But as to the lands of those who are perpetual absentees, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants sat at easy rents; but for some years past they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of merciless agents from England than even those who hold under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place by a great number of credible people that a prodigious estate in the county of Cork being let upon leases for lives and great fines paid, the rent was so high that the tenants begged leave to surrender their leases, and were content to lose their fines.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly a subject worthy of the highest inquiry in any country, but especially in ours, where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade that can be of advantage to us, and utterly deprived of those which are of the greatest importance; whereof I defy the most learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world; for we are denied the benefit which God and nature intended to us, as manifestly

appears by our happy situation for commerce, and the great number of our excellent ports. So that I think little is left us besides the cultivating of our own soil, encouraging agriculture, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the necessity of sending for corn and bark from England, and timber from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in England, "That few politicians, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a commonwealth as an honest farmer; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, has increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land, and thereby done a perpetual service to his country;" which it is a great controversy whether any of the former ever did since the creation of the world, but no controversy at all that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

WOOD REVIVED,

OF A SHORT DEFENCE OF HIS PROCEEDINGS IN LONDON, BRISTOL, ETC., IN REFERENCE TO THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

A SHORT DEFENCE OF WOOD'S CONDUCT.

GENTLEMEN,—The chief reason why, in the late controversy between my brass and your silver, I was so long silent is this: When my patent was on foot, and all my barrels ready charged, waiting only for the word of command, if I should have offered anything in my own defence for such an unusual attack, you would justly have thought it a political stratagem, since my private interest was so principally concerned; but that fear (to my sorrow) being now blown over, my patent being on its last legs, as plain Will Wood, brazier, I offer this to your consideration. About five years ago my thoughts were as humble as any one of my vocation, till my wife, thinking my name something ominous, out of natural affection to her dear husband, would needs persuade me to get above the reach of her suspicion, often telling me she knew not what might happen, but what could she or young Sapharia my child do in case I should die a violent death. This, sirs, you must confess, was a very moving argument; so that by her continual persuasions, the frequent admonitions of three or four Irish runagate rogues, who were copartners, and my own natural aversion to standing timber and its appurtenances, I at last consented to put in a claim for my patent, thinking by that means to free myself from such an unfortunate destiny (which more than once threatened me and my companions). Now I think these reasons were very sufficient, and I am as certain that even the disinterested drapier himself would have accepted of a lordship, and been content to be honest on less terms than those that compelled me to be a coiner and made me a rogue. I had no sooner got his patent but my head ran upon politics. My Irish confidants represented your kingdom as a poor, pliable, soft people, in love with imposition; they said that when they were in the kingdom they were the only knaves in it and had all the stings to themselves; and that when they came away they left only poor simple honest men behind them.

Upon hearing of this, gentlemen, I took into my serious consideration the softness of your tempers and the shallowness of your judgments, and after a short debate between my authority and your stupidity, I concluded that the coin prescribed in my patent was too good for you. I thought if I gave you the worth of your money, or anything beyond the worst trash a brazier could prepare, I should in my conscience be guilty of a great extravagance, since my honesty would be lost upon you; for I was assured there was not one among you knew the difference, or could tell when you were well used. I could not believe your mechanics were men of speculation, or that your drapiers pretended to law and letters, and so I coined on, and, to say the truth, mended by experience; for the last parcel I coined were of just the same value I thought your worships deserved, not worth a peck of potatoes. By this you may see how great was my opinion of you. But though your drapier be a very shrewd counsellor for others, I think he is not very wise for himself; for what could he expect by turning a public enemy to what I intended a private design, but to be made a saint, I hope, or a privy councillor? No, for I am humbly of opinion he has not gold enough for either. Then what wonderful prospects, consistent with his great wisdom, could excite so unprofitable a passion? Why, certainly, either like the dog in the manger, because he expected no advantage he would suffer nobody to get any; or else, because I coined nothing but brass, he thought I could command neither silver nor gold; but if he had been so wise and good-natured as to have directed the copy of his first letter to the people of Ireland, to Will Wood, founder in Bristol, &c., he should never have had occasion for a second, if gold could have salved up the matter. But what has he got by it? Praise! The glorious, immortal, and ever famous drapier has, by dint of pen and ink, most manfully and courageously conquered and put to flight a poor insignificant wretch of a brazier, who, like the frog in the fable, would fain have been an ox, had not this noble protector so valiantly proved him a worm. And for this windy honour he has refused what would give him real honour:—refused money for honour! I don't believe there were ten of his worship's principles among the train of his fraternity. But if every one had been of his opinion I should have stayed at my furnace still. Gold was pretty prevalent, which the drapier and some others of those honourable principles had like to have found to their cost. I must confess I was very unfortunate in my distribution, for I have ruined myself and benefited nothing; my patent and I both, I am afraid, are now going, one to courts, and t'other to gaol. I wish your politician gentleman could now show a little more of his skill in persuading the gaoler, since, if I go, 'tis certainly he sends me. I am now, gentlemen, in a very poor melancholy condition. I think with a great deal of grief on my wife's suspicious words; I even doubt myself, nay, imagination has carried me so far (since that fatal news of my patent's being laid before the council) that I have often believed myself at the gallows, with the knot under my ear, ready to be turned off. I look upon my last actions and this wicked patent as the fulfilling of my wife's ominous prophecy,—for what can I otherwise expect if my late behaviour (as I am told it will) should be known? the very thoughts of it bring Tyburn full in my view. Heaven make my wife a liar, and me a false prophet! but how can a man forget it when he knows he deserves it? This wicked drapier has made the people of England themselves consider my honesty; could I purchase a little now, how happy should I be! It is a strange thing a man can't be a cheat but he must give offence to every one. When I was an honest man my next neighbour hardly knew it; nobody then took care to proclaim it; but now I am a rogue the whole world must witness it. My friends, I mean my Irish vagabonds, say I was a fool to believe them, for they told me at first they were knaves, and so I should find them, and really that I might have observed if they had not mentioned a word of it. I would say something in my vindication, but my conscience throws this in my

face, and points out my destiny. However, gentlemen, I leave this to your consideration—would not any man, the drapier and such kind excepted, who was fed up with the same hopes, do as I have done? Would not any man cheat his brother, if he could, to gain so considerably? I expected by this time it would have been at least honourable sir William Wood, baronet, and that my lady wife would have been no longer kitchen-maid. These you must confess, gentlemen, were arguments very prevailing. I did not strive to cheat Ireland for nothing; I had many thousand valuable reasons for what I did; I expected to coin all Munster into halfpence and farthings for my private use; I had the seats in Ireland in my eye ready for purchasing; in short, when all my brass was gone, I thought I should be nothing but gold and silver. But how unluckily are my hopes frustrated!—my patent almost turned to an indictment; my title of knight to that of a rogue; my fine seats to Bristol gaol, and my coach going to parliament to a cart, I am afraid, travelling to Tyburn. While there was water between me and my accusation, I thought myself pretty secure; but when I am arraigned in my own hearing, attacked in my own garrison, what can I expect? The honourable Mr. Shippen (Lord, that I should have the misfortune to deal with honest men!) has emphatically condemned and executed me. He says he hopes to see my patent laid before the house, which is as much as to say, he hopes to see me hanged and gibbeted; for that I shall certainly be if it comes under their inspection. You will perhaps ask why I was a rogue, when it was in my own power to hinder it, and why I did not go according to the rules of my patent, since my safety depended upon it. To this I answer, it was not to oblige Ireland, but myself, that I got this patent. I thought I might easily have slipped in one barrel of mine among ten of yours; I could not believe it was any way dishonest to cheat, so that it was done cunningly; much less did I ever expect to be called to account for it after; for if my money had once been current, you should never have wanted change as long as there were men and mines in England. Others would have thanked me for my kindness; but you strive to reward me with an halter, —a kindness I had much rather see than feel; but if it be ordained, designed, and resolved that I must die by myself, and my patent return from whence it came, I shall proclaim myself a sad example to all unfortunate covetous rogues to shun my destiny, and beware of brass, lest they fall into the same snare, and, if they expect to thrive, never to cheat Ireland, but continually remember, Hibernia, *nemo te impunè lacessit*. But what is a much greater grief to me, I am afraid that my dear friends and correspondents, and other partakers in iniquity, will undergo the same punishment; for though their names do not much resemble the gallows, their faces are shrewdly suspicious, and mostly carry violent signs and tokens. It has been my misfortune to determine whether roguery is an innate principle in me, or one infused by their inflicting example. What Mr. Shippen has said of lord Stafford and lord Essex has so touched me that the effects have left me in a dismal condition. Not that I fear! nor should my friends fear an axe; for I believe and am partly assured that, since our crimes and confidence have been mutual, we shall all certainly be rewarded alike, and de—pend on my namesake. Now, gentlemen, I shall conclude this paper with as much sincerity as if I was already at the highest step of the ladder, God knows how soon that may come, and so I will speak truth. My blessings to the drapier, for, though he has ruined me, if I survive I shall return the acknowledgment, and so conclude, gentlemen, your unfortunately disappointed and humble servant,

WILLIAM WOOD.

The true State of the Case between the kingdom of Ireland of the one part, and Mr. William Wood of the other part. By a Protestant of Ireland.

THE said William Wood obtains letters-patent under the seal of Great Britain for the kingdom of Ireland, to coin halfpence for the use of such persons there as should be willing to take them. These letters-patent were procured without consulting either the lord-lieutenant, lords-justices, or privy-council of Ireland, or any other proper method taken (as in all cases of importance is most reasonable, and has so been used) rightly to inform his majesty whether the coining such halfpence and farthings would be for his majesty's service, or the benefit of his subjects of that kingdom where they were intended to be made current. When a patent of this sort is granted to any private undertaker, it is highly reasonable, and accordingly (as I am informed) has always so been practised, that he should give good and sufficient security at all times to indemnify all such persons as take his coin at the current value. Whether any such security has been given by William Wood I know not; but suppose it to be so, yet, since he and his security are both in Great Britain, how is it possible for us here in Ireland to tender his halfpence to him when at any time we would have them exchanged, or to get remedy against him and his security in case they refuse to change them? By virtue of these letters-patent, the said Mr. Wood sets up his said coinage in Great Britain. And if at that distance he should coin double the quantity of copper which he was allowed to do, and import the same into Ireland, it would be morally impossible for the people of Ireland to detect him; or in case they should detect him, yet it does not appear how they could well come by any remedy or reparation for the great loss which they must undoubtedly sustain thereby. If the said William Wood should coin no more than 360 tons of the best copper which he has yet made use of, and in all other things should exactly keep to the rule prescribed to him by his said letters-patent; the halfpence and farthings arising out of that quantity of copper are computed to amount to 90,000*l.*; whereas the value of the copper itself is computed to amount to no more than 36,000*l.* If therefore the kingdom of Ireland should receive just that quantity of halfpence and farthings, and according to the weight directed by the said letters-patent, the loss upon the balance would be no less than 54,000*l.* But a very great number of his halfpence being found to be much below the weight prescribed by the letters-patent, and there being no effectual way that we know to hinder him from coining as many more of the same lightness as he pleases, and sending whatever quantity of them he has a mind to into this kingdom, the consequence must be that it will be in his power to double and redouble the loss upon us, until he has reduced the kingdom to the utmost poverty. About five or six and forty years bygone there were certain brass tokens current in the city of Dublin, commonly called the butcher's halfpence, for the exchanging of which the undertaker who coined them had given sufficient security to the lord mayor and corporation. This same undertaker privately counterfeited his own halfpence, insomuch that for one of the original stamp ten or more counterfeits were going, which when some person brought to him to be exchanged, he alleged that he was not bound to change them, because they were counterfeits; and having so cunningly carried on the matter as that the cheat could not easily be proved against him; nor would any one man upon account of the loss of (it may be) 40 or 50*s.* undertake the lawsuit; the people never had any satisfaction that I can hear of, although the whole city taken together were among them all losers of perhaps little less than 1000*l.* or thereby. Whether the like fraud may be charged

on Mr. Wood, I cannot positively say; but certain it is that some halfpence (and some casks of them I am told), of a stamp somewhat different from the first which he put out and of less weight, were brought into Ireland, with which when he was charged, I am informed that he declared that all those halfpence which did not exactly agree with the original stamp were counterfeits, for which he was not obliged to answer; and who shall secure the kingdom against such a cheat, in case that Mr. Wood or any other person shall counterfeit his halfpence, and send casks of them over hither, which may easily be vended before the fraud be discovered? If these new halfpence and farthings should ever be suffered to become current, the factors for them would made no difficulty of giving large allowance to all who would give gold, silver, or valuable commodities for them. Of this I say they would make no difficulty, partly because it would be the only way speedily and easily to bring a very great quantity of them into the kingdom; and partly because it would be in their own power, by coining more and more of them (wherein I see not how we could restrain or control them), to repair to themselves whatever seeming loss they may be supposed to sustain by the discount; and the present gain by this allowance would make many here so greedy of them as to strive who should first get and vend them before their value should fall; so that in a short time the nation would probably be glutted with them, and they would unavoidably become a very great burden and clog upon all sorts of trade and business, as shall presently be shown. If one twentieth part of circulating cash of a country be in halfpence and farthings, it will be very sufficient for exchange in all the retailing trade; and if the retailing value of so much small money be somewhat below what it passes for, the inconvenience will not be great, because being in no great quantity it keeps in constant motion, and quickly passes from hand to hand, so that no man will be supposed to have more of it at a time than what he has almost present occasion to pass away, or may easily put into the hands of another who may have such occasion for it. But if a tenth, or much more if a fifth or fourth part, of the nation's cash be in such sort of money, and the real value thereof not above one third (or thereabout) of what it is made to be current for, the damage to the people must thereby be very great. A fifth part is four twentieths; one of those twentieths is abundantly sufficient in very small sums to answer all the necessities of the retailing trade, which is the proper and only profitable use of such sort of small money; and where greater sums are to be paid every man, as much as he can, will avoid taking such coin as is far short of the real value for which it is made to go, so that the other three twentieths must either lie dead upon the hands of those who have taken them, or at least circulate at great disadvantage, as we shall see by and by. Since then the whole circulating cash of Ireland has never been computed at more than 500,000*l.* (and by many is reckoned to be much short of that), and we have already in the kingdom at least 20,000*l.* in halfpence (which was the sum allowed by the last patent to be coined; nor is it improbable that the patentee exceeds rather than comes short of what he was allowed to do), and since this stock of halfpence which we thus have is by experience found to be abundantly sufficient for all the uses of such sort of money, so that we want no more of it, except perhaps a few farthings for the sake of the most minute part of the retailing trade and the poorest of the people, I may well leave it to the consideration of every sober man what a sad condition this poor kingdom will soon be reduced to, in case that not only Mr. Wood's halfpence to the quantity (for I cannot say the *value*) of 90,000*l.* should be made current amongst us, but also he should happen to pour in double that sum upon us, from the doing of which we have no way to hinder him in case that for the sake of gain he should be tempted to do so; it being notorious that the very best of his halfpence are not in real value above two-fifths, and the bulk of them not above one-third at most, of what they are intended to pass for.

When a base sort of coin, in a much greater quantity than what is necessary for exchange in the retailing trade, is made current in a country, it in a little time naturally sinks from its current value, which it only retains in name, to its real and intrinsic value. Thus the late king James's brass money sunk every day more and more in its value, though the name of each piece was still the same, until at last one of his shillings, though still called a shilling, would not purchase above the worth of an halfpenny, even in that part of the kingdom which was under his power; and if so great an inundation of Mr. Wood's halfpence, as I have but now mentioned, should break in upon us, the consequence in as little a time would be, that for three shillings in those halfpence, more could not be bought than for one shilling in silver. I do not indeed find by Mr. Wood's patent that a man would be bound to receive his debts, or a landlord his rents, in these halfpence, in case they should become current, but yet from their currency these evil effects must unavoidably arise: First, The poor labourer would always be paid his wages, and the alewife for her drink, in these halfpence. Secondly, From hence it must follow that almost all the king's hearth-money and excise would be paid in the same coin; and if the halfpence are allowed to become current by royal authority, I see not how they can be refused by the officers of his majesty's revenue, especially when those who pay the greatest part of these two branches of it have no other money wherewith to make their payments. Thirdly, It is most probable that a great part of his majesty's customs, quit-rents, &c., and the postages of all letters, would also be paid in this sort of money; and that, for that very purpose, men would buy it up at a low rate, as they used to do the late king James's brass coin. Fourthly, That all the private men in the army (to say nothing of officers civil and military) would be forced to receive their pay in the same; for what other way would the king have to dispose of the vast quantity of halfpence which unavoidably must come into his treasury; and if the poor soldier can get no more for his shillings in halfpence than what he might for a groat in silver (which unavoidably must be the consequence), how will it be possible for him to subsist? Fifthly, If landlords will not receive their rents, or any considerable part of them, in this sort of money (as we may be sure they will not, except some law, not now in being, be made to compel them), this must break a multitude of tenants, especially of the poorer sort, who will sell their goods in small quantities, for which they will generally receive no other money but halfpence; and if the poor under-tenants are broke, it will not be easy for the head tenants, or even the landlords themselves, who depend upon their rents, long to subsist. Lastly, If more than 500,000*l.* has not room to circulate in Ireland (as is generally computed), and one-fifth part of this, or probably much more, be thus debased, the consequence will be, that at least one-fifth part of our good coin, or perhaps a much greater proportion of it, being not to be employed here, will soon be carried away (and so *toties quoties*) to some other country, which being added to the other evils already mentioned will be a greater diminution to our stock and trade, if not the destruction of both, and consequently a very great lessening of his majesty's revenue.

I will not upon this occasion pretend to insist upon it that the protestants of Ireland may be entitled to some favour from his majesty. It is a satisfaction to

us, that we have all along been faithful to and zealous for his interest, and that of his illustrious house, together with the succession of the crown, as by law established. But what we therein did was our duty, and therefore I shall not plead it as our merit. All I desire is, that we may stand in the common rank of good subjects, to which I hope we have an undoubted title; and when all that I have here said is duly weighed, I may well leave it to the consideration of every sober man, whether it can be for his majesty's service or our benefit that these same halfpence of William Wood should be even connived at being made current amongst us in Ireland.

P.S.—One thing will be worth remarking, which I had like to have forgotten. When the last patent was granted for coining of halfpence here, the sum was confined to 20,000*l.*, and, by the care of the government, I believe was not much exceeded; and yet in a short time the collectors everywhere throughout the kingdom received so great a part of the hearth-money and excise in these halfpence, that, being not able otherwise to dispose of them, they were forced to pay a great quantity of them in specie into the commissioners of the revenue, who often complained of them as a burden. And if this were the case when all the copper money in the kingdom made up little more than 20,000*l.* what must it be when an addition is made not only of 90,000*l.*, which is the express allowance of Mr. Wood's patent, but also of as much more as he shall think fit to send us? For the coinage being at such a distance from us, it is impossible that the government here can have any effectual check upon him.

A LETTER TO WILLIAM WOOD, Esq.,

FROM HIS ONLY FRIEND IN IRELAND.

To William Wood, Esq., at his Copper-Works at Bristol, or elsewhere.

Sir,—I cannot tell why it should be so, but I have made it my constant observation that men of the most profound learning and greatest genius, who by their elaborate study have found out secrets and mysteries that have proved of the greatest advantage to mankind, have thereby gained more enemies than others with the grossest ignorance and vile qualification, which observation I have found summed up in you, who (except one) has not a friend in this whole kingdom; nay, what is worse, they are one and all your enemies. Know then, sir, I am that one who dare own myself your friend, and glory in being your admirer.—Miserable! That such an adept should not be admired among men as the sun, for its glorious rays, is above all the planets. How have our witlings and little snarling scribblers been busy in setting the press at work! But go on, sir, they blacken their paper, and not you. That which many men have destroyed great estates and cracked their brains to find out (I mean the grand secret), and have burnt mountains of charcoal in making menstrua and tinctures to transmute metals into gold, and are still as far from it as the longitude,—you have, without all this cost and trouble, brought to perfection, that out of copper, nay, the basest of copper, can extract pure gold and silver, at above cent. per cent. profit. Monstrous gain! prodigious art! And all this without the art of chemistry, only by greasing and dauhing in a proper place. You shall be styled the High German Artist.

I think, like lower artists on any new invention, you have got a patent only for fourteen years; but then I consider you are loaded with honour, as intrinsically valuable and weighty as your coin. Ay! and you are the phœnix of your order; for I dare swear you are the only tinker esquire in Great Britain. Had you consulted me or any friend, we would have told you that you might have been a peer at a cheaper rate; but no matter for that. As the world goes, he that has money enough has birth and parts and every qualification; so, when you wallow in one, the other will come of course. And then for your preamble, your personal endowment and merits, as well as those of your ancestors, although you were never heard of till now, unless when the parish cess was gathered for nursing of * * *, your name perhaps was read in the list; and you know, sir, names have occasionally been given, some from colour, as White, Brown, &c., others from place, as having been left in a street, lane, field, or wood. But I think you did well to get the honour of an esquire first; for, when you come to have greater conferred, a lord, without being an esquire, will be something like a knight and no gentleman; so I think you have made a prudent step.

Would you, dear sir, but take a trip over hither to browbeat those snarling scribblers who will not dare to open their mouths to your face? I cannot but think, when you go in your gilt chariot to the tavern, to remember your cousin-german, and the rest of your friends and abettors on the other side the water, how you will look down on those sorry invidious railers, who will go sneaking thither with small purses of gold in their pockets, when you will be followed with a train of tumbrils, loaded with your coin, one for every bottle of wine, and a waggon with six horses to pay for the supper. Then you will see the scene change, and the loud acclamations of the people, and the shouts of the mob, who will rejoice to lay their hands on you to present you with a fine cravat, for the good of our linen and hempen manufacture.

But let us for a while lay aside all our joys and thoughts of honour and grandeur, and turn our thoughts a little on answering our sorry politicians who advance such paradoxes to injure you, when envy, only envy, is at the bottom. They cry out the nation will be undone by having too much money imported; and then they would fain draw all his majesty's officers and servants into their quarrel by saying the revenue will be lessened, and then all salaries must be ill paid. Poor politicians! they don't consider what a patriot you are; for you never began this project out of self-interest, but the good of his majesty's dominions in general, and for this country in particular. As for the latter, it will increase trade amongst us in several particulars, and consequently raise the revenue; for we shall have money enough, and we shall all drink wine—that or water—for we shall not have a brewing-pan left. It will advance the coopers' trade, which will be employed in making casks to hold your coin; it will advance house-rent, for every moneyed man, instead of a scriptore, or an iron chest, or strong box, must have a warehouse; it will also employ the poor, for every person must have a man or two to wait on him to carry the common expenses of the day. Then, as to the general good, what a noble alliance will it make! When we drink nought but wine, sure then France will never quarrel with us. You showed your great foresight in making this general friendship; you counterfeited your own coin, not out of any ill design; but, when it was objected to you, you alleged that it was done in Holland. Oh, rare subterfuge! This was your policy to secure them; by giving them a hint what they may do, and what I am sure they will do; and when they can send their trash to a market at so great advantage, I dare swear all that while they will be our humble servants. Then there is Sweden with its copper will truckle to us. I cannot but be pleased to think how we shall put the proud Spaniard, with his Peru and Mexico, out of countenance.

Then, besides all this, I cannot but admire your religious goodness, for I find your aim in reformation

of manners, which in a great measure has taken effect; for, among a great many other societies and bodies that have entered into associations against your coins, our mercenary ladies are resolved not to vend their wares for it. They say they have brass enough already; and if they keep firm to that resolution we must be chaste in our own defence. Then there are your pickpockets, who by diving can fetch up between their fingers as much as, with good management, may keep them some days, but when your coin comes in vogue, a back-burthen of it will hardly fill their belly, and that is more than they daily acquire by their sleight of hand; so they must reform, and take up some other trade. Well, I protest I think you deserve to be highly exalted, and though every man does not get his reward in this world, that is no argument against his deserving it, and every good man ought to wish it. When a poor rogue picks a pocket for want, or robs on the road, we all wish him hanged for it, and sooner or later he gets it. Then what must that villain deserve that, under the colour of law or authority, would plunder a whole nation? I have read in a very good book that formerly there was one Alexander, a coppersmith, who did much harm to a good man, who thought it lawful in his language to pray the Lord to reward him according to his works; and since you, the coppersmith of this age, have wrought such confusion to this nation, we may, from so good a precedent, in plain English, and I hope the papists, who say their prayers in Latin, will join with us in one English prayer, which is, The Lord confound you and all your devices that would ruin our nation! Which is the hearty prayer of,

Dear Will, your real friend, and humble servant,

HIBERNICUS.

A LETTER TO WILLIAM WOOD,

FROM A MEMBER OF THAT SOCIETY OF MEN WHO IN DERISION ARE CALLED QUAKERS.

FRIEND WILLIAM,

I WRITE not these lines to thee from any regard I have to thy person or thy coin, so much as in obedience to some elders, who commanded I should expostulate with thee upon thy great presumption, inasmuch as thou dost still continue obstinately to persist in the evil of thy ways; and for which thou mayest surely expect to receive the reward due unto thy great and manifold devices. Believe me, if it please thee, for verily in my time I remember not to have known a greater numbskull than thou art, even thyself; notwithstanding all the friendly admonitions thou hast received time after time, thou art still soothing thy vanity, in expectation of what I am bold to affirm to thee will never come to pass. Believe me, friend, 'tis not in the power of thee or thine emissaries to compel me to take one single doit of thy filth in part payment for the worst yard of cloth in my warehouse, and I may assure thee the rest of the brethren (some few excepted) are of the same mind as to this particular. So that nothing can prompt thee to such vile wickedness, unless thou hast, to all intents and purposes, delivered thyself up to the workings of the evil spirit, who is like unto a wily adversary that seeketh all methods of plying his engines until he receiveth men into his clutches; and then it is not thy Britannias, nor thy Hibernias, nor thy much more valuable Mammon of unrighteousness (I mean thy gold or thy silver), will extricate thee from the many sorrows thou wilt then be compassed with. And what, I pray thee, will avail thy patents, or thy grants, or thy other honours, which thou hast by thy false insinuations received by the great men of this world, who are not always moved by the spirit to do those things which appertain to our peace, but contrariwise to such as are not meet to be named. It doth not at present concern thy friend to speak to such sort of people, saving than as it falleth in the customs of discourse; so far as it may relate to thyself, and to whom it behoveth not I should prescribe matters convenient to be done, otherwise than such as shall seem meet according to fleshly wisdom and maxims of profane men, who delight marvellously in heaping together worldly dross, that they may (as it is written) consume it on their lusts; and therefore, according to my first motive, I shall lay aside the further consideration of the subject-matter I fell into, and more closely pursue the intention of this epistle, which is writ in all simplicity of mind, to bring thee, if possible, to some sense of thy duty, and the regard thou oughtest to have for the welfare of thy friends in particular and thy neighbours in general.

Wert not thou then the vainest of sots to imagine thy scheme should be successful, without communing with the men who were to be the purchasers of thy coin? Shouldest thou not look before thou'd leap? which would have prevented everybody from calling thee an ignorant ass, destitute of brains, in thinking to surmount such insuperable difficulties, which maketh all people to laugh at thy calamity, as it is owing to thyself; and verily, friend, I cannot better illustrate what I am saying than to tell thee the history of the fox and the goat, who, both being very much a-thirst, went into a well; but when they had drank somewhat plentiful, the matter remained how to come out. The fox proposed to the other; stand thou, saith he, on thy hinder legs upright, even thus, and then it will be easy for me to mount upon thy head and get clear: it seemeth Reynard had nothing in view but his own profit, and, lacking all compassion to his distressed friend, reproaching his simplicity, saying, If thou hadst as much brains in thy skull as beard on thy chops, thou would'st consider in thy going in how thou should come forth again. But this, although it may seem somewhat foreign to the matter in hand, is indeed exactly thy case; and truly I marvel at thy great imprudence in feeding thyself up with hopes of ever accomplishing thy sinister ends, since thou canst not but hear report of friend Jonathan's miraculous performances in three successive operations, wherein he hath given sight unto those which be blind, hearing unto the deaf, and speech unto them which lacketh understanding; and hath also laid open thy foul impostures to such a degree as maketh me astonished at thy gross ignorance and stupidity; insomuch that thy unrighteous gain—the wages of sin—which, should thy project succeed, thou wouldest have appropriated to thine own proper behoof, must in the end prove hurtful to thy future happiness, insomuch as to puzzle thee in great abundance how to adjust thy Flemish account, which thou wilt be obliged to put in the clearest light before thou canst be received in the land of Canaan. 'Tis therefore the reason thy friend concerneth himself so much in thy behalf, not that he would give hinderance to the due execution of thy grant, but fearing lest, the matter being reversed, execution should perchance be done upon thy carcase, that thou mightest on thy namesake, *wood*, expiate thy manifold offences, they being such as maketh men affirm this to be very much a just tribute due from thee for the disturbances thou hast given them in times past.

Therefore let me exhort thee in brotherly charity that thou repent thee of thine abominations, lest peradventure thou art forced unwillingly to go the way of all flesh, inasmuch as thou dwellest among a wicked and untoward generation; which if thou shalt luckily escape, I do verily affirm, even as my soul liveth, thou art not the only man who hath gone off in a whole skin, nevertheless deserving stripes in abundance. But if thou shalt still continue obstinately perverse in thy impious practices, thou mayest surely expect the most severe treatment from such of the elders as thinketh themselves

indispensably obliged to exclude thee their society, and then thy condition will be greatly astonishing when thou wilt be delivered up to the government of the Prince of Darkness, even Beelzebub, to whom thou seemeth to me to bear some sort of resemblance in thy manner of proceeding, both of ye bearing enmity to the children of men. I shall forbear any further admonitions to thee at this time, fearing lest I should tire thy patience. But if aught should offer itself which may chance be material to thy purpose, thou mayest expect still to hear from thy friend, as the spirit shall move. This being all the needful from him who writeth himself in brotherly affection thine,

ABRAHAM WOODHATER.

A FULL AND TRUE ACCOUNT OF THE SOLEMN PROCESSION TO THE GALLOWS, AT THE

EXECUTION OF WILLIAM WOOD,

ESQUIRE AND HARDWAREMAN, 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread that William Wood, hardwareman, was concealed in his brother-in-law's* house here in Dublin, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both sexes, crowded about the door, determinedly bent to take revenge upon him as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Among the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner observed that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and he was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to publish them for the use of those who, at any time hereafter, may be at a loss for proper words wherein to express their good disposition toward the said William Wood.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

Says the *Parliament Man*, *Expel* him from the *house*.
2nd Parliament Man. I second that *motion*.
Cook. I'll *baste* him.
2nd Cook. I'll give him his *bellyful*.
3rd Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops*.
4th Cook. I'll *souse* him.
Drunken Man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.
Bookseller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *light* shine through him.
Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *curry* him.
'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
2nd 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.
Schoolmaster. I'll make him an *example*.
Rabbit-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.
Pavier. I'll *thump* him.
Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.
2nd Miller. *Dam* him.
Boatman. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
Bagnio Man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2nd Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
3rd Whore. *Clap* him up.
Mustard-maker. I'll take him by the *nose*.
Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him*.
Popish priest. I'll *send him* to the devil.
Dancing-master. I'll *teach him better manners*.
2nd Dancing-master. I'll make him cut a *caper* three story high.
Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.
Tailor. I'll sit on his *skirts*.
2nd Tailor. *Hell* is too good for him.
3rd Tailor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.
4th Tailor. I'll make his *a— buttons*.
Basket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.
Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears*.
2nd Fiddler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.
Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.
2nd Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.
3rd Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.
4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.
Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.
Cobbler. I'll make *an end* of him.
Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.
2nd Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoke*.
Goldfinder. I'll make him *stink*.
Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver*
2nd Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.
Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.
2nd Butcher. Let us *blow him up*.
3rd Butcher. My *knife* in him.
Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.
Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the pond.
Ostler. I'll *rub* him *down*.
Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.
Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.
2nd Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his sides.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.
Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.
Old Woman. I'll *mumble* him.
Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at last, the people, having received assurances that William Wood was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigy, whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, esq., represented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper distances, several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck served him for a cravat. His clothes were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with persons in his condition, (which some censorious people imputed to affectation,) for he was covered with a large rug of several colours in patchwork. He was borne on the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's Green he often bowed on both sides to show his respects to the company. His deportment was grave; and his countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning-cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his hand to wipe tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner himself in person, whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder as a badge of his office.

Then followed two persons hand in hand. The one representing William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain saddler his intimate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new halfpence. At

* One Molyneux, an ironmonger.

proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently sent out loud huzzas; which were censured by wiser heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr. Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself with great resignation to the hangman, who was indeed thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him nor asking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Those of the softer sex who attended the ceremony lamented that so comely and well-*timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time, for, upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake, and all sorts of people showed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouse of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the deceased.

While the attendants were discoursing about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up and proposed that the body should be carried out the next day and buried with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution, which would prevent the malice of his enemies and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning there appeared a second procession. But burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corpse was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred, which occasions many speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses that there does not appear to be the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance, nor visible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty I shall leave among naturalists.

WOOD'S CONFESSION

TO THE MOB OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

GENTLEMEN,

As justice manifestly proves the mainspring on which men endowed with the most noble faculties generally move, so it exerts itself as the most rigid antagonist to human nature when once violated, even in the most minute respect.

I, William Wood, whose chief inclinations were to leave you in a wood, am sufficiently convinced that I have in a great respect incurred your displeasure by aiming at your ruin, at the levelling of so noble a country even to the ground, the inhabitants whereof never prejudiced me nor mine. With an aspect veiled over with gloomy confusion, and a conscience agitated by the greatest remorse, I am convinced that I have merited, and am liable to suffer, this punishment which the laws of a just and a most wronged country have deemed convenient to be inflicted on me.

In the first respect, I have most vilely abused a gift conferred on me by so good a protector and so gracious a king; and in the next place, proposed to build my fortune on the ruined foundations of an innocent kingdom. Yet I hope that my damnable inclinations may not survive me, or my degeneracy from my indigent yet honest ancestors remain an aspersion to my innocent posterity.

My parents' fortune proving insufficient, and my faculties somewhat incapable, they endeavoured (and to be sure with no small expense) to procure me an employment whereby I might enjoy an honest living, and prove a credit both to them and myself.

At the expiration of my apprenticeship, being by an indenture bound to a brazier, they endeavoured by degrees to purchase for me instruments, and by my own sedulity I endeavoured to increase them. But setting up for myself in a short time, I came into tolerable good acquaintance and good business, and at length obtained a patent from our most gracious king George, by the interest of others, for the coining of halfpence and farthings for the use of one of his majesty's dominions called Ireland.

But I, like a grand juror, a designing knave, and perfidious villain (which humble confession, with my life, I am apt to think are sufficient to make a restitution for my frustrated stratagem), applied my gift to a wrong use.

Therefore as it hath been my misfortune to trace the paths of unhappiness, pity my disconsolate condition. Reproach me not hereafter so vilely as ye have done me heretofore, but let your rebukes be mitigated with the sweets of lenity, and say, as it was told to Alexander the coppersmith,—I have done you much wrong, for which I pray that I may be indulged at the great bar of my offended Creator.

You'll see, gentlemen of the mob, that in a little time I hope to find out some way or other to make you all satisfaction for the great care that you have taken of me. Some of you have made a good hand by me already, and will make more in a short time; but I assure you that you shall not have one halfpenny or farthing of my money into your country, for I will find some other place for them.

Sure this will quell your loud acclamations against me, and prevent any further mobs.

For the performance of the above I give under my hand,

WILL. WOOD.

THE DRAPIER'S LETTER

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF IRELAND. 1745.

In the year 1745 lord Chesterfield arrived as lord-lieutenant in Ireland. Swift was then in a state of imbecility, and soon after died. The following paper was published under so popular a name, to divert the Irish from the schemes of the Jacobites

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

IT is now some considerable time since I troubled you with my advice; and as I am growing old and infirm, I was in good hopes to have been quietly laid in my grave before any occasion offered of addressing you again; but my affection for you, which does not decay though my poor body does, obliges me once more to put you in mind of your true interests, that you may

not unwarily run yourselves into danger and distress for want of understanding or seriously considering it.

I have many reasons to believe that there are not few among you who secretly rejoice at the rebellion which is now raised in Scotland, and perhaps conceive hopes of some alteration for the better in their circumstances and condition if it should succeed. It is those mistaken people whom I design to talk to in this letter, and I desire no more of them than to give me a fair hearing, examining coolly with themselves whether what I shall say be true.

It is no objection to my speaking to them that they are generally papists I do not know how other people are disposed; but for my part, I hate no man for his religion; I look upon a papist as my countryman and neighbour, though I happen myself to be a protestant. And if I know what advice is good for him, I can see no reason why I should not give it him, or why he should not take it.

A papist has sense, I suppose, like other men, to see his interest and advantage, and the same natural desire to embrace it where he finds it; and if I can show him where it lies, he will not, I believe, kick it from him, barely to spite me as a protestant.

I have nothing to say to the popish gentry of this kingdom. They would hardly take such a plain man's advice; and besides, they have so many ways of coming off safe themselves, though the poor people were undone, that I need not be concerned for them.

My care is for the common people—the labourers, farmers, artificers, and tradesmen of this nation; who are in danger of being deluded by their betters, and made tools of to serve their purposes, without any advantage to themselves. It is possible that, among the lords and squires, one perhaps of a hundred would get something by a change. Places and employments will be promised them, no doubt; and a few of those promises, perhaps, the French and Scotch friends of the pretender might give him leave to keep. But what are the poorer sort the better all this while? Will the labourer get one farthing a-day more? Will the farmer's rent be lowered? Will the artificer be more employed, or better paid? Will the tradesman get more customers, or have fewer scores upon his books?

I have been bred in a careful way of life, and never ventured upon any project without consulting my pillow first how much I should be a gainer in the upshot. I wish my good countrymen would do so too, and, before they grow fond of change, ask themselves this sober question, Whether it would better their condition if it were really brought about? If it would not, to what purpose do we wish it? If the poor labourer, when all is over, is to be a labourer still, and earn his groat a-day as hardly as he did before, I cannot find why he should think it worth his while to venture a leg or an arm, and the gallows too into the bargain, to be just where he set out. If he must dig and delve when the pretender is settled on the throne, he had as good stick to it now, for any difference I can see.

I believe my countrymen are not so mad as to imagine the pretender can, or will, give every one of them estates; and I am sure, if he does not, they can be only where they were. If a farmer must pay his rent, I see no reason that he should be much concerned whether he pays it to one man or to another. His popish landlord will, I suppose, demand it as soon and as strictly as a protestant; and if he does not pay it, pound his cattle, or distrain his goods, as readily at least.

I have not observed that tenants to popish landlords wear tighter clothes, ride better cattle, or spend more money at markets and fairs, than the tenants on protestants' estates; therefore I cannot believe they are better used. On the contrary, I know from long experience that there is more money taken in my shop from the latter than the former; and therefore I suppose that, generally speaking, they are in better circumstances. I could wish all of them had better bargains; but since they will not be mended by the best successes that their own hearts could wish to the pretender, they may as well be quiet, and make the best of such as they have already.

There is not a more foolish trade than fighting for nothing; and I hope my good countrymen will be too wise to be persuaded into it. Fine speeches and fair promises will not be wanting to delude them; but let them remember the warning I now give them, that, when all is over, the very best that can befall them is to have their labour for their pains.

I doubt not but you are told "that you will all be made;" and I do not expect that you should take my word to the contrary. I desire only that you would trust the understanding God has given you, and not be fooled out of your senses. Will the manufacturer be made by an entire stop to business? or the tradesman by being obliged to shut up shop? And yet you all must know that in a civil war no work can be carried on, nor any trade go forward. I hope you are not yet so stupid as to think that people will build houses, buy rich furniture, or make up fine clothes, when we are altogether by the ears, and nobody can tell to whose share they will fall at last: and if there be no buyers, you can have no employers. Merchants will not stock themselves with goods when there is no demand for them, to have their shops rifled and their storehouses broken open and plundered by one side or the other.

Indeed, my good friends and countrymen, let designing people say what they please, you will all be ruined in the struggle, let it end which way it will; and it well deserves your thoughts, whether it is worth your while to beggar yourselves and families that the man's name upon the throne may be James instead of George. You will probably see neither of them while you live, nor be one penny the richer for the one or for the other; and, if you take my advice, you will accordingly not trouble your heads about them.

You may think it a fine thing, when you get drunk over your ale, to throw up your caps and cry, "Long live king James!" but it would be a wiser thing to think how you will live yourselves after you are beggared in his cause. Will he make good your losses? pay one man for the plundering of his warehouse, and another for the rifling of his shop? Will he give you money, think ye, to release your own and your wives' clothes, which you must pawn for bread, because no work is stirring? Will he buy new looms and tackle for you, because yours have been burnt and destroyed? If you fancy so, you are strangely imposed upon indeed. He will have other things to do with his money; or, if he had any to spare, there will be hungry Frenchmen enough about him to snap it up before it comes to you.

I will not say anything to you about the dangers you must run in the course of a civil war, though they are very dreadful and more horrid than you can possibly imagine, because I cannot think that there is any need of it. I have shown you very plainly that if you should be deluded to take arms, you fight for less than nothing, for the undoing of yourselves and families; and if this argument will not prevail upon you to be quiet, I can only pray for you that God will be pleased to restore you to the right use of your understanding.

I am your old and faithful friend,

THE DRAPIER.

A TRIPOS,

OR SPEECH, DELIVERED AT A COMMENCEMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN,

Held there, July 11, 1688,

BY MR. JOHN JONES,

THEN A.B., AFTERWARDS D.D.

The researches of Dr. Barrett have thrown light upon most of the persons satirized in the following Tripos: besides which, we are indebted to his essay on the earlier part of the Life of Swift for the following general information:—

"At the commencement, in July 1688, when this Tripos was pronounced, I find that the under-named persons took the following degrees; to all of whom allusions are made in it:

"Mr. William King, (afterwards archbishop of Dublin,) B.D. and D.D.; Mr. Charles Gwithers, M.D.; and Jeremy Marsh, Alexander Jephson, Thomas Cox, Richard Barry, William Tirrell, Allen Maddison, William Warren, Jo. Travers, &c., were admitted to the degree of A.M.

"Jephson was afterwards a clergyman, and had the school of Camberwell. He and Gwithers, and several others, were censured on various occasions by the board, as was also Nich. Knight, whose name occurs in this Tripos. At the same time appear on the books of the buttery, among the resident doctors and masters, the names of Dr. Foy, (who had been a senior fellow, but, like Foley, had resigned,) Dr. Gwithers, Mr. Napper, Mr. Jephson, Mr. Cox, Mr. Terrill, and Mr. Delauny. The other names occurring in the Tripos are all names of persons who had been students in the college, but at that time some of them had left it. We also may find some of the names occurring in King's State of the Protestants, such as that of dean Glandee, a person of abilities, but whose character has been reproached with the imputation of immorality."

ACT I.

Occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

Your *probabo, probabo*, is as dull as a Trinity-Sunday sermon.

Dii boni, quas novas aves hic video! Tot habemus barbaros ignoramos et foppos: tot doctores indoctos, rummos academicos, cives aldermanicos, rusticos personas, and so many pretty, pretty little rogues, that should I speak Latin, I should banter ten parts of the company. Wherefore, for the sake of the ladies, bullies, the Rums, and fellow-commoners, I'll order it (as I know you all would have it) that the English be ten to one against the Roman.

Lenite clamorem, till I show these gentlemen the civilities of the house.

Non temere decet quidem ut salutemus libenter. Salvete igitur quotquot reverenda vel ridicula, docta vel rummosa capita; sed imprimis salvus sit Doctor Acton, (ut inquit Erasmus) Athleticè: superannuati omnes salvi sint pancraticè: et, si qui adsint cornuti, quod verisimile est, valeant tauricè; deinde si quis adsit medicus immedicabilis, qui skulkat subter id mantica, quod in tergo est, docto in cujus capite Æsculapius viget, sed in ossibus dominatus astronomiæ et effeto corpore totus inhæret Galenus et Hippocrates, si possibile sit, inquam, valeat ille; sed præ cæteris clericum istum clericorum salvere jubeo, who preaches in an oven, and is of the same name and heraldry with an eminent blind cobbler, who, when the kingdom was all out of the stitches, vamped himself a colonel: if his gravity be here, I salute him for seven several reasons.

First, Because he drinks and goes to the bog-house for fourteen reasons; but cannot give one for selling his organs to a mass-house.

Secondly, Because (according to his own phrase) he preaches by the London standard, which never lessened, as I know of, but thrice, and then Stillingfleet and Tillotson themselves were not one jot better or worse, unless we say with the poet,

Sed malè dum recitas, incipit esse tuus.

Thirdly, Because, when he came from England, he wore as much silk for a doublet as made his sister (joy be with her, as he said) a manteau and petticoat. Quere, Whether then Mr. Parson wore the breastplate of righteousness? It is plain he did, and that his intentions were honourable, for the next Sunday following he preached,—Give Cæsar his due. It is ill-nature, then, in Bunbury's wife's husband to revile him for this; and, to speak in the phrase of a pretty little senior fellow, There's no Jew but would be more gentle.

Fourthly, Because he consecrates as much water at once as makes Christians for a month.

Fifthly, Because he invited to his sister's funeral none but (as he was pleased to call them) the cream of the parish, *viz.*, those that kept coaches. Now himself upon himself; his conclusion in such a case will be thus, That all the curds and cream in the parish tour it in coaches, while the poor skim-milk and bonny-clobber trudge a-foot. I wonder Mr. Leeson, with his cream of theology, is not his parishioner. There is a mess for the freshmen. But,

Sixthly, Because he lives by the canon, and yet corrects the Rubrick.

Seventhly, and lastly, Because he made himself a large and ponderous night-cap, after the exact model of his church; and this he did for two reasons:—

1st. To show that no noddle in the diocese could bear such a weight as his. 2ndly, To cure a distemper which, to the grief of his congregation, has troubled his brains these many years. Sed ad rem.

Salvus sit ille inter socios juniores cum pede brevi et naso rhinocerotis, who by his own sermon of angles and triangles has thrice shown his smattering in the mathematics. Valeat etiam Doctor ille Civilis, sed Polygamister, edentulus sed Polyglottus; qui adeo plenus est literis, ut in ipsa facie omnes linguarum characteres graphicè scribuntur: frustra igitur, reverende doctor, susurrant invidi, te jam senio confectum orientales linguas non callere, cum revera index tui animi sit vultus. Sed etiam atque etiam salvus sit purpuratus nos grandiloquus, cui dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui:—

Quem quoad faciem et linguam vocamus Ulyssem:
Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses.—
No Tartar is more fair, no Athenian better hung,
Sol varnish'd o'er his face, and Mercury his tongue.—

Quoad altitudinem salutemus Ajacem, quod gracilitatem Tithonem, quoad caput versatile Priamum paralyticum, quod pedes Achillem, quoad crura denique, Colossum.

Sponte suâ properant, labor est inhibere volentes.
Anglicè,
With awkward gown tuck'd up, he scow'rs along,
And at each stride measures a parasang.

Inter cæteros, peculiari dignus est salutatione bellus quidam homunculus; I do not mean Mr. Brady's pretty little man, but the neat, spruce, dapper, finical, nice spark, who'd rather sing and dance in his chamber than bowl without an umbrella: who constantly carries as many patch-boxes in his pocket as would beautify our beadle, as many several sorts of snuff as would furnish major-general Maccarty and colonel Dempsy for a year, and as much essence as would perfume sir Stampe's chamber; as many comfits as would sweeten Mr. Travers's hacksters, together with as many jewels as would make sir Jephson a gentleman, or buy Mr. Delauny a coat of arms. Besides, he has such a veneration for the fair sex, that he would not presume to visit a lady in a shirt he had worn a day, but by way of apology sent her this billet-doux:—

I'gad, madam, I beg your pardon ten thousand times for not paying my devoir to your ladyship to-day: of which transcendent happiness nothing under the planets could have deprived me but the damned disappointment of my sempstress; by whose neglect I have at present but seven day-shirts, by which means I am unprovided with linen, and so rendered utterly incapable of attending your ladyship now; but as soon as my dress is agreeable, I fly with the wings of duty and obe-

dience to implore your ladyship's mercy for my unfortunate absence, and will ever watch at all opportunities of manifesting myself,

Madam, your ladyship's most humble and devoted slave, to the stars or centre,

TOMMY WEAVER.

O curas hominum, O quantum est in rebus inane.

Ipsissimum hunc homuncionem hoc in epigrammate notat Martialis:

Cotile, bellus homo es, &c.

Anglicè,

There's scarce a well-dress'd coxcomb but will own
Tummy's the prettiest spark about the town:
This all the tribe of fringe and feather say,
Because he nicely moves by algebra;
And does with method tie his cravat-string,
Takes snuff with art, and shows his sparkling ring;
Can set his fore-top, manage well his wig,
Can act a proverb, and can dance a jig;
Does sing French songs; can rhyme, and furnish chat
To inquisitive Miss, from Letter or Gazette:
Knows the affair of cockpit and the race,
And who were conquerors at either place;
If Crop or Trotter took the prize away,
And who a fortune gain'd the other day.
He swings fring'd gloves, sees plays, writes billets doux,
Fill'd up with beauty, love, oaths, lies, and vows;
Does scent his eyebrows, perfum'd comfits eat,
And smells like phœnix' nest, or civet-cat;
Does shave with pumice-stone, compose his face,
And rolls his stockings by a looking-glass.
Accomplish'd thus, Tummy you'll grant, I hope,
A pretty spark at least, if not a fop.

Finitâ salutatione (more Erasmiano) paucis vobiscum confabulandum est. Sed uti solet graculus ille Maddison, mihi cordi est totum occupare sermonem; I'll take all the chat to myself.

In familiaritatem me nuper exceperunt virtuosi (hominum genus in minimis non minimùm laborans), et mihi quædam naturæ non vulgaria nota fecere; quæ humanitatis ergo, et publicæ salutis gratiâ, in lucem jam profero.

First, Mr. Allen's infallible cure for the maw-worms:

R. Poti fortis ab hatcho quartum unum; rowlorum, sive brownorum sive alborum, ad minimum tres; his addatur butyri culinaris quantum valet duos denarios, cum bunsho radishorum vel watergrassi; deinde stomachi equini quantum sufficit. Hæc omnia horâ octavâ antemeridianâ quotidie devorentur, et certè vix ad prandium usque latrabit stomachus.

Secondly, Dr. Molyneux,[a] his rare discovery of part of the meat's sudden digestion and corruption in the mouth, thus:—

R. Pinqnis caponis leggum unum et wingum, tosti shouldro-motontis et carnis bovinæ unâ slizum unum vel alterum; anseris juvenilis cum sauso goosberiano modicum quid; panis domestici lunsheum moderatum; vini rubri et poti minoris pocula bina vel tria; et, quod instar omnium est, fœtidissimi spiritus quantum sufficit: compressu oris fiat bolus, et proculdubio inter hiatus dentium et super gingivas tam statim fœtida fiat concoctio; quod primus omnium mortalium, si modo credibile sit, ingenuus notavit ille medicus.

Thirdly, the college butler's admirable invention of selling a mixture of ale and mum for ninepence per quart; and his water bewitched, *viz.*, small beer and water, for a penny a bottle; likewise his elixir bonæ famæ, or cure for his first fault. The experiment of the liquids is wrought by the help of a trap-door at midnight.

The elixir is made thus:—

R. Vini rubri flaskum duplex, Canarii, sive vini Hispanici, amphoram unam, vel alteram; academici et grubbinorum tolemanni quantum sufficit: deferantur ad cameram Juniioris Decani, quo participante ingurgitentur omnia post nocturnum catalogum.

[a] Dr. Thomas Molyneux, the younger brother of William Molyneux, the correspondent of Mr. Locke, commenced M. D. July, 1687.

If this will not work the effect alone, I refer you to his wonderful sympathetic prescription, which is thus:—

R. The tongue of Mother Jenkinson, *alias* Madam University, which will soothe the affections of the head of the society. This being done, let the patient dine thrice a-week on a national dish; and if this fail, 'tis an odd thing, nam probatum est.

Moreover, I recommend to you,

Dean Manby's and archdeacon Baynard's ointment for a warping conscience.

Mr. Oliver Talent's[a] prescription for the worms in the noddle.

Sir Conolly's new Treatise of Armory, entitled Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.

Madam Dicky Barry's ingenious machine for putting on finical bands.

Mr. Scrogg's composition of puns.

Mr. Griffith's approved-of opium matutinum, for soaking.

Mr. Downes's excellent potio coffiana, for expelling soporiferous humours.

Priscianus vulneratus, aliàs, methodus credendi Articulos, by the Rev. Dr. King.

Doctor Nappier's[b] Elegy on a broken Bellarmine of Ale, entitled, Amphora non meruit tam pretiosa mori.

An excellent engine for working embroidery, by my very good lord Charlemont.

Likewise his lordship's Praxis Arithmetica, showing that 24 and 24 make 48; this, as simple as it seems to be, cost the honourable lord some pains, and his lady some blushes.

An infallible unguent for the spleen in the toe, by the rev. Dr. Foy.

And, lastly, Mr. Smith's Art of Compliance, proving humility to be the practice of the age, and showing how the college butler may be the dear companion of the junior dean. For all which I refer you to the respective authors, except the last, which Mr. Smith proves syllogistically thus:—

Moris est humilitas, ergo
Junior Decanus et Promus Senior
possint esse magni.

Probo antecedens.

Si generosus marmorizat cum puero,
Anglicè, Plays marbles with his boy,
Tunc moris est humilitas.

Sed generosus marmorizat cum puero. Ergo, &c.

Probo minorem instantiam.

Magister Sayers marmorizat cum puero,
Sed magister Sayers est generosus. Ergo, &c.

Probo aliter.

Si doctissimus, altissimus, necnon longè notissimus Doctor in Universitate scrubbat suas tabulas et brushat suas cathedras, tunc moris est humilitas.

Sed talis doctor scrubbat suas tabulas, &c. Ergo, &c.

Hoc etiam probari potest instantiâ.

But the tall gentleman in the robes would not have it known. Cum itaque magister (te Decanum alloquor) argumentis hisce validis vindicetur tua humilitas quid obstat quo minus inter te et Danielum mutua foveatur familiaritas.

Ede, bibe, dormi, post mortem nulla voluptas,
Namque tuter Tanaim nihil est socerumque Viselli.
Coach it away, then, and empty his pitchers:
A lord in Fingall plays tennis with ditchers.

Heu, heu, quanti hic desiderantur socci et handkerchiefs, tantum est inter vos clamoris, sudoris; tantum est hogorum, ut piget usque morari. Pergat igitur (ut inquit Dr. Acton) suo modo Dominus Barry. Sed heus tu, Magister Will-be, sive graduate medioxime, Serenissimæ Elizabethæ dormiant cineres. Not a word of Protestant Bess.

[a] Oliver Tallant, admitted 20th May, 1677.
[b] Gerard Nappier, admitted 18th July, 1677.

ACT II.

Oppon. Dom. Barry.—In tempore veni, quod omnium rerum est primum.

Nam vereor, Domine, you are brought as low as Witherton in Chevy Chase, or Mr. Lloyd in the chapel. Ridicula capita! inepto risu res ineptior nulla est.

Absint joci (as sir Jephson said, when he had none), res seria jam, imo de funeribus, agitur. Mulierculæ enim misella humanissima, nobis vicina, et Magistri Hewetson soror unica, non ita pridem moriebatur; nec amicorum immemor ingrata dicessit: sed quicquid vel corpusculi sui vel rei humano foret usui, hoc supremo testamento, amicis suis in formam subsequentem benigna legavit.

The Last Will and Testament of Mrs. Mary Hewetson.

She bequeathed her brains to a learned grave gentleman, who has shaked his own out of his noddle, whose name I was forbid to tell you, but I'll do as good as will, I'll find somebody here that——Amoveate quæso, amoveate paulisper. Oh! salve, Magister Burridge;[a] I remember Tommy Cox told me yours were addle, and therefore I present them to you, if her brother lays no claim to them.

Her tongue (which even after death is the cause of controversy) some affirm she left to Mrs. Horncastle:[b] but the true opinion is, she bequeathed to Mrs. Jenkinson, whose speaking organ (as I told you before) is employed in Mrs. Donell's elixir bonæ famæ.

Her teeth she left to Mrs. Horncastle, who has such an unruly member of her own, that it needs at least a double guard.

She bequeathed her hair to Mr. Leeson, to make him a wig.

Her coloured silk petticoat to furnish Mr. Delauny with a pair of breeches; and her looking-glass and night-rail to my lady Neddy Hall. Her toothpick to Dr. Loftus, and patch-box to Mrs. Lucy Coghill,[c] which so disguised her at the Confirmation in St. Werburgh's church, that the zealous archdeacon did not know sir John's daughter; sed zelo verè Fitzgeraldina exclamavit, "My lord, my lord, her face is against the canon: I know not who she is, and I won't present her."

Sed, reverende vir, monstrat tibi poeta, quo pacto agnosceres virginem.

> Cui numerosa linunt stellantem splenia frontem,
> Ignoras, quæ sit? Splenia tolle, leges.

But to return; she left her courageous heart to pretty Mr. Weaver.

Her beauty (now you all expect I'll say, to sir Bayly and Fitzsimons; no truly, but) to as worthy a gentleman, the reverend the provost: and her conscience to the clerk of the kitchen, of whom (by way of digression[d]) take this character:—

A College Steward

is an animal mixture, a medley or hodge-podge of butcher and cook, of scullion and scholar. He lives negatively by the privation of others, and mortifies more flesh than all the divines in the kingdom. Did he live among the ancients, he would be taken for a wrestling-master, with his skin oiled for the palæstra. Hence it comes to pass that his greasy shirt pays his laundress, and finds her in soap and candles. You may follow him (like the old pie-woman) by his smell. Strangers passing by his door take it for the college chandler's: an ignorant woman went there, directed by her nose, to sell her kitchen-stuff. The butchers' dogs fawn upon him, and follow him for his hogoes. Without doubt, they fancy he carries a slaughter-house about him. He spends half his salary a-year in wash-balls, fuller's-earth, and socks. The scent of the kitchen has infected his breath, and poisoned his whole mass of blood. What the hyperbolical poet said of the Cappadocian is verified in him without a trope:—

> Vipera Cappadocem malesana momordit, at ipsa
> Gustato perlit sanguine Cappadocis.

Anglicè,

> A famish'd rat, progging one night for food,
> Bit Mr. Hogoe's toe, and suck'd the blood:
> Then dull and drooping the pensive vermin sat,
> Gorged with infectious gore, and pois'ning fat.

If he goes to market fasting, he taints all the meat he cheapens; therefore the butchers in their own defence treat him to a breakfast. Every Sunday morning he so stuffs himself, that if you come nigh him you'll know what is for dinner. Every belch[a] is a bill of fare; his bedfellow dreams of grubbins all night. One that lay with him by accident fancied himself at the mouth of an oven, full of tainted mutton-pies. Mr. Butler, junior,[b] who, to stifle his hogoes, lies in his socks, would match him for a bedfellow, provided that they lay heads and points. The pestilence of the head would be requited by the plague of the heels. Were he in orders, it would be dangerous for him to baptize; he would make more ghosts than Christians, and, with good words, send the sucklings packing to the other world. Were he doctor in the civil law, his brother would rather not commence than kiss him: he would be as terrible as the old gentleman with the rainbow about his eyes. He never says grace before meat, and very good reason; his victuals, like the Scotchman's snuff, will not hide a blessing: the holy words would transubstantiate them into maggots. The greatest sin he has to struggle with is the flesh, and (which is wonderful) the oftener he gains the victory, the wickeder he becomes. He thwarts the Rubrick, and makes more Good Fridays than Sundays in the year. When we keep Lent,[c] he keeps Carnival; and well he may, when other men fast for his sins. He takes upon him to be deputy-bursar, and is called Mr. Steward; but by the same figure that the hangman is called the king's officer. In the kitchen he rules the roast, is absolute lord over the cleavemen, half master of the scullions, and partly tutor, partly companion, to the cooks; but always sworn brother in iniquity to the clerks of the buttery, which brings me to consider them together in one word, and so have done. When these two meet (like malevolent planets in conjunction) 'tis ominous, and denotes a dearth in commons and sizings. Nay, sometimes it foretels a general punishment. The making of either of these is the spoiling of a scholar; as a gentleman bound 'prentice forfeits his heraldry, or the knighthood of an alderman spoils a cit. They live plentifully with traffic between themselves, and yet every day eat and drink their bargains. To conclude, they cast up their sins once a-month, but do not repent, because their iniquities are confirmed by the senior fellows.

[a] Ezekiel Burridge, who is mentioned in the beginning of the second act, was elected scholar in June 1683, commenced A.B. February 1683—4, and A.M. July 1687. He is mentioned by Ware, in his account of the Writers of Ireland, and by King, in his State of the Protestants.—Dr. Barrett.

[b] A person of this name is mentioned in King's State of the Protestants.

[c] Daughter of sir John Coghill, and sister to Dr. Marmaduke Coghill.

[d] These digressions, interspersed, may remind us of the digressions in the Tale of a Tub.

[a] This reminds us of the author of the Tale of a Tub, who enlarges so much upon the *eructations* of the Æolists.

[b] Probably Brinsley Butler, at that time a student in the college.

[c] That is, when we, by way of punishment, are put out of commons, he derives some advantage to himself by it.

[a] The office of college steward was formerly exercised by a scholar of the house, who was called clerk of the kitchen. It is probable that he might derive some advantages from the punishment that consisted in depriving deliquents of commons. These advantages are here alluded to.

But to return to the will:—

She bequeathed her breasts to Mrs. Mary C——ll,[a] of whom hear the poet:

> Mammas atque tatas habet Afra: sed ipsa tatarum
> Dici et mammarum maxima mamma potest.

Her paint she left to one of those ladies; and her nose she knew not whether to leave to Mr. Loftus or Mr. Lloyd, but at last ordered it for the former; and out of her great charity, gave permission to the latter (I mean Mr. Lloyd) to furnish himself after the Hudibrasian manner with a supplemental snout out of her posteriors.

Lastly, she bequeathed all her money for the founding and endowment of a new college, and therefore ordered that there be a fair tract of ground purchased out of Jack Cusack's estate, on a convenient part whereof there be erected a stately pile of building, after the model of Mr. Allen's mansion-house. That sir Butler's famous library be bought for the college use, together with Stillingfleet's and Tillotson's Sermons for the assistance of young divines. That Mr. Doyle, for his excellent morals and profound learning, be provost; and Mr. Boreman,[b] for the same reasons, be vice-provost. That Nickumbottom be university orator; sir Stampe,[c] singing-master and magician; and that ingenious bachelor of arts, who read out all Gassendus's Astronomy in a week, but the a's and b's, if sir Moore pleases, be mathematic professor; and Dr. Mercer be bursar. Several officers are yet wanting, as divinity professor, preachers, physicians, lecturers, surgeons, historians, chemists, civilians, register, linguist, and many others, all which are to be supplied by that colossus of learning, Mr. Foley.

Hic vero dubium oritur; num Dr. Mercer, cum sponsa sua (satis eleganti) inhabitare possit academiam; si negatur, tunc actum est de bursario, qui adeo integer vitæ, scelerisque purus: si affirmatur, dii boni, quam clamosum necnon rixosum habituri sumus collegium! nam fama refert esse inter illos conjugium conjurium, quod Martiali parum credibile videtur, ut ex his versiculis constat:—

> Cum sitis similes, paresque vita,
> Uxor pessima, pessimus maritus,
> Miror, non bene convenire vobis.

It was first ordered that Mr. Lloyd should be the university poet; ferunt autem, Magister, te quondam pessimum egisse poetastrum, ideoque

> ——— mutato nomine, de te
> Fabula narratur.

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi.—

> Nam tu, Cosconi, disticha longa facis.

Hanc igitur provinciam habeat dean Glandee, vel Mr. Hewetson.

Ordered, moreover, that all the fellows dine and sup constantly in the hall, uti apud nos moris est. Hortemur etiam, ut præpositus parcius absit,[d] and to be strictly observed that all the students in the hall, especially at meat, speak Latin, as we do.

It was lately ordered that, for the honour and dignity of the university, there should be introduced a society of freemasons, consisting of gentlemen, mechanics, porters, parsons, ragmen, hucksters, bailiffs, divines, tinkers, knights, thatchers, coblers, poets, justices, drawers, beggars, aldermen, paviours, sculls, freshmen, bachelors, scavingers, masters, sow-gelders, doctors, ditchers, pimps, lords, butchers, and tailors, who shall bind themselves by an oath never to discover their mighty no-secret; and to relieve whatsoever strolling distressed brethren they meet with, after the example of the fraternity of freemasons in and about Trinity College, by whom a collection was lately made for, and the purse of charity well stuffed for, a reduced brother, who received their charity as follows in this list of benefactors:—

From Sawney Richardson, a bottle of ale and two rolls.

From Mr. Hassit, a pair of old shoes.

From a kind-hearted butcher at Lazy Hill, a calf's countenance.

From the right honourable lord Charlemont, a cast hat.

From Long Lawrence, an inch of tobacco.

From Mr. Ryder, a groat.

From Dr. Gwithers, an old glister-pipe.

From Mr. Marsh and sir Tenison, a bundle of godly ballads.

From Mr. Smith, an old pair of quilted stockings.

From a tapster at the sign of the Hog in Armour, a comfit.

From sir Goodlet,[a] a piece of an old smiglesius for a natural use, cunningly procured by the means of sir Goodlet.

From sir Warren, for being freemasonized the new way, 5s.

From Mr. Edward Hall,[b] a pair of cast night-gloves.

Lastly, from Mr. Hancock, a slice of Cheshire cheese; which the hungry brother eat up with such a gusto, and liked so well, that he stole away the rest in his breeches.

Tam liberâ potitus contributione, frater scoundrellus sarcinulas suas discessurus colligit, et vultu hilari, ori solito, quadrangulum transit; dumque præ nimio gaudio porrectiore incedit fronte, altioresque tendit gressus, quisnam inter homines obviam dedit illi, nisi frater fraterrimus Cooper;[c] qui ut fidelem novit hominem, festinatius accurrit, humaniter corripit dextram, utque moris est, spississimo conspuit basio: deinde Bibliothecam versus, comiter ambulant, ut inter cætera admirabilia Ridlæum[d] visitent: quem dum hospes curiosis lynceis oculis perscrutatur, et diligentius rimatur, quantum homuncionis judices, carnifex, et medici, reliquerunt; proh dolor, inter partes an nobiliores, an posteriores nescio privatum fraternitatis notavit signum (Anglicè, the freemasons' mark). Quo viso, Dii boni, quanto clamore totam infecit domum. Ter et sæpius pulsavit pectus, exsangues dilaniavit genas, et eheu nimium dilaceratas dilaceravit vestes. Tandem vero paulo modestius insaniens, hujusmodi versiculis ridiculum effudit dolorem.

EULOGIUM RIDLÆANUM. AN ELEGY UPON RIDLEY.

> Unhappy brother, what can be
> In wretchedness compared to thee?
> Thou grief and shame of our society!
> Had we in due time understood
> That thou wert of the brotherhood,
> By fraud or force thou had'st got loose
> From shameful tree and dismal noose:
> And now perhaps with life been blest,
> As comely a brother as the best,
> Not thus exposed a monumental jest;
> When lady longs for college beer,
> Or little dame or country squire
> Walk out an afternoon, to look
> On thee, and devil-raising book;
> Who kindly rather chose to die,
> Than blemish our fraternity;
> The first of us e'er hang'd for modesty.
> And now, alack and welladay,
> Thy parchment hide is stuff'd with hay.

[a] Perhaps Cogbill.

[b] Edward Boreman, admitted 11th June, 1678: his name was taken off the books on 15th October, 1686.

[c] Timothy Stampe, admitted 16th May, 1682.

[d] It appears from the buttery books that provost Huntington had generally a non co., and therefore was absent from the hall.

[a] James Goodlatt was admitted in February, 1683-4: elected scholar in 1687.

[b] We must not confound this person with one of the same name among the then junior fellows. This last was Dr. John Hall, whom Swift, in his account of lord Wharton, mentions with approbation. To him the Tripos nowhere alludes.

[c] I find a person named Nat. Cooper, who, with Edward Hall, commenced A.B. in February 1682-3.

[d] Said to have been an informer against priests.

Ney, worse; the Æculapians,
Thy mighty misery to enhance,
Have cruelly cut thee out of countenance;
And, to show witty spite, at once
Preserved thy skin and lost thy bones.
Thus here in wooden hatch you stand,
With scornful musket at your hand:
The mice' and rats' mock sentinel,
A poor ridiculous spectacle
To gibing Joan, to Kate and Nan,
Thou worse than skeleton of man—
So does he measure out his grief,
For loss of brother and of thief.
Nor less concern'd does Cooper stand;
But sobbing with his clout in hand,
And destitute of consolation,
Kept time with all his tribulation.
Their grumbling woe runs through and through them,
If all were known 'twould quite undo them.
The sighs which up and downward go
Their unfeigned sorrow show;
For the devil's in't, if they pretend
Who vent their grief at either end.

Hoc munere elaborato, non diutius lacrymis indulgent, sed dolore policè suppresso, taciti discedunt. Protinus lodgum convocant, fratresque omnes certiores faciunt, quantum sibi infamiæ, et quantum miseriæ infelicissimo accedit fraterculo; graviter luget fraterculus et societas; et suspiriis ex imo pectore petitis, statim provisum est in posterum, nominem qui crucem meretur, vel qui suspendendus est, in societatem freemasonorum admitti: quo authoritate statuto, et albo lodgi prolato, singuli, tam generosi quam scoundrelli, solidissimis hasiis promiscuè dicunt valedictionem.

ACT III.

Enter a waddling Doctor, and his man JAMES.

Doctor. James, have you read out the chapter, and can you tell how many days' work was the Creation?

James. Marry, here's so many hard words, I can't remember.

Doctor. Well, but this is not the business now: you must get things in readiness against to-morrow.

James. Master, what's the matter with to-morrow more than another day?

Doctor. (*Aside.*) Oh, the ignorance of those people who are not mathematicians!—I tell you a supernatural thing will happen.

James. (*Aside.*) Oh, oh! this is the eclipse[a] now, I warrant.—Nay, master, as you say it, it is as sure as a gun.—Then what mun I do, say you?

Doctor. Go to the steward and provide double commons; and be sure you call at the chandler's, for to-morrow I dine by candlelight.

James. Oh, the wonderful wonderfulness of you schollards! And what mun I bring drink in?

Doctor. A material question:—in the tankard, and do that in the morning.

James. Marry, but I had better buy a pitcher, so I had; and then I need not go so often as I do. This tankard, I wish it were hanged, so I do.

Doctor. What ails you at it? Why do you grumble?

James. Grumble, quoth-a? I am sure it wears me more shoe-leather than a little; and I cannot say my prayers in a morning for it, so I can't.

Doctor. If I thought it did you any injury, or contributed to the doing you any harm, or were an irregular vessel, I would part with it; I would entertain it no more than I did my bed: go, then, and bring a pitcher. [*Exeunt severally.*

Enter SAINTY ASHE,[b] *and* SAMUEL FOLEY, *Senior Fellows.*

Sainty. Where do you keep your eclipse[c] to-morrow?

Sam. In my chamber. I do not care for groping my way to my dinner.

Sainty. What, will it be total? No glimmering to be allowed to eat our meat by?

Sam. So it seems. I have taken a great deal of pains to calculate it, and can now demonstrate it.

Sainty. If you please, I would be very glad to see your calculation.

Sam. Thus then:—Invenitur ex tabulis plenilunium medium, additâ, dimidiâ, lunatione; et tunc, ex postaphæresi et motu lunæ horario, inveniantur digiti ecliptici et parallaxis altitudinis.

Sainty. 'Tis wonderful well; from whence I conclude, we are all like to be in the dark.

Sam. Ay, doubtless; or I'll burn my books. I would not want this little smattering in astronomy for a great deal, I protest.

Sainty. I confess there's some advantage in it.

Sam. Advantage! I could not live without it. I cut my hair by the stars; and will tell the physiognomy and sex of my child before my wife's brought to bed.

Sainty. But do the planets never wander? are you not sometimes mistaken?

Sam. Oh, never; at least in things of this kind: it is as easy to calculate an eclipse as to curl; and if you doubt in any point, I'll——

Sainty. No, no, I'm satisfied: 'twill be as clear as the sun. [*Exeunt.*

The Scene, DROGHEDA.

Enter MR. DOYLE[a] *and his Damsel* NELLY: *after them the Tapster, with a porringer of burnt brandy and a mutton-pie.*

Doyle. Come, Nelly, sit down, and give me a kiss.

Nelly. Fough, sir, stand off. I protest you smell so strong of brandy and tobacco, a body can't endure you.

Doyle. Nay, leave this peevish humour, and sit down: if you knew who I'm to be, you'd be as kind to me as to the smith's boy.

Nelly. Pr'ythee, let go my apron, and do not pull me so.

Doyle. But you won't hear me!—I tell you, woman as simple as I stand here, I'm to be a fellow of Dublin College.

Nelly. You a fellow! Never the sooner for an hasty word. Pray keep your filthy hand away, or I'll cry

[a] In the "Art of Verifying Dates," mention is made of an eclipse of the sun on the 5th November, 1686, and of another eclipse on 30th April, 1688. One of them is probably alluded to here.

[b] The rev. *St.* George Ashe, Swift's tutor.

[c] In the Philosophical Transactions we have an account of an eclipse observed at Dublin in 1684, by Ashe and Molyneux.

[a] We are now come to the infamous Bernard Doyle, who is the next person censured in the Tripos. He was admitted as a sizar on 14th April, 1678, under the tuition of Richard Acton, at the age of nineteen, and was born at Athlone. On 11th July, 1685, he had the grace of the House for A.M. "per specialem gratiam." He was usher of the school at Drogheda; and on the merit of conforming to the religion of James II. sought to be admitted to the place of a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. To this end he presented a mandamus from the king on February 13, 1687-8, directed to the provost and senior fellows, and dated January 11, 1687-8, which required them to admit the said Doyle to a fellowship, then vacant (by the cession of Dr. George Mercer, who is mentioned also in the Tripos), or the first that should become so, without taking any oath but that of a fellow. When this oath was tendered to him by them, he refused to take it, as it was inconsistent with the religion he professed. And it having been represented by the college to the lord-lieutenant that Doyle was a person of shameful ignorance and scandalous immorality, he was pleased to order the mayor of Drogheda to take examinations upon oath relative to Mr. Doyle's conduct while usher of that school. For this purpose Mr. Downes, one of the fellows, went down thither; and it was proved, by examinations taken on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of March, that Doyle was guilty of fornication (having had two bastards), drunkenness, theft, and other crimes, such as violently assaulting and beating various persons. Notwithstanding this representation, Doyle persevered in his applications to lord Tyrconnel, and spared no kind of scandalous assertions against the college; but, in the mean time, Mr. Arthur Hosset procured a mandamus in his own favour, which he presented to the provost and fellows on the 16th April, 1688, and having satisfied them on the points which they proposed to him, he was sworn and admitted as fellow. He is mentioned in the Tripos, as is also Eleanor Well who was one of Doyle's mistresses.—DR. BARNETT.

out, so I will. Come, come, sir, don't think you are with Peggy what-do-you-call-her.

Doyle. But I'll tell you, Nelly,——

Nelly. Tell me no tellings; keep down your fingers and do not you tear my petticoats. I'm afraid 'twas for what you did in the blankets the dean[a] made you stand in the white sheet.

Doyle. Here, drawer, t'other porringer of brandy, and so to pay. That, and this quarter cob, will put you into a little better humour. Come let us——now let us——

Nelly. In verity, Mr. Doyle, you have the cunningest way with you of pleasing a woman.—You see how loth I am to refuse a gentleman that's just on the point of preferment: but hold, there's somebody coming.

Enter the Drawer.

Drawer. This makes two and twopence now, besides the nineteen and sevenpence before; and my mistress bid me tell you she can trust no longer.

Doyle. Why so, you scoundrel?

Drawer. Because you put her off with mandrakes from the king.

Doyle. Bid your mistress go hang herself; and look for her money, you whore's kitling. (*Throws the mutton pie at him.*) (*Exit Drawer, maundering.*

Nelly. Why so sleepy, Mr. Doyle?

Doyle. Oh, this scowering and lying most plagues me. Here, Nelly, here's to you. Aw, aw, I am damn'd sleepy, e'gad, damn'd sleepy. (*Drops asleep.*

Nelly. Lie there, for a drunken sot. The collegians are like to have a sweet tool of thee for a fellow. But let me see what we have got in his pockets. Out upon the scoundrel! nothing but a pair of beads, two inches of tobacco and one of pipe. (*The scene closes.*

And here we leave him, and as he sleeps, take a view of his breeches, which I would describe, but they have so many ends, I know not where to begin. He that would presume to mend them would run the risk of a tinker botching a kettle; for, hydra-like, out of one hole would come three or four. You may compare them to Jason's ship, they have not one jot of their primitive stuff left; or to Dr. Mercer's yarn stockings that were darned into worsted. The lining had served a long apprenticeship for itself, and therefore away it crept to set up for itself at the paper-mill. They were most worn at the codpiece and least at the pockets. The crow that borrowed feathers from her neighbours is the living emblem of these. Should every tailor's boy take his own cabbage, Mr. Doyle would be an heathen philosopher. Doll Kitchen coming into his kennel before he rose thought he had purloined her mop. By their shreds of all nations you would have thought they belonged to one of the freemasons that built Babel; but by the multiplicity of white fleas you would swear they had been campaigning with the Vacancy. 'Tis almost incredible so many cattle should thrive on so bare a pasture. Every night he dares venture them off he's in danger of losing them. Once when he lay without them they crept from the garret to the street-door, and had bid him adieu for ever, but his landlady seized them by an *habeas corpus*, and brought them to him with a pair of tongs. I believe the ladies for once are tired of the breeches; and therefore, as dean Glandee says, "This one word of comfort and so have done." One morning, crawling their progress, they were devoured by a monkey, and the next day poor pug died of Pym's disease.

Quid obstat, Dii boni, quominus Dr. Bladen fiat Episcopus? Why should not Nick Knight be dean of St. Patrick's? En hominem, qui sodalitium ambit! (ut inquit Mr. Griffith) qui licet socius sit, nollem tamen ut socius esset meus. Et jam in mentem venit mihi, unde est quod nondum reddit socius ille erraticus; ni fallor, causam assignat Barclæus poeta hunc in modum:

[a] Tobias Pullein, the great patron of Doyle, until the enormities of the latter caused him to withdraw his protection.

Urbs spatiosa, potens opibus, tectisque superba,
O et præsidium, deliciæque meæ.
Quicquid mortalis fingit solertia curæ,
Vel natura suo parturit alma sinu;
Hæc tu sola dabis, &c.

Anglicè.[a]

Let formal priests look grave and dull at home,
To whom the worth of a licentious town
Nor the gay blessings of a court are known.
Thither my wiser inclinations tend,
Where I a chirping bottle with a friend
May drink without control, nor stand in fear
Of every saucy ill bred censurer;
Where I may strut along the mall, look big
In point cravat, and toss a flaxen wig.
Dress in a gawdy waistcoat, and may wear
A sword, cock'd hat, gold fringe, and whatsoe'r
The libertine town affords, to charm the fair.

Miror quod bis de causis Magister Patrickson non huc usque commoratus est Londini: sed

Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
Tantum habet et *gaudii*.

Salve, Magister, gratulor tibi reduci; sunt qui affirmant te pedestri itinere Londinum versus ambulasse, quod mihi equidem vix credibile videtur; perfacetus etenim Miles[b] se tibi socium præbuit, et jucundus comes est pro vehiculo (a good companion is as good as a coach).

Enter Sir Michael Creagh,[c] *and another Alderman.*

Alderman. I have been man and boy in this town, let me see, some six-and-fifty years, and never knew the little penny so hard to be got as now.

Sir Michael. Never despair, old boy. We have a brave young prince,[d] and the world's our own.

Ald. Nay, I have not remembered salt butter so scarce a commodity, I know not the day when.

Sir M. Hang sorrow! Boy, fill me a glass of wine; more, more yet, fill it higher still. So here, father Greybeard, here is a health to the family of the Creaghs.

Ald. I pledge you if it be sack. But now I think on't, sir Michael, who was your father?

Sir M. My father was a worthy gentleman, inferior to none of his rank, upon my honour.

Ald. Adsheartlikens, you may be mistaken in that, I assure you.

Sir M. Mistaken? No, sir; he was a travelling merchant; one that saw more towns than you have done chimneys.

Ald. But, under favour, sir Michael, I have heard scollards say he was a losopher?

Sir M. Ay, that may be too: he always took delight to carry books about with him.

Ald. But take me along with you: you reprehend me not; they say he carried books on his back.

Sir M. I say, I say, he was a north-country merchant, as I told you before. Come, drink your wine, and let us begone. (*Exeunt.*

Now you'll ask to what end I brought all these on the stage: to which I answer, I brought them in by head and shoulders, and out by head and shoulders, for nothing at all, as Mr. Bayes did his beasts.

Plurimis denuo salutatis et tot hominum ordinibus comiter exceptis, videor forsan reprehensione dignus, quod Machaonæ omnes (Anglicè, the Simplers) negligenter præteriisi. Cur autem tristia horum fata et lacrymabilis nova metamorphosis non vos diutius latent,

[a] This piece of poetry seems levelled at John Griffith, a senior fellow, then absent by a king's letter.—Dr. Barrett.

[b] I suppose the person here alluded to may have been Miles Sumner, who originally received his education in Trinity College: after leaving it he had a command in the army of the parliament during the civil wars. He was made, by the then ruling powers, a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1652. He died shortly before the delivering of this piece. See more of him in the Harleian Miscellany.—Dr. Barrett.

[c] Sir Michael Creagh was lord mayor of Dublin in 1688, and represented that city in the parliament of 1689. He was paymaster-general of king James's army.—Dr. Barrett.

[d] The son of James II., born 10th June, 1688.—Dr. Barrett.

cum certiores facti eritis ingenuos hosce Æsculapii filios in plantas transmigrasse; injuriâ tamen non sum arguendus, quod schemate mortuos non excepi, the sad causes of whose death are at large described in this

HEROIC POEM.

A worthy sage dwelt at All-Hallows,
That did defy all gaols and gallows:
His punctual honesty was such,
Some authors write, he had too much:
And lo! Actonio was his name,
Actonio loudly sung by Fame:
A wight inferior to none
For ponderosity of bum.[a]
And that took more pains to go
Than coarse Jephsenio would to plough;
A mortal enemy to punning,
Nor mightily inclined to running.
He still with care did guard his heart
From all the wounds of Cupid's dart,
And yet was plump and soft confess'd,
All but his petrified breast.
That still, alas, did stubborn prove
To all the charming powers of love:
In town or court, no beauteous dame
E'er fann'd his passion to a flame:
For though he enjoy'd luxurious peace,
Melting his hours in holy ease,
He ne'er was vex'd by that unruly member,
But lived as chaste as cold December:
Though Cupids in his eyes did play,
Yet in his heart Diana lay.
Lively and sanguine was his face,
Though phlegmatic the other place;
Colour as good as ever struck,
But other things belied his look.
When drowsy Aurora rubb'd her eyes,
And came down stealing from the skies
While that Sol snags at mangers tarry,
Before the clerks say, Ave-Mary,
Actonio with his learned friends,
From soaking downy bed descends,
And, with the chairoteer's assistance,
Heaving himself with all puissance,
He waddles into coach marina,
And jogs his way, a-simpleing.
And now they reach the enchanted shore,
Where Circe, in the days of yore,
By powerful herbs disposed of doom,
And magic spells did charm the m on;
Whilst tired here with the toils of day,
Our hero picking scious lay;
Rolling securely on the grass,
Too nigh a fatal precipice,
Adown,[b] adown he drops,
'Twixt cruel unrelenting rocks:
Three times he made effort to rise,
But thrice and thrice would not suffice;
His weighty crupper kept him down,
To seas and rocks to make his moan.

Dumque hic vicini maris auget murmura, dum liquido dolore tristissimum plorat fatum, et philosophorum adagiis se miserum solari conatur, Æsculapius filii sui querelis mitem præbens aurem, et paternâ commotus misericordia, heroem nostrum in umbilicum Veneris transformavit.

Socii nequiequam plorant amissum:
Non illos Cereris, non illos cura quietis
Abstrahere inde potest.

Sed iteratis clamoribus surdum feriunt littus: ægra terque quaterque pulsant pectora: altâ voce deorum proclamant tyrannidem; nec diutius insano luctui indulgent, sed pedibus telluri affixis, pellibusque in cortices mutatis,

———nulli color qui fuit ante, manet.

Singulis novæ subeunt formæ; et mirâ quadam metamorphosi in plantas proinde, ut hic sequitur, transmutantur:

Magister Downes in cupressum; Magister Smith in pinguidinem (Anglicè fat-wort); Magister Scrogg in hyacinthum; Mr. Lloyd in quercum; Magister Ashe into a red-headed poppy; sir Fitzsimons, who always dropped after (as our town of Berwick-upon-Tweed) into a thistle, which still retains its primitive roughness; Magister Sayers in Narcissum, de quo olim Buchananus sic:—

Ne-cio an inspexti Narcissi, Posthume, fontem:
Hoc scio, deliras, Posthume, amore tui.
Ille tamen mentò: nam quod malesanus amavit,
Ante quidem id multis causa furoris erat.
At tua non paulo est major vesania, qui te,
Sed sine rivali, Posthume, solus amas.

Sed dicat mihi quis, quod in totâ hâc corona, vel potius crowdo et presso, nondum vidi dominum Terrill: ni fallor, if he be not here, he's at home with his wife, who, to gain entirely his affections, sent him this stratagemical epistle.

The quondam widow, sir Terrill's mistress, hearing he had laid siege to the bookbinder's sister, and therefore fearing he should give her the willow, partly to be revenged of her rival, partly to secure him to herself, writes to him this epistle:—

Sir,—I am informed you design to *bind* yourself to the stationer's sister; if so, take it from a friend, she's a gentlewoman in *folio*, and consequently will be very tedious to a young student. I was concerned to hear the crafty citizen intended to put into your hands the lumber of his shop; and therefore entreat you, if you have any kindness for yourself, to have nothing to do with that musty piece, whose *worm-eaten cover* may inform you she has been cheapened above these twenty years; and the reason she did not go off is, she was found so old and thumbed that she was not fit to be *perused*, and of so little value that none thought her worthy the *press*. Besides, sir, she has lived some time in a learned house, where, it may be presumed, for good reasons, that some of the young scholars, for their curiosity, might ruffle her *leaves*.—If what I've said cannot dissuade you, do but turn her over carefully, and 'tis very probable you'll find she has been abused, at least in the *sheets*, if not in the setting forth of a *new edition* blotted in the *impression*.

Sir, your humble servant, JANE BANKS.

And now, belike I have made a fair afternoon's work on't. I have not left myself one friend of the mammon of unrighteousness. If I go to the kitchen, the steward will be my enemy as long as he breathes; if to the cellar, the butler will dash my ale with water; and the clerk of the buttery will score up my offences five-fold. If I betake myself to the library, Ridley's ghost will haunt me for scandalizing him with the name of freemason. If I fly to the divines for succour, dean Manby and archdeacon Baynard will pervert me; Dr. King will break my head because I am a Priscian; and Dr. Foy is so full of spleen he'll worry me. Mrs. Horncastle and sir Maddison will talk with me. Mother Jenkinson won't furnish me with cale and bacon on Christmas-day, and Dr. Loftus will bite me. The virtuosi will set their brains a-work for gimcracks to pull my eyes out. The freemasons will banish me their lodge, and bar me the happiness of kissing Long Lawrence. And the astronomers won't allow me one good star, nor inform me when the sun will be totally eclipsed that I may provide myself with candles. Mr. Loftus and Mr. Lloyd will nose me; Mr. Allen will eat me without salt; Dr. Acton too I fear will *fall* on me. Nay, the very provost will shake his head at me, and scour away from me.—But that which makes my calamity most insupportable and me weary of your company is, that in all my tribulation you do nothing but laugh[a] at me, and therefore I take my leave.

[a] In a satire written in 1682, upon the members of the college, Acton is thus described:

Next him sat Acton's belly, big as tun.

[b] In "The Lady's Dressing-room," we have an instance of Swift using this uncommon word, *adown*.

[a] These lines strongly resemble the style of John Barclay. At the beginning of the Argenis we find the words, "sermonem occupavit," as in this Tripos, in Act I. we find "totum occupare sermonem."

[a] From this passage it appears that the author of this performance had no malicious intentions towards the persons whom he censured, but only wished to indulge a little pleasantry, which he conceived the usual practice on such occasions warranted.

A LETTER TO A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT IN IRELAND,

ON CHOOSING A NEW SPEAKER THERE IN THE YEAR 1708.

[The Whig ministers were determined to abolish the sacramental test, and Swift finally succeeded in frustrating their plan. This letter has immediate reference to the controversy.]

Sir,—You may easily believe I am not at all surprised at what you tell me, since it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I sent you last week, and made you my reproaches upon at a venture. It looks exceedingly strange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your house, the two following circumstances are of great advantage; first to have an ill cause, and secondly to be a minority. For both these circumstances are extremely apt to invite men to make them assiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proselytes, and often successful; which is not to be wondered at when favour and interest are on the side of their opinion. Whereas, on the contrary, a majority with a good cause are negligent and supine. They think it sufficient to declare themselves upon opinion in favour of their party; but sailing against the tide of favour and preferment they are easily scattered and driven back. In short they want a common principle to cement, and motive to spirit them: for the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conscience, or prospect of serving the public, will not go very far under the present dispositions of mankind. This was amply verified last session of parliament upon occasion of the money-bill, the merits of which I shall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the first news of its transmission hither in the form in which it afterwards appeared, the members, upon discourse with their friends, seemed unanimous against it; I mean those of both parties except a few who were looked upon as persons ready to go any lengths prescribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvassing among a very few hands, the bill passed after a full debate by a very great majority. Yet I believe you will hardly attempt persuading me or anybody else that one man in ten of those who changed their language were moved by reasons any way affecting the merits of the cause, but merely through hope, fear, indolence or good manners. Nay, I have been assured from good hands, that there was still a number sufficient to make a majority against the bill if they had not apprehended the other side to be secure; and therefore thought it imprudence by declaring themselves to disoblige the government to no purpose.

Reflecting upon this and forty other passages in the several houses of commons since the revolution makes me apt to think there is nothing a chief governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not succeed with a very competent share of address, and with such assistance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I said at first, that I am not at all surprised at what you tell me. For, if there had been the least spark of public spirit left, those who wished well to their country and its constitution in church and state should, upon the first news of the late speaker's promotion, (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal sooner,) have immediately gone together and consulted about the fittest person to succeed him. But by all I can comprehend, you have been so far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reason you give is the worst in the world: That none offered themselves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It seems however the other party was more resolved, or at least not so modest: for you say your vote is engaged against your opinion, and several gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the same story of themselves. This I confess is of an unusual strain, and a good many steps below any condescensions a court will I hope ever require from you. I shall not trouble myself to inquire who is the person for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that side than one. You tell me nothing of either; and I never thought it worth the question to anybody else. But in so weighty an affair, and against your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I desire you will give me leave to reason with you a little upon the subject; lest your compliance or inadvertency should put you upon what you may have cause to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well the great business of the high-flying Whigs at this juncture is to endeavour a repeal of the test clause. You know likewise that the moderate men, both of high and low church, profess to be wholly averse from this design, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that shelters from the north. Now I will put the case: If the person to whom you have promised your vote be one of whom you have the least apprehension that he will promote or assent to the repealing of that clause, whether it be decent or proper he should be the mouth of an assembly whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion! Can a body whose mouth and heart must go so contrariwise ever act with sincerity or hardly with consistency? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the sense of the house, which in so many points of the greatest moment will be directly contrary to his. It is full as absurd as to prefer a man to a bishoprie who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person you design to vote into that important post should not only be a declared enemy of the sacramental test, but should prove to be a solicitor and encourager, or even a penner, of addresses to complain of it? Do you think it so indifferent a thing that a promise of course, the effect of compliance, importunity, shame of refusing, or any the like motive, shall oblige you past the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the house and report it; that you often at committees put an able speaker into the chair on purpose to prevent him from stopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this, I believe I should hardly choose, even among my footmen, such a one to deliver a message whose interest and opinion led him to wish it might miscarry. But I remember to have heard colonel Birch of Herefordshire say, "That he was a very sorry speaker whose single vote was not better than fifty common ones." I am sure it is reckoned in England the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the house. Sir Thomas Lyttleton thought that a house of commons with a stinking breath (supposing the speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect everything within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the smallest part of an able speaker's business what he performs in the house, at least if he be in with the court, when it is hard to say how many converts may be made in a circle of dinners or private cabals. And you and I easily call to mind a gentleman in that station in England who, by his own arts and personal credit, was able to draw over a majority, and change the whole power of a prevailing side in a nice juncture of affairs, and make a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party causes; but surely the best of us can with very ill

grace make that an objection, who has not been so nice in matters of much less importance. Yet I have heard some persons of both sides gravely deliver themselves in this manner: "Why should we make the choosing of a speaker a party cause? Let us fix upon one who is well versed in the practices and methods of parliament." And I believe there are too many who would talk at the same rate, if the question were not only about abolishing the sacramental test, but the sacrament itself.

But suppose the principles of the most artful speaker would have no influence either to obtain or obstruct any point in parliament; who can answer what effects such a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how such a matter serves to raise the spirits and hopes of the dissenters, and their high-flying advocates: what lengths they run, what conclusions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? that is encouragement enough to practise the city, against the opinion of a majority, into an address to the queen for repealing the sacramental test; or issue out their orders to the next fanatic parson to furbish up his old sermons, and preach and print new ones directly against episcopacy. I would lay a good wager that, if the choice of a new speaker succeeds exactly to their liking, we shall see it soon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, sermon, or address, to the same or perhaps more dangerous purposes.

Supposing the speaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a step to a better; since it is in your own gift, will you not choose to bestow it upon some person whose principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be sure of a worthy man hereafter in a high station, on the bench or at the bar?

I confess, if it were a thing possible to be compassed, it would seem most reasonable to fill the chair with some person who would be entirely devoted to neither party; but since there are so few of that character, and those either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot see how a majority will answer it to their reputation to be so ill provided of able persons that they must have recourse to their adversaries for a leader; a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that succeeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which advised some city in Greece to beg a general from their enemies, who in scorn sent them either a fiddler or a poet, I have forgotten which; and so much I remember, that his conduct was such that they soon grew weary of him.

You pretend to be heartily resolved against repealing the sacramental test; yet at the same time give the only great employment you have to dispose of to a person who will take that test against stomach (by which word I understand many a man's conscience); who earnestly wishes it repealed, and will endeavour it to the utmost of his power; so that the first action after you meet will be a sort of contravention to that test: and will anybody go further than your practice to judge of your principles?

And now I am upon this subject I cannot conclude without saying something to a very popular argument against that sacramental test, which may be apt to shake many of those who would otherwise wish well enough to it. They say it was a new hardship put upon the dissenters, without any provocation; and it is plain could be no way necessary, because we had peaceably lived together so long without it. They add some other circumstances, of the arts by which it was obtained, and the person by whom it was inserted. Surely such people do not consider that the penal laws against dissenters were made wholly ineffectual by the connivance and mercy of the government; so that all employments of the state lay as open to them as they did to the best and most legal subjects. And what progress they would have made, by the advantages of a late conjunction, is obvious to imagine; which I take to be a full answer to that objection.

I remember, upon the transmission of that bill with the test clause inserted, the dissenters and their partisans among other topics spoke much of the good effects produced by the lenity of the government; that the presbyterians were grown very inconsiderable in their number and quality, and would daily come into the church, if we did not fright them from it by new severities. When the act was passed they presently changed their style, and raised a clamour through both kingdoms of the great numbers of considerable gentry who were laid aside, and could no longer serve their queen and country; which hyperbolical way of reckoning, when it came to be melted down into truth, amounted to about fifteen country justices, most of them of the lowest size for estate, quality, or understanding. However, this puts me in mind of a passage told me by a great man, although I know not whether it be anywhere recorded: That a complaint was made to the king and council of Sweden, of a prodigious swarm of Scots, who, under the condition of pedlars, infested that kingdom to such a degree as, if not suddenly prevented, might in time prove dangerous to the state, by joining with any discontented party. Meanwhile the Scots, by their agents, placed a good sum of money to engage the officers of the prime minister in their behalf; who, in order to their defence, told the council, "He was assured they were but a few inconsiderable people, that lived honestly and poorly and were not of any consequence." Their enemies offered to prove the contrary: whereupon an order was made to take their number, which was found to amount, as I remember, to about thirty thousand. The affair was again brought before the council, and great reproaches made to the first minister for his ill computation; who, presently taking the other handle, said, "He had reason to believe the number yet greater than what was returned;" and then gravely offered to the king's consideration, "Whether it was safe to render desperate so great a body of able men, who had little to lose, and whom any hard treatment would only serve to unite into a power capable of disturbing, if not destroying, the peace of the kingdom." And so they were suffered to continue.

A PROPOSAL

FOR THE UNIVERSAL USE OF IRISH MANUFACTURE, IN CLOTHING AND FURNITURE OF HOUSES;

Utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wearable that comes from England.

Swift himself gives the following account of this interesting question in a letter to Pope: "I have written in this kingdom a discourse to persuade the wretched people to wear their own manufactures, instead of those from England. This treatise soon spread very fast, being agreeable to the sentiments of the whole nation, except those gentlemen who had employments or were expectants. Upon which a person in great office here immediately took the alarm: he sent in haste for the chief-justice, and informed him of a seditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet, lately published, with a design of setting the two kingdoms at variance; directing at the same time that the printer should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law. The chief justice has so quick an understanding, that he resolved if possible to outdo his orders. The grand juries of the county and city were effectually practised with to represent the said pamphlet with all aggravating epithets, for which they had thanks sent them from England, and their presentments published for several weeks in all the newspapers. The printer was seized, and forced to give great bail. After his trial the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had been culled with the utmost industry. The chief-justice sent them back nine times, and kept them eleven hours; until, being perfectly tired out, they were forced to leave the matter to the

mercy of the judge, by what they call a *special verdict*. During the trial, the chief justice, among other singularities, laid his hand on his breast, and protested solemnly that the author's design was to bring in the pretender, although there was not a single syllable of party in the whole treatise; and although it was known that the most eminent of those who professed his own principles publicly disallowed his proceedings. But the cause being so very odious and unpopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until, upon the duke of Grafton's, the lord-lieutenant's, arrival, his grace, after mature advice and permission from England, was pleased to grant a *nolle prosequi*."

It is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. Agriculture, which has been the principal care of all wise nations, and for the encouragement whereof there are so many statute-laws in England, we countenance so well, that the landlords are everywhere, by penal clauses, absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing; not satisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the English: one effect of which is already seen in the prodigious dearness of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And because people are the riches of a country, and that our neighbours have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them, therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land for the feeding of sheep.

I could fill a volume as large as the history of the Wise Men of Gotham with a catalogue only of some wonderful laws and customs we have observed within thirty years past. It is true, indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France has been our only support for several years, furnishing us with all the little money we have to pay our rents and go to market. But our merchants assure me this trade has received a great damp by the present fluctuating condition of the coin in France; and that most of their wine is paid for in specie, without carrying thither any commodity from hence.

However, since we are so universally bent upon enlarging our flocks, it may be worth inquiring what we shall do with our wool, in case Barnstaple* should be overstocked, and our French commerce should fail?

I could wish the parliament had thought fit to have suspended their regulation of church matters and enlargements of the prerogative until a more convenient time, because they did not appear very pressing, at least to the persons principally concerned; and, instead of these great refinements in politics and divinity, had amused themselves and their committees a little with the state of the nation. For example: What if the house of commons had thought fit to make a resolution, *nemine contradicente*, against wearing any cloth or stuff in their families which were not of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? What if they had extended it so far as utterly to exclude all silks, velvets, callicoes, and the whole lexicon of female fopperies; and declared that whoever acted otherwise should be deemed and reputed an enemy to the nation? What if they had sent up such a resolution to be agreed to by the house of lords, and by their own practice and encouragement spread the execution of it in their several countries? What if we should agree to make burying in woollen a fashion, as our neighbours have made it a law? What if the ladies would be content with Irish stuffs for the furniture of their houses, for gowns and petticoats for themselves and their daughters? Upon the whole, and to crown all the rest, let a firm resolution be taken, by male and female, never to appear with one single shred that comes from England, and let all the people say Amen.

I hope and believe nothing could please his majesty better than to hear that his loyal subjects of both sexes in this kingdom celebrated his birthday (now approaching) universally clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to save them from the brink of ruin? If men's opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handsome in stuffs as in brocades; and since all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in choosing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late archbishop of Tuam mention a pleasant observation of somebody's, that Ireland would never be happy till a law were made for burning everything that came from England, except their people and their coals. I must confess that, as to the former, I should not be sorry if they would stay at home; and for the latter, I hope in a little time we shall have no occasion for them.

Noo tanti mitra est, noo tanti judicis ostrum———

but I should rejoice to see a staylace from England be thought scandalous, and become a topic for censure at visits and tea-tables.

If the unthinking shopkeepers in this town had not been utterly destitute of common sense, they would have made some proposal to the parliament with a petition to the purpose I have mentioned; promising to improve the cloths and stuffs of the nation into all possible degrees of fineness and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their custom, by exacting and imposing upon the nobility and gentry, either as to the prices or the goodness. For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the rascally mercers and woollen-drapers would in four-and-twenty hours raise their cloths and silks to above a double price, and if the mourning continued long, then come whining with petitions to the court that they were ready to starve and their fineries lay upon their hands.

I could wish our shopkeepers would immediately think on this proposal, addressing it to all persons of quality and others; but first be sure to get somebody who can write sense to put it into form.

I think it needless to exhort the clergy to follow this good example; because in a little time those among them who are so unfortunate as to have had their birth and education in this country will think themselves abundantly happy when they can afford Irish crape and an Athlone hat; and as to the others, I shall not presume to direct them. I have indeed seen the present archbishop of Dublin [Dr. William King] clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; and yet, under the rose be it spoken, his grace deserves as good a gown as if he had not been born among us.

I have not courage enough to offer one syllable on this subject to their honours of the army; neither have I sufficiently considered the great importance of scarlet and gold lace.

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this purpose.—The goddess had heard of one Arachne, a young virgin, very famous for spinning and weaving. They both met upon a trial of skill; and Pallas, finding herself almost equalled in her own art, stung with rage and envy, knocked her rival down, and turned her into a spider, enjoining her to spin and weave for ever out of her own bowels, and in a very narrow compass.

I confess that, from a boy, I always pitied poor Arachne, and could never heartily love the goddess, on account of so cruel and unjust a sentence; which however is fully executed upon us by England with further additions of rigour and severity; for the greatest part

* A seaport in Devonshire, at that time the principal market in England for Irish wool.

of our bowels and vitals is extracted without allowing us the liberty of spinning and weaving them.

The scripture tells us that "oppression makes a wise man mad;" therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not mad is because they are not wise. However it were to be wished that oppression would in time teach a little wisdom to fools.

I was much delighted with a person who has a great estate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me how grievously poor England suffers by impositions from Ireland:—that we convey our own wool to France, in spite of all the harpies at the custom-house; that Mr. Shuttleworth and others, on the Cheshire coasts, are such fools to sell us their bark at a good price for tanning our own hides into leather; with other enormities of the like weight and kind. To which I will venture to add more:—that the mayoralty of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate salary, whereby poor England loses at least one thousand pounds a-year upon the balance: that the governing of this kingdom costs the lord-lieutenant 3600*l.* a-year—so much net loss to poor England: that the people of Ireland presume to dig for coals on their own grounds; and the farmers in the county of Wicklow send their turf to the very market of Dublin, to the great discouragement of the coal-trade of Mostyn [Flintshire] and Whitehaven [Cumberland]: that the revenues of the post-office here, so righteously belonging to the English treasury, as arising chiefly from our own commerce with each other, should be remitted to London clogged with that grievous burden of exchange; and the pensions paid out of the Irish revenues to English favourites should lie under the same disadvantage, to the great loss of the grantees. When a divine is sent over to a bishopric here, with the hopes of 2500*l.* a-year, and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful discount of 10 or 12 per cent.; a judge, or a commissioner of the revenue, has the same cause of complaint. Lastly, the ballad upon Cotter is vehemently suspected to be Irish manufacture, and yet is allowed to be sung in our open streets, under the very nose of the government.

These are a few among the many hardships we put upon that poor kingdom of England, for which, I am confident, every honest man wishes a remedy. And I hear there is a project on foot for transporting our best wheaten straw, by sea and land carriage, to Dunstable, and obliging us by a law to take off yearly so many ton of straw hats for the use of our women; which will be a great encouragement to the manufacture of that industrious town.

I should be glad to learn among the divines whether a law to bind men without their own consent be obligatory *in foro conscientiæ;* because I find scripture, Sanderson, and Suarez, are wholly silent on the matter. The oracle of reason, the great law of nature, and general opinion of civilians, wherever they treat of limited governments, are indeed decisive enough.

It is wonderful to observe the bias among our people in favour of things, persons, and wares of all kinds, that come from England. The printer tells his hawkers that he has got an excellent new song, just brought from London. I have somewhat of a tendency that way myself; and upon hearing a coxcomb from thence displaying himself, with great volubility, upon the park, the playhouse, the opera, the gaming ordinaries, it was apt to beget in me a kind of veneration for his parts and accomplishments. It is not many years since I remember a person, who, by his style and literature, seems to have been the corrector of a hedge-press in some blind alley about Little Britain, proceed gradually to be an author, at least a translator[a] of a lower rate, although somewhat of a larger bulk, than any that now flourishes in Grub-street; and upon the strength of this foundation come over here, erect himself up into an orator and politician, and lead a kingdom after him. This, I am told, was the very motive that prevailed on the author [lord Grimston] of a play, called "Love in a hollow Tree," to do us the honour of a visit; presuming, with very good reason, that he was a writer of a superior class. I know another, who, for thirty years past, has been the common standard of stupidity in England, where he was never heard a minute in any assembly or by any party, with common Christian treatment; yet, upon his arrival here, could put on a face of importance and authority, talk more than six, without either gracefulness, propriety, or meaning, and at the same time be admired and followed as the pattern of eloquence and wisdom.

Nothing has humbled me so much, or shown a greater disposition to a contemptuous treatment of Ireland in some chief governors, than that high style of several speeches from the throne, delivered as usual, after the royal assent, in some periods of the two last reigns. Such exaggerations of the prodigious condescensions in the prince to pass those good laws would have but an odd sound at Westminster; neither do I apprehend how any good law can pass wherein the king's interest is not as much concerned as that of the people. I remember, after a speech on the like occasion delivered by my lord Wharton [lord-lieutenant] (I think it was his last), he desired Mr. Addison to ask my opinion on it. My answer was, "That his excellency had very honestly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph, wherein he asserted, by plain consequence, a dispensing power in the queen." His lordship owned it was true, but swore "the words were put into his mouth by direct orders from court." Whence it is clear that some ministers in those times were apt, from their high elevation, to look down upon this kingdom as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America. And I observed a little of the same turn of spirit in some great men from whom I expected better; although, to do them justice, it proved no kind of difficulty to make them correct their idea, whereof the whole nation quickly found the benefit.—But that is forgotten. How the style has since run I am wholly a stranger, having never seen a speech since the last of the queen.

I would now expostulate a little with our country landlords; who, by unmeasurable screwing and racking their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miserable people to a worse condition than the peasants in France or the vassals in Germany and Poland; so that the whole species of what we call substantial farmers will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleasant to observe these gentlemen labouring with all their might for preventing the bishops from letting their revenues at a moderate half-value, (whereby the whole order would in an age have been reduced to manifest beggary,) at the very instant when they were everywhere canting[b] their own land upon short leases and sacrificing their oldest tenants for a penny an acre advance. I know not how it comes to pass (and yet, perhaps, I know well enough) that slaves have a natural disposition to be tyrants; and that, when my betters give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with six upon my footman, although, perhaps, he may be an honest and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm that nothing is so likely to call down a universal judgment from heaven upon a nation as universal oppression; and whether this be not already verified in part, their worships, the landlords, are now

[a] Supposed to be Cæsar's Commentaries, dedicated to the duke of Marlborough by colonel Bladen.

[b] Canting their land is letting it to the highest bidder. Cant signifies the same as auction.

at full leisure to consider. Whoever travels this country, and observes the face of nature, or the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed.

I cannot forbear saying one word upon a thing they call a bank, which I fear is projecting in this town.[a] I never saw the proposals, nor understand any one particular of their scheme. What I wish for at present is only a sufficient provision of hemp, and caps and bells, to distribute according to the several degrees of honesty and prudence in some persons. I hear only of a monstrous sum already named; and if others do not soon hear of it too, and hear with a vengeance, then I am a gentleman of less sagacity than myself, and very few beside myself, take me to be. And the jest will be still the better if it be true, as judicious persons have assured me, that one half of this money will be real and the other half altogether imaginary. The matter will be likewise much mended if the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our goldsmiths to melt down our heavy silver.

AN ESSAY
ON ENGLISH BUBBLES;
BY THOMAS HOPE, ESQ.

The three following pieces refer to a project in circulation in 1720, for the establishment of a national bank in Dublin, and the Essay upon English Bubbles is to be considered as introductory to the others.

To the right reverend, right honourable, and right worshipful, and to the reverend, honourable, and worshipful, &c., Company of Stockjobbers, whether honest or dishonest, pious or impious, wise or otherwise, male or female, young or old, one with another, who have suffered depredation by the late bubbles,—Greeting.

Having received the following scheme from Dublin, I give you the earliest notice how you may retrieve DECUS ET TUTAMEN,[b] which you have sacrificed by permits in bubbles. This project is founded on a parliamentary security; besides, the devil is in it if it can fail, since a dignitary of the Church [dean of St. Patrick's] is at the head of it. Therefore you who have subscribed to the stocking insurance, and are out at the heels, may soon appear tight about the leg; you who encourage the hemp manufacture may leave the halter to rogues, and prevent the odium of *felo de se*. Medicinal virtues are to be had without the expense and hazard of a dispensary. You may sleep without dreaming of bottles at your tail, and a looking-glass shall not affright you; and since the glass bubble proved as brittle as its ware, and broke, together with itself, the hopes of its proprietors, they may make themselves whole by subscribing to our new fund.

Here indeed may be made three very grave objections by incredulous, interested priests, ambitious citizens, and scrupulous statesmen. 1. The stocking manufactory gentlemen do not know how swearing can bring them to any probability of covering their legs anew, unless it be by the means of a pair of stocks. 2. That the hemp-snared men apprehend that such an encouragement for oaths can tend to no other advancement, promotion, and exaltation of their persons than that of the gallows; the late old ordinary Paul,[c] having grown gray in the habit of making this accurate observation in every month's Sessions Paper, "That swearing had as great a hand in the suspension of every living soul under his cure, as Sabbath breaking itself." And 3rd, That the glass-bubble-men cannot, for their lives, with the best pair of spectacles (which is the only thing left neat and whole out of all their ware) see how they shall make anything out of this his oath-project, supposing he should even confirm by one his goodness—an oath being, as they say, as brittle as glass, and only made to be broken.

But those incredulous priests shall not go without an answer that will, I am sure, induce them to place a great confidence in the benefit arising from christians who damn themselves every hour of the day; for, while they speak of the vainness and fickleness of oaths as an objection against our project, they little consider that this fickleness and vainness is the common practice among all the people of this sublunary world; and that, consequently, instead of being an objection against the project, is a concluding argument of the constancy and solidity of their sure gain by it; a never-failing argument, as he tells us, among the brethren of his cloth.

The ambitious citizens who, from being plunged deep in the wealthy whirlpool of the South Sea, are in hopes of rising to such seats of fortune and dignity as would best suit with their mounting and aspiring hopes, may imagine that this new fund in the sister nation may prove a rival to theirs, and by drawing off a multitude of subscribers will, if it makes a flood in Ireland, cause an ebb in England. But it may be answered, That though our author avers "that this fund will vie with the South Sea," yet it will not clash with it. On the contrary the subscribers to this must wish the increase of the South Sea (so far from being its rival), because the multitude of people raised by it who were plain speakers as they were plain dealers before, must learn to swear in order to become their clothes, and to be gentlemen *à la mode*; while those who are ruined, I mean Jobed by it, will dismiss the patience of their old pattern, swear at their condition and curse their Maker in their distress: and so the increase of that English fund will be demonstratively an ample augmentation of the Irish one, so far will it be from being rivalled by it; so that each of them may subscribe to a fund they have their own security for augmenting.

The scrupulous statesmen (for we know that statesmen are usually very scrupulous) may object against having this project secured by votes in parliament, by reason, as they may deem it in their great wisdom, of its being an impious project, and that therefore so illustrious an assembly as the Irish parliament ought by no means, according to the opinion of a christian statesman, to be concerned in supporting any impious thing in the world. The way that some may take to prove it impious is because it will tend highly to the interest of swearing. But this I take to be plain downright sophistry and playing upon words: if this be called the Swearing project, or the Oath-Act, the increase of swearing will be very much for the benefit and interest of swearing, *i. e.* to the subscribers in the fund to be raised by this fruitful Swearing-act, if it should be so called, but not to the swearers themselves who are to pay for it; so that it will be, according to this distinction, piously indeed an act for a benefit to mankind from swearing, not impiously a benefit in swearing; so that I think that argument entirely answered and defeated. Far be it from the dean to have entered into so unchristian a project as this had been so considered. But then these politicians (being generally, as the world knows, mighty tender of conscience) may raise these new doubts, fears, and scruples, *viz.*—That it will, however, cause the subscribers to

[a] This project for a bank in Ireland was afterwards brought into parliament and rejected.

[b] The motto round a crown-piece, which was the usual price of permits.

[c] Paul Lorraine many years ordinary of Newgate. He died October 7, 1719.

wish in their minds for many oaths to fly about, which is a heinous crime, and to lay stratagems to try the patience of men of all sorts, to put them upon the swearing train, in order to bring grist to their own mill, which is a crime still more enormous; and that therefore, for fear of these evil consequences, the passing of such an act is not consistent with the really extraordinary and tender conscience of a true modern politician. But in answer to this I think I can plead the strongest plea in nature, and that is called precedent, I think, which I take thus from the South Sea: one man, by the very nature of that subscription, must naturally pray for the temporal damnation of another man in his fortune in order for gaining his own salvation in it, yea, even though he knows the other man's temporal damnation would be the cause of his eternal, by his swearing and despairing. Neither do I think this in casuistry any sin, because the swearing undone man is a free agent, and can choose whether he will swear or no, anybody's wishes whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. And in politics I am sure it is even a Machiavelian holy maxim, "That some men should be ruined for the good of others." Thus I think I have answered all the objections that can be brought against this project's coming to perfection, and proved it to be convenient to the state, of interest to the protestant church, and consonant with christianity, nay, with the very scruples of modern squeamish statesmen.

To conclude: the laudable author of this project squares the measures of it so much according to the scripture rule, that it may reasonably be presumed all good christians in England will come as fast into the subscriptions for his encouragement as they have already done throughout the kingdom of Ireland; for what greater proof could this author give of his christianity than for bringing about this Swearing-act, charitably to part with his coat, and sit starving in a very thin waistcoat in his garret, to do the corporeal virtues of feeding and clothing the poor, and raising them from the cottage to the palace, by punishing the vices of the rich? What more could have been done even in the primitive times? THOMAS HOPE.

From my house in St. Faith's Parish,
London, August 10, 1720.

P.S.—For the benefit of the author, application may be made to me at the Tilt-yard Coffeehouse, Whitehall.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE BANK,

PLACED ACCORDING TO THEIR ORDER AND QUALITY, WITH NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for the bank, had circulated lists of the subscribers, marking those who were qualified to be governors and directors, and those who were entitled to vote.

A TRUE and exact account of the nobility, gentry and traders of the kingdom of Ireland, who upon mature deliberation are of opinion that the establishing a bank upon real security would be highly for the advantage of the trade of the said kingdom; and for increasing the current species of money in the same. Extracted from the list of the subscribers to the Bank of Ireland, published by order of the commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions.

Nobility.

Archbishops	0	Barons	1
Marquises	0	Bishops	2
Earls	0	French Barons	1
Viscounts	3		

N.B.—The temporal lords of Ireland are 125, the bishops, 22. In all 147, exclusive of the aforesaid French count.

Gentry:—Baronets, 1. Knights, 1.

N.B.—Total of baronets and knights in Ireland uncertain, but in common computation supposed to be more than two.

Members of the house of commons—41; one whereof reckoned before amongst the two knights.

N.B.—Number of commoners, in all 300.

Esquires not members of Parliament—37.

N.B.—There are at least 20 of the said 37 esquires whose names are little known, and whose qualifications as esquires are referred to the king at arms; and the said king is desired to send to the publisher hereof a true account of the whole number of such real or reputed esquires as are to be found in this kingdom.

Clergy.

Deans	1	Rectors	3
Arch-Deacons	2	Curates	2

N.B.—Of this number one French dean, one French curate, and one bookseller.

Officers not members of parliament—16.

N.B.—Of the above number 10 French; but uncertain whether on whole or half-pay, broken, or of the militia.

Women.

Ladies 1

Widows 3, whereof one qualified to be dep.-governor.

Maidens 4.

N.B.—It being uncertain in what class to place the eight female subscribers, whether in that of nobility, gentry, &c., it is thought proper to insert them here betwixt the officers and traders.

Traders.

Aldermen of Dublin	1	a Frenchman	
Aldermen of Cork	1		
Limerick	1	Drogheda	0
Waterford	0	&c.	0

Merchants 29, *viz.*, 10 French, of London 1, of Cork 1, of Belfast 1.

N.B.—The place of abode of three of the said merchants, *viz.*, of London, Cork, Belfast, being mentioned, the publisher desires to know where the rest may be wrote to, and whether they deal in wholesale or retail, *viz.*

Master dealers, &c., 59, cashiers 1, bankers 4, chemist 1, player 1, Popish vintner 1, Bricklayer 1, chandler 1, doctors of physic 4, chirurgeons 2, pewterer 1, attorneys 4 (besides one esquire), barbers or markees, uncertain. As to the rest of the members, the publisher of this paper, though he has used his utmost diligence, has not been able to get a satisfactory account, either as to their country, trade, or profession.

N.B.—The total of men, women, and children in Ireland, besides Frenchmen, is 2,000,000. Total of the land of Ireland acres 16,800,000. (Vide Reasons for a Bank, &c.)

Query, How many of the said acres are in possession of 1 French baron, 1 French dean, 1 French curate, 1 French alderman, 10 French merchants, 8 Messieurs Frances, 1 esquire projector, 1 esquire attorney, 6 officers of the army, 8 women, 1 London merchant, 1 Cork merchant, 1 Belfast merchant, 18 merchants whose places of abode are not mentioned, 1 cashier, 4 bankers, 1 gentleman projector, 1 player, 1 chemist, 1 Popish vintner, 1 bricklayer, 1 chandler, 4 doctors of physic, 2 chirurgeons, 1 pewterer, 4 gentlemen attorneys, besides 28 gentlemen dealers, yet unknown, ut supra?

A LETTER FROM A LADY IN TOWN TO HER FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY, CONCERNING THE BANK;

OR THE LIST OF THE SUBSCRIBERS FURTHER EXPLAINED.

DEAR MADAM, Dublin, December 1, 1721.

I CAME to town three days before the bank-books were opened, and resolving to lose no time, I sent for your friend, and told him of your resolutions to sub

scribe 2000*l.*, that I had directions from you to apply to him, and a commission to transact for you.

At first he looked very grave and reserved, saying that he doubted I was come too late, for that so many persons of interest and distinction of both sexes had applied, he was afraid that the books would be full before they were opened; however, he said, he would use all his interest, and rather than you should be disappointed he would assign one half of his own subscription to you; at the same time letting me understand, that it was in effect a gift of so much money, with some innuendos as if he expected a premium.

He then ran out in high raptures upon the bank, and upon the great advantages it would be both to the subscribers and to the kingdom; he extolled the conduct of the managers, who had procured this bank from the government without any consideration, for which former projectors had offered no less than 50,000*l.* He affirmed that the subscribers could make no more than 25 per cent. for their whole subscriptions, of which only one-twentieth part was to be deposited; and then desired me to compute the value of the present he had made.

I asked him whether he were sure that this bank would succeed? He told me there was not the least doubt of it; that the necessity of affairs required it, whereof the managers were so confident, that they had actually brought over the iron chests to secure the money; that the nobility, gentry, and traders of the kingdom were, upon mature deliberation, unanimously of opinion that a bank was necessary, &c.; that he had particularly discoursed with three eminent persons of great honour, experience, and sagacity, distinguished for the love of their country and their profound knowledge in the general interests of kingdoms, and far above any paltry self-interests, the first of which, with great strength of argument, asserted, That we must have a bank, and will have a bank; the second, That the South-Sea had occasioned such a dearth of money in the kingdom that paper money was as necessary now as brass money was in the time of king James, and make us better able to pay our taxes and our pensions; and the third, with greater volubility of tongue and uncommon eloquence, affirmed that if people would not confide and believe in such a set of directors and governors, as were intended to be chosen, neither would they believe in Moses or the prophets.

He then began to enlarge upon the great advantages this bank would be to the public; that it would improve trade, navigation, manufactories, and the cultivation of our land; enable us to govern foreign markets, and make other nations factors for us who were now only factors for them. He then proceeded to a jargon, which I did not comprehend, of imports, exports, building ships, erecting warehouses, draining bogs, opening rivers, finding coals, building towers, raising land, sinking interest, &c. And when he was out of breath presented me with a paper called Reasons for a Bank, written, as he affirmed, with force of reason, conciseness and perspicuity of style, elegancy in phrase, propriety in diction, and with masterly strokes in political calculations; and believing he had now fully convinced me, he advised me, by all means, that the money I was to deposit should be guineas, presuming the crowds would be so great that the clerks would despatch me sooner.

We parted. I prepared my gold and the bond, waited impatiently all the next day when the books were opened, and being informed that vast crowds of coaches were attending in Dirty Lane, and receiving no message from our friend, concluded that the books were filled as he had alleged, but still expected to come in upon half his subscription; and accordingly I received notice to prepare against next morning.

During this time I accidentally heard that some of the nobility and gentry were violently bent against this project, and among the rest a certain lord to whom I have the honour to be related and well known. I waited on him, and gave him the whole history of my proceedings in this affair, desiring his advice and opinion. I had no sooner ended my story, than he fell into an immoderate fit of laughter, and the first words he was able to speak distinctly were, that he laughed with greater pleasure to himself, and as he hoped less pain to me, because I had neither paid in my money nor given bonds. He begged of me to be in no pain about the cluster of coaches in Dirty Lane, for he suspected that the greatest part of gentlemen's coaches which made that appearance were either lent or hired to make a figure, and he presumed I would be of the same opinion when I saw a list of the subscribers; and I do affirm (says he) that to my certain knowledge, the managers and their understrappers are running about the town all this time persuading, pressing, and perhaps bribing, men, women, and children, to fill their books.

He told me he had seen the books that very day; that there was not half the capital subscribed, and it was a doubt and matter of great speculation whether all the subscribers had paid in the twentieth part, and given all the bonds and judgments for the remainder. He confessed there were some persons of honour, estates, and good distinction amongst the subscribers, but these were in some alliance with the managers and chief promoters of the bank; and generally speaking the rest consisted of pressed men and French volunteers.

He allowed the (since chosen) intended governor to be a person of great integrity and honourable intentions, and gave the greatest credit to the projectors; but was sorry he was drawn in upon any considerations, or by any persuasions, into a project to which the nation was so utterly averse.

I was exceedingly surprised, and entreated him to let me know for what reasons so great a majority could oppose this scheme? His answer was, that he could assign a great number. But the principal which prevailed with him were those that follow:—

First, Because he could not conceive that any sufficient security had been offered or could be given by the bank for the properties of the subscribers, and transferrers and their heirs.

Secondly, That no security could possibly be given that the presumptive power, which must be lodged in this bank if it succeeds, may not be exerted to the destruction of the liberties of the people, and then the next evil to that of being dragooned is that of being dragoonable.

Thirdly, Because it is evident if this bank shall take place, and acquire that degree of wealth and power which may reasonably be apprehended, all that wealth and power must be naturally applied to its own preservation, that is to the arbitrary will and power of those to whom it owes its very being and subsistence.

Fourthly, It is highly probable that this is presumed, and actually is now a protestant bank; it may drain the greatest part of the species of money from the protestants, and leave them in lieu thereof only paper, which can be of no effect in times of confusion, either for their defence or subsistence; and consequently the ready money which must be allowed the sinews of war, being in the hands of the Irish papists, may render them more formidable upon such a juncture to the English protestant interest of Ireland than they have ever been since the reformation.

Besides these reasons his lordship further added that he could not well understand how a country wholly cramped in every branch of its trade, of large extent, ill peopled, and abounding in commodities which they had neither liberty to export nor encouragement to

manufacture, could be benefited by a bank which, by all he had read or heard, or observed in his travels, was only useful in free countries where the territory was small, and the trade general and unlimited; and consequently where the profit consisted in the buying and selling of goods imported from other nations, and wholly accrued to the public; whereas the bank proposed amongst us was to be the monopoly of a few. He added that Mr. Maxwell, in his letter to Mr. Rowley, had in several particulars given up the cause; but especially in one, where he allowed that before the convulsion occasioned by the South Sea, from the natural advantages of peace, and the very small share of trade allowed us, the interest of money fell of itself to 6 and 5½ per cent., which came very near to the only advantage the bank proposed; and his lordship saw no reason why he might not now hope for the same effect from time, and our natural advantages, when we have recovered this loss, as well as we did the ruins of a long war, upon the revolution, without venturing upon new experiments, under which France, Holland, and England have sunk, and which our poor crazy constitution is ill able to support and less able to retrieve. He said plainly that he looked upon Mr. Maxwell as a gentleman whose intentions were better than his abilities; that from poring upon Davenant, Petty, Child, and other reasoners from political arithmetic, he hath drawn conclusions by no means calculated for the circumstances and condition of Ireland.

As a great part of what he said was above my capacity, so I could never have repeated it, if he had not been at the trouble, at my request, to have given it me in writing, together with Mr. Rowley's letter, where he told me the subject was treated in so handsome a manner that he was sure it would both please and convince me.

After these general arguments he got up and shut the door, and in a very low voice told me in confidence the history of this project from its first commencement, comparing it to the machine of a watch, with its various wheels and movements, while the main spring was out of sight, yet plainly discovered where the hands pointed and directed. I dare not trust to your eyes what he could hardly trust to his own ears; but I was so thoroughly convinced from what he whispered, that I instantly wrote a note to your friend and told him you had altered your opinion, and would not subscribe to the bank, desiring he would give himself no further trouble.

After this I presumed to ask his lordship two questions; first, Whether the report were true that the lord-lieutenant had interested himself in favour of the bank? He assured me it was notoriously false and groundless; for his grace had behaved himself with the utmost candour and indifferency, which appeared throughout the whole transaction betwixt his grace and the negotiators, leaving it to the wisdom of the nation to determine what might be profitable for us, whereof I hope the whole kingdom, without distinction of party, will ever retain a grateful remembrance.

My second question was, How came it to pass that the commissioners and managers of the bank opened the books and proceeded to take subscriptions after the king in his speech, in tenderness to his people, had left it to the consideration of parliament, and after it appeared that a great majority of both houses, with the voice of the nation without doors, had declared against it. He answered with a smile that, for his own part, he could conceive no possible reason for this proceeding, but that the managers were resolved, at all hazards, to recover the expenses they had been at in negotiating the affair of the bank in England; that by this bold attempt, they seemed wholly to misrepresent and misapply the gracious intentions of his majesty, as if after he had loudly proclaimed in his speech from the throne, that the people of Ireland should have a bank if they pleased, he did at the same time whisper the managers that they should have a bank whether we pleased or no.

I took leave of his lordship, and in a few days found a great deal of what he told me to be true. For a list of the subscribers being published by order of the governors and directors, there came out a printed paper, with notes and queries, wherein the subscribers were ranked in their proper classes, which placed them in so ridiculous a light, [see preceding tract,] that they all began to be ashamed of one another. I took pains to examine that paper very carefully by the original list, and found it in every article to be a notorious truth, but not the whole truth, for the author hath omitted,

One French corn-cutter,	One anabaptist clothier,
One French drawer,	One barrack-master,
One deal merchant,	One butcher,
One French apothecary,	One agent's clerk,

Besides several South Seaers and Mississippians.

When I saw this list, and observed the situation of the subscribing ladies betwixt the soldiers and traders, I was highly delighted that you were not one of the number. I was intimately acquainted with one of them, and going to pay her a visit was, with some difficulty, admitted. She told me that she had kept her chamber some days since the publishing of that scandalous list; that she had been rallied to death by all her acquaintance; that she had endeavoured to get her money back, or at least her bond and judgment, but could prevail for neither; that she resolved to petition the lord chancellor for relief, and confessed freely to me that a proposal was made her of a very advantageous match, which was brought almost to a conclusion, but was broken off when the gentleman came to know that her fortune was in the bank, alleging that he could not depend upon it, because that her bond and judgment was lodged in the bank and that any part, or the whole thereof, was liable to the demands of the directors.

THE SWEARER'S BANK;

OR, PARLIAMENTARY SECURITY FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW BANK IN IRELAND, WHEREIN THE MEDICAL USE OF OATHS IS CONSIDERED.

"Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur."

"To believe everything that is said by a certain set of men, and to doubt of nothing they relate, though ever so improbable," is a maxim that has contributed as much, for the time, to the support of Irish banks as it ever did to the Popish religion; and they are not wholly beholden to the latter for their foundation, but they have the happiness to have the same patron saint; for Ignorance, the reputed mother of the devotion of one, seems to bear the same affectionate relation to the credit of the other.

To subscribe to banks without knowing the scheme or design of them, is not unlike to some gentlemen's signing addresses without knowing the contents of them: to engage in a bank that has neither act of parliament, charter, nor lands to support it, is like sending a ship to sea without a bottom; to expect a coach and six by the former, would be as ridiculous as to hope a return by the latter.

It was well known some time ago that our banks would be included in the bubble-bill; and it was believed those chimeras would necessarily vanish with the first easterly wind that should inform the town of the royal assent.

It was very mortifying to several gentlemen who dreamed of nothing but easy chariots, on the arrival

of the fatal packet, to slip out of them into their walking shoes. But should those banks, as it is vainly imagined, be so fortunate as to obtain a charter, and purchase lands; yet, on any run on them in a time of invasion, there would be so many starving proprietors, reviving their old pretensions to land and a bellyful, that the subscribers would be unwilling upon any call to part with their money, not knowing what might happen; so that in a rebellion, where the success was doubtful, the bank would infallibly break.

Since so many gentlemen of this town have had the courage, without any security, to appear in the same paper with a million or two; it is hoped, when they are made sensible of their safety, that they will be prevailed to trust themselves in a neat skin of parchment, with a single one.

To encourage them, the undertaker proposes the erecting of a bank on parliamentary security, and such security as no revolution or change of times can affect.

To take away all jealousy of any private view of the undertaker, he assures the world that he is now in a garret, in a very thin waistcoat, studying the public good; having given an undeniable pledge of his love to his country, by pawning his coat in order to defray the expense of the press.

It is very well known that, by an act of parliament, to prevent profane swearing, the person so offending, on oath made before a magistrate, forfeits a shilling, which may be levied with little difficulty.

It is almost unnecessary to mention that this is become a pet-vice among us; and though age renders us unfit for other vices, yet this, where it takes hold, never leaves us but with our speech.

So vast a revenue might be raised by the execution of this act, that I have often wondered, in a scarcity of funds, that methods have not been taken to make it serviceable to the public.

I dare venture to say, if this act was well executed in England, the revenue of it, applied to the navy, would make the English fleet a terror to all Europe.

It is computed by geographers that there are 2,000,000 in this kingdom (of Ireland), of which number there may be said to be 1,000,000 of swearing souls.

It is thought there may be 5000 gentlemen; every gentleman, taking one with another, may afford to swear an oath every day, which will yearly produce 1,825,000 oaths; which number of shillings makes the yearly sum of 91,250*l.*

The farmers of this kingdom, who are computed to be 10,000, are able to spend yearly 500,000 oaths, which gives 25,000*l.*; and it is conjectured that, from the bulk of the people, 20,000*l.* or 25,000*l.* may be yearly collected.

These computations are very modest, since it is evident that there is a much greater consumption of oaths in this kingdom, and consequently a much greater sum might be yearly raised.

That it may be collected with ease and regularity, it is proposed to settle informers in great towns in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and to have riding-officers in the country; and since nothing brings a greater contempt on any profession than poverty, it is determined to settle very handsome salaries on the gentlemen that are employed by the bank, that they may, by a generosity of living, reconcile men to an office that has lain under so much scandal of late as to be undertaken by none but curates, clerks of meeting-houses, and broken tradesmen.

It is resolved that none shall be preferred to those employments but persons that are notorious for being constant churchmen, and frequent communicants; whose piety will be a sufficient security for their honest and industrious execution of their office.

It is very probable that 20,000*l.* will be necessary to defray all expenses of servants, salaries, &c. However, there will be the clear yearly sum of 100,000*l.*, which may very justly claim a million subscription.

It is determined to lay out the remaining unapplied profits, which will be very considerable, toward the erecting and maintaining of charity schools. A design so beneficial to the public, and especially to the protestant interest of this kingdom, has met with so much encouragement from several great patriots in England, that they have engaged to procure an act to secure the sole benefit of informing on this swearing act to the agents and servants of this new bank. Several of my friends pretend to demonstrate, that this bank will in time vie with the South Sea Company: they insist, that the army dispend as many oaths yearly as will produce 100,000*l.* nett.

There are computed to be 100 pretty fellows in this town that swear 50 oaths a-head daily; some of them would think it hard to be stinted to a hundred: this very branch would produce a vast sum yearly.

The FAIRS of this kingdom will bring in a vast revenue; the oaths of a little Connaught one, as well as they could be numbered by two persons, amounted to three thousand. It is true that it would be impossible to turn all of them into ready money, for a shilling is so great a duty on swearing, that if it was carefully exacted, the common people might as well pretend to drink wine as to swear; and an oath would be as rare among them as a clean shirt.

A servant that I employed to accompany the militia their last muster day had scored down, in the compass of eight hours, three hundred oaths; but, as the putting of the act in execution on those days would only fill the stocks with porters, and pawn-shops with muskets and swords; and as it would be matter of great joy to papists and disaffected persons to see our militia swear themselves out of their guns and swords; it is resolved that no advantage shall be taken of any militiaman's swearing while he is under arms; nor shall any advantage be taken of any man's swearing in the four courts, provided he is at hearing in the exchequer, or has just paid off an attorney's bill.

The medicinal use of oaths is what the undertaker would by no means discourage, especially where it is necessary to help the lungs to throw off any distilling humour. On certificate of a course of swearing prescribed by any physician, a permit will be given to the patient by the proper officer of the bank, paying no more than sixpence. It is expected that a scheme of so much advantage to the public will meet with more encouragement than their chimerical banks; and the undertaker hopes, that as he has spent a considerable fortune in bringing this scheme to bear, he may have the satisfaction to see it take place for the public good, though he should have the fate of most projectors, to be undone.

It is resolved, that no compositions shall be made, nor licences granted, for swearing, under a notion of applying the money to pious uses; a practice so scandalous, as is fit only for the see of Rome, where the money arising from whoring licenses is applied *ad propagandam fidem*: and to the shame of Smock-alley and of all protestant whores (especially those who live under the light of the gospel-ministry), be it spoken, a whore in Rome never lies down but she hopes it will be the means of converting some poor heathen or heretic.

The swearing revenues of the town of Cork will be given for ever by the bank to the support of poor clergymen's widows: and those of Ringsend will be allowed to the maintenance of sailors' bastards.

The undertaker designs in a few days to appoint time and place for taking subscriptions; the sub-

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scribers must come prepared to pay down one-fourth on subscribing.

P.S.—The Jews of Rotterdam have offered to farm the revenues of Dublin at 20,000*l.* per annum. Several eminent quakers are also willing to take them at that rent; but the undertaker has rejected their proposals, being resolved to deal with none but christians.

Application may be made to him about them, any day, at Patt's coffee-house, where attendance will be given.

A LETTER TO THE KING AT ARMS,

FROM A REPUTED ESQUIRE, ONE OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE BANK.

THE title esquire was anciently only applied to the younger sons of nobility, baronets, and the eldest sons of judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, of knights, and to such as had employment in the service of the crown.

SIR, November 18, 1721.

IN a late printed paper, containing some notes and queries upon that list of the subscribers' names which was published by order of the commissioners for receiving subscriptions, I find some hints and innuendoes that would seem to insinuate as if I and some others were only reputed esquires; and our case is referred to you, in your kingly capacity. I desire you will please to let me know the lowest price of a real esquire's coat of arms, and if we can agree, I will give my bond to pay you out of the first interest I receive for my subscription; because things are a little low with me at present, by throwing my whole fortune into the bank, having subscribed for 500*l.* sterling.

I hope you will not question my pretensions to this title when I let you know that my godfather was a justice of peace, and I myself have been often a keeper of it. My father was a leader and commander of horse, in which post he rode before the greatest lords of the land [a postilion]; and, in long marches, he alone presided over the baggage, advancing directly before it. My mother kept open house in Dublin, where several hundreds were supported with meat and drink bought at her own charge, or with her personal credit, until some envious brewers and butchers forced her to retire.[a]

As to myself, I have been for several years a foot-officer; and it was my charge to guard the carriages, behind which I was commanded to stick close, that they might not be attacked in the rear. I have had the honour to be a favourite of several fine ladies; who each of them, at different times, gave me such coloured knots and public marks of distinction, that every one knew which of them it was to whom I paid my address. They would not go into their coach without me, nor willingly drink unless I gave them the glass with my own hand. They allowed me to call them my mistresses, and owned that title publicly. I have been told, that the true ancient employment of a squire was to carry a knight's shield, painted with his colours and coat of arms. This is what I have witnesses to produce that I have often done; not indeed in a shield, like my predecessors, but that which is full as good, I have carried the colours of a knight upon my coat [as a footman]. I have likewise borne the king's arms in my hand, as a mark of authority [as a constable]; and hung them painted before my dwelling-house, as a mark of my calling [as an innkeeper]; so that I may truly say, his majesty's arms have been my supporters. I have been a strict and constant follower of men of quality. I have diligently pursued the steps of several squires, and am able to behave myself as well as the best of them whenever there shall be occasion.

I desire it may be no disadvantage to me that, by the new act of parliament going to pass for preserving the game, I am not yet qualified to keep a greyhound. If this should be the test of squirehood, it will go hard with a great number of my fraternity, as well as myself, who must all be unsquired, because a greyhound will not be allowed to keep us company; and it is well known I have been a companion to his betters. What has a greyhound to do with a squireship? might I not be a real squire, although there was no such thing as a greyhound in the world? Pray tell me, sir, are greyhounds to be from henceforth the supporters of every squire's coat of arms? Although I cannot keep a greyhound, may not a greyhound help to keep me? May not I have an order from the governors of the bank to keep a greyhound, with a *non obstante* to the act of parliament, as well as they have created a bank against the votes of the two houses? But however this difficulty will soon be overcome. I am promised 125*l.* a-year for subscribing 500*l.*; and of this 500*l.* I am to pay in only 25*l.* ready money: the governors will trust me for the rest, and pay themselves out of the interest by 25*l.* per cent. So that I intend to receive only 40*l.* a-year to qualify me for keeping my family and a greyhound, and let the remaining 85*l.* go on till it makes 500*l.*, then 1000*l.*, then 10,000*l.*, then 100,000*l.*, then a million, and so forwards. This, I think, is much better (betwixt you and me) than keeping fairs, and buying and selling bullocks; by which I find, from experience, that little is to be gotten in these hard times.

I am, sir, your friend and servant to command,

A. B., ESQUIRE.

P.S.—I hope you will favourably represent my case to the publisher of the paper above-mentioned.

Direct your letter for A. B., esq., at ***, in ***; and pray get some parliament-man to frank it, for it will cost a great postage to this place.

[a] His mother kept an eating house.

THE LAST SPEECH AND DYING WORDS OF EBENEZER ELLISTON.[a]

EXECUTED THE SECOND OF MAY, 1722.

Published at his desire for the common good.

I AM now going to suffer the just punishment for my crimes prescribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the constant custom that those who come to this place should have speeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing as they are carried to execution; and truly they are such speeches that, although our fraternity be an ignorant, illiterate people, they would make a man ashamed to have such nonsense and false English charged upon him even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our sincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the same treatment with my predecessors.

However, having had an education one or two degrees better than those of my rank and profession, I have been considering ever since my commitment what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occasion.

And First—I cannot say from the bottom of my heart that I am truly sorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much so for the bad success of my villainies in bringing me to this untimely end; for it is plainly evident that after having some time ago obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were so rooted in me, and I was grown so unfit for any other kind of employment And therefore although in

[a] A malefactor executed for street robbery. His parents, according to Faulkner, were rigid dissenters, had given him a good education, put him apprentice to a silk-weaver, and settled him in that profession, which he gradually exchanged for those of a fine gentleman, a gamester, and a housebreaker.

compliance with my friends, I resolved to go to the gallows after the usual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand and my eyes lifted up; yet I shall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have observed in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can say further, from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity, after they had been hanged and wonderfully came to life and made their escapes, as it sometimes happened, proved afterwards the wickedest rogues I ever knew, and so continued until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence at both times they went to the gallows to smite their breasts and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly.—From the knowledge I have of my own wicked dispositions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public than the mercy of the government in ever pardoning or transporting us, unless when we betray one another, as we never fail to do if we are sure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good: by the same rule, That it is better to have one fox in a farm than three or four. But we generally make a shift to return after being transported, and are ten times greater rogues than before and much more cunning. Besides, I know it by experience, that some hope we have of finding mercy when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly.—Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of those odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full. These wretches put us upon all mischief to feed their lusts and extravagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men; their advice is always not to spare if we are pursued: they get drunk with us, and are common to us, and yet if they can get anything by it are sure to be our betrayers.

Now as I am a dying man I have done something which may be of good use to the public. I have left with an honest man (and, indeed, the only honest man I was ever acquainted with) the names of all my wicked brethren, the present places of their abode, with a short account of the chief crimes they have committed, in many of which I have been their accomplice, and heard the rest from their own mouths: I have likewise set down the names of those we call our setters, of the wicked houses we frequent, and of those who receive and buy our stolen goods. I have solemnly charged this honest man and have received his promise upon oath, that whenever he hears of any rogue to be tried for robbing or housebreaking, he will look into his list, and if he finds the name there of the thief concerned, to send the whole paper to the government. Of this I here give my companions fair and public warning, and hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with my friend, I have also set down the names of several gentlemen who have been robbed in Dublin streets for three years past; I have told the circumstances of those robberies, and shown plainly that nothing but the want of common courage was the cause of their misfortune. I have therefore desired my friend that whenever any gentleman happens to be robbed in the streets, he will get that relation printed and published, with the first letters of those gentlemen's names, who by their own want of bravery are like to be the cause of all the mischief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a short description of that kind of life which I have led for some years past; and it is exactly the same with the rest of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally so corrupted from our childhood has to have no sense of goodness, yet some thing heavy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that we are never easy till we are half-drunk among our whores and companions, nor sleep sound unless we drink longer than we can stand. If we go abroad in the day, a wise man would easily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have such a suspicious, fearful, and constrained countenance, often turning back and slinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never saw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is, however, common to us all when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and soon squander it away on our vices in those houses that receive us, for the master and the mistress, and the very tapster, go snacks, and besides make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, snuff-boxes, and the like, we have customers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have seen a tankard worth 15*l.* sold to a fellow in —— street for 20*s.*, and a gold watch for 30*s.* I have set down his name and that of several others in the paper already mentioned. We have setters watching in corners and by dead walls to give us notice when a gentleman goes by, especially if he be anything in drink. I believe in my conscience that if an account were made of 1000*l.* in stolen goods, considering the low rates we sell them at, the bribes we must give for concealment, the extortions of ale-house reckonings, and other necessary charges, there would not remain 50*l.* clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this we must find clothes for our whores, besides treating them from morning to night, who in requital reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform against us, if we will not go out and look for more. If anything in this world be like hell, as I have heard it described by our clergy, the truest picture of it must be in the back room of one of our alehouses at midnight, where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time until they are past their senses, is such a continued horrible noise of cursing and blasphemy, lewdness, scurrility, and brutish behaviour, such roaring and confusion, such a clatter of mugs and pots at each other's heads, that bedlam in comparison is a sober and orderly place. At last they all tumble from their stools and benches, and sleep away the rest of the night, and generally the landlord or his wife, or some other whore who has a stronger head than the rest, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is that we can never be easy till we are drunk, and our drunkenness constantly exposes us to be more easily betrayed and taken.

This is a short picture of the life I have led, which is more miserable than that of the poorest labourer who works for 4*d.* a day; and yet custom is so strong, that I am confident if I could make my escape at the foot of the gallows, I should be following the same course this very evening. So that upon the whole we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind, whose interest it is to root us out like wolves and other mischievous vermin, against which no fair play is required.

If I have done service to men in what I have said, I shall hope I have done service to God, and that will be better than a silly speech made for me full of whining and canting, which I utterly despise and have never been used to; yet such a one I expect to have my ears tormented with as I am passing along the streets.

Good people fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worse behind me. I hope you shall see me die like a man the death of a dog. E. E

RIGHT OF PRECEDENCE

BETWEEN PHYSICIANS AND CIVILIANS INQUIRED INTO.

"Tu major, tibi me est æquum parare, Menalca."—Virg.
"Fidis offendar medicis? irascar amicis?"—Hor.

The cause of this humorous dispute is now forgotten, but the general title is sufficient to render it intelligible. Some personal satire is wholly lost.

I have waited hitherto with no little impatience to see some good effect of that debate, which I thought was happily started at a late meeting of our university [Trinity College, Dublin] upon the subject of precedence between professors of law and physic. And though I cannot join in opinion with the worthy gentleman who first moved in it, I must needs say the motion was seasonable and well became him; for beside that he intended an honour to a faculty he was promoted above, and was so self-denying as to waive all debates of that nature as long as he was a party concerned in the motion, he did what in him lay to put an end, by authority, to a point in controversy which had long divided the gentlemen of those two faculties; and I am very much mistaken if the same person does not hereafter prove as much a friend to piety and learning in his other designs as he has been already in this, to the peace and agreement of learned men.

But to my great disappointment little more has been said upon the subject since the first debate than what has been argued in private, more for the entertainment of single gentlemen than the use and information of mankind. I have heard that the matter is brought to a compromise, and professors in both faculties have agreed to yield precedence to one another, according to their standing and the date of their commencement.

But this to me appears no satisfactory way of deciding a point of such importance. And to speak freely, it is but drawing a skin over a wound, and giving it a face of soundness, when there lies filth and purulence within, which will another time break out with more pain and greater danger.

The time is approaching when it will be proper once more to bring this affair upon the carpet; and I am humbly of opinion that the point is of such consequence, that it ought not to subside as it has done of late. It should neither rest upon that slight baffle it received at its first appearance in public, nor be hushed up in silence, under the pretence of any private accommodation, which the parties concerned have since come to, for the sake of civility and good manners in company.

I am one of those who love peace upon a good foundation, and do for that reason no less admire truth, upon which alone a lasting peace can be founded. And as I am qualified to introduce this matter at the next meeting of our university, and fully determined to do so, I thought it reasonable to give this friendly notice to all parties, that they study the point and make themselves masters of it, and give it so thorough a canvassing in what manner they think fit, as to leave no room for exception and wrangling when the question comes to be solemnly debated in that assembly.

But before I come to the merits of the cause itself you must give me leave to make one observation in the way concerning the importance of precedence in general, which may prove of singular use to mankind, who are for the most part unapprized of it.

As I remember, there fell a very harsh expression from a certain gentleman (with whom it is not usual to be unguarded) who appeared an advocate for physicians, when the motion was first made to thrust them from their place. He was pleased to call it a womanish debate if I took him right; but as much a friend as I am to his person and cause I will not follow him in that opinion, and will further say, the expression was mean and beneath the dignity of his character. There is an unkind reflection couched in it upon a sex by which much of the decencies of life and little morals are supported; and it does not agree with that taste of gallantry which he is thought to have, and is very consistent with his profession, and is even ungrateful in a man of that faculty which is more in favour with the ladies than any other except divinity.

But not to insist upon this I cannot think, as that expression implies, that the matter is at all beneath the consideration of the greatest and most learned of men. On the contrary, I think the question was well moved, and since it has been moved every one should endeavour to find on which side of the argument the advantage lies: and I wonder that in this interval of parliament and business (the usual vacation of this kingdom) something has not been offered before this time for the quieting men's minds. It is a difference among his majesty's subjects, which it becomes every healing spirit to compose, and is a duty both of religion and loyalty.

I would ask is precedence or distinction of place of no moment among men? Are women only concerned in it? Does society owe nothing of convenience to it? Is it indifferent whether a man sits at a lady's elbow or her pert chaplain's? near a soup at the head of the table, or beef at the bottom? Is there no advantage in the first plate, or the earliest compliment of the glass, or the respect of waiters, or in ruling the books at a quarter sessions, and being honoured with the cushion in the face of one's country? Is it of no consequence to be in the eye of the government? and does not precedence contribute to that at a Tholsel [Guildhall] entertainment? What are academical degrees so dearly purchased for but place, and can a professor answer it to his trust or interest to disparage precedence? For what other reason in nature but precedence did a great man of my acquaintance lately become a double grand compounder for his degree? and another undeceive mankind, or rather deceive women, and suffer himself to be pronounced a venerable man in spite of his youthful looks? Shall not the solemn doctor —— in his chariot take place of plain Mr. —— in his? and have the heels of him in preferment according to the start he has in precedence?

Give me leave to say, that the notion of the insignificancy of place has been of infinite prejudice to many worthy men, and of as great advantage to others, who have juster thoughts of it. While dignity sinks with its own weight, the scum of mankind will naturally rise above it.

I have a pious concern upon me for all the important mistakes of mankind, and this among the rest; as to which, I have observed strong prejudice runs counter to the nature of things and the principles of truth and reason. Sure I am, nature directs every person and thing to maintain its situation, or rather not so much to keep its own place as to aspire and displace others. And the reason is plain, because that is a tendency to the uppermost point and an approach to perfection; and therefore contrary to common opinions, I have ever thought there is piety in pride and ambition, and that it is virtue to be emulous and aspiring. And when I hear, as in my time I have many, conceited declamations against pride, I suspect it is with the design of a monopoly, and to engross it; as I have known an ingenious schoolboy spit in his mess of porridge, not to abuse the good creature, but to secure it all to himself. What is that dominion so early given to mankind, but superiority of power and place? and then to act up to it is not womanish but manly. And if that was a precept

I will take upon me to say there is not one point of duty so universally and exactly observed.

And society has so great a consideration of place, that we find wise provisions made for the regulating of it and for settling the due pre-eminence of all degrees of men, and an office of heraldry for that purpose, which may be found in almost every house of quality. I could go further than this, but for this reason, that it is out of my way, and none of my business, to determine the force of great examples, and make conclusions upon Scripture; and perhaps my friend's best apology is, that the Bible is out of the road of his profession and study; but I will say thus much, that as I have observed divines to be so far scriptural in their carriage, as to take "the right hand of fellowship" on all occasions, and carry their disputes about place as high as any other sort of men; so their practice (such is my deference) is to me the best gloss upon duty, and my conviction, and should be his. And this plainly determines the point against him, and shows the importance of precedence; and then it will follow in logic that, if taking place be matter of moment, to dispute about place is not womanish nor trivial.

And this allowed I am inclined to believe, that upon this religious principle all our late promotions of nobility have proceeded, and that so many gentlemen have procured themselves titles, not, as some have injuriously thought, that they might take place of their betters, but out of a sense of duty: and while some (alas! too many) ignorantly despise them for their worthless ambition, I regard them with another eye, and honour them for their piety, and courage, and conscience, and even condescension in being made great, and do from my heart pity such as cannot be greater, without being less. Indeed the roll of our nobility is at present very voluminous, but no matter for that. If there were more of them, such is the ductility of my respect, I could, with a smaller quantity of esteem, do honour to them all. I make the same account of nobility of all dates as I do of books; I value the old as usually more exact, and genuine, and useful, though commonly unlettered, and often loose in the bindings; and I value the new, because —— but the notion is obvious, and I leave my reader to pursue it. I was led into this comparison from the *curiosa felicitas* of those whose way it is to paste their arms and titles of honour on the reverse of the title-pages, which shows the affinity of the two. My love to the nobility has made me sometimes seriously lament the great damp which must have fallen on honour and laudable ambition had the peerage bill succeeded in England; but I had this consolation that, had the sluice been shut there, the flood of honour had risen the higher here, and overflowed this my native kingdom.

I could here according to custom produce, in favour of this uncommon position, many bright authorities; and have now before me above a score of quotations, gathered with infinite labour from St. Chrysostom, by his index; but to the discouragement of my learning the Greek types are not ready, and will not be set till the 20th of next month, when the following editions of this work shall be enriched with learned languages in great variety. The author of a late state sermon should have waited as I do, rather than suffer his learning to look asquint as it does, and make so frightful a figure from the press. I am master of the stochastic art; and by virtue of that I divine that those Greek words in that discourse have crept from the margin into the text otherwise than the author intended; and indeed some of those Greek maggots are so uneasy in, and ashamed of their place, that they seem to be upon the crawl backward.

I hope what has been offered will clear this case of conscience, and is sufficient to show any man of candour, and who loves and searches after truth as I do, the importance of place and precedency among men; that the peace and order and honour of society is owing to it, and as women have been remarkably strenuous in asserting these rights, I do hereby take upon me to return them the thanks of mankind (asking pardon for the professor's misbehaviour), and do wish them perseverance and success in all their laudable attempts of that nature. Let them enjoy the wall and the right hand of us from this day forward, not in consideration of their weakness, or out of our courtesy, but in their own right as patriots, and stout defenders of the privileges of their own and our sex.

But to proceed. It were perhaps a proper method in this, as in other debates concerning precedency, to appeal to the herald's office, and be determined by usual and stated rules there, how place in this case is to be given or taken; but a certain lord has assured me upon his honour that nothing concerning the present question is there taken notice of; and whatever orders may be delivered in heraldry about personal precedence, there is nothing said as to faculties, except only this, that doctors in divinity, and those not specialists, as we used to call them, *i. e.*, such as have received that degree by the special indulgence and undeserved favour and grace of the university, shall have a place immediately above esquires that are not of noble families.

Upon which observation, if it be true, as I fear it is, I have reason to apprehend some disturbance in the country, among the ladies there, therefore I do present my most humble service to madam ——, wife to a very reverend divine, D.D., *speciali gratiâ*, who has for many years past to my knowledge, in mistake of her husband's right, taken place at table of a certain justice of the peace's lady, and do advise her, that, in order to maintain her precedency, she would once more send her spouse up to a commencement, and engage him to perform his acts, and be re-admitted, and take up his large cautionary bonds for her own and her children's advantage.

And I would further observe, for the use of men who love place without a title to it, either by law or heraldry, as some have a strange oiliness of spirits, which carries them upward, and mounts them to the top of all company (company being often like bottled liquors, where the light and windy parts hurry to the head, and fix in froth), I would observe, I say, that there is a secret way of taking place without sensible precedence, and consequently without offence. This is a useful secret, and I will publish it here, from my own practice, for the benefit of my countrymen, and the universal improvement of mankind.

It is this. I generally fix a sort of first meridian in my thoughts before I sit down, and instead of observing privately, as the way is, whom in company I may sit above, in point of birth, age, fortune, or station, I consider only the situation of the table by the points in the compass, and the nearer I can get to the east (which is a point of honour for many reasons, for "*porrecta majestas ad ortum solis*,") I am so much the higher, and my good fortune is to sit sometimes, or for the most part, due east, sometimes N. by E., seldom with greater variation; and then I do myself honour, and am blessed with invisible precedence, mystical to others, and the joke is, that by this means I take place (for place is but fancy) of many that sit above me: and whilst most people in company look upon me as a modest man, I know myself to be a very assuming fellow, and do often look down with contempt on some at the upper end of the table. By this craft I at once gratify my humour (which is pride) and preserve my character; and this

I take to be the art of life. And sticking to this rule I generally possess a middle place in company, even in the vulgar account, and am at meat as wise men would be in the world,

> Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.[a]
> Hor. 2 Ep. ii. 204.

And to this purpose my way is to carry a little pocket compass in my left fob, and from that I take my measures imperceptibly, as from a watch, in the usual way of comparing time before dinner, or if I chance to forget that, I consider the situation of the parish church, and this is my never-failing regulator.

I know some people take another way for this, and place themselves nearest the dish they like best, and their ambition is gratified where their appetite is so. Eating well is commonly and with justice called good living, and their rule is that of Horace,

> Ut, quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
> Te dicas[b] 1 Ep. xi. 24.

And it must be allowed as a standard their honour lies in their stomach, as indeed I have always thought that, contrary to vulgar notions, the seat, not of honour only, but of most great qualities of the mind, as well as of the disorders of the body.

Give me leave to explain myself. I think I can reduce to this one principle all the properties of the mind, and by the way, as I take our grand devourer of fire to have the best stomach of any man living,[c] I conclude him the greatest person our age or any other has produced, not excepting Cato's daughter,[d] nor shall Time, although *edax rerum*, ever digest the memory of one who has a better appetite than even Time itself. But to go on: does not the stomach make men ambitious, covetous, amorous, obsequious, and time-serving? What made a certain judge keep his place on the bench when his brethren left it, but his sense of honour, *i. e.*, his keen appetite? Does not the stomach alone carry all debates in both houses, and support parties, and make court-parasites lose their dinners sometimes, that they and theirs may dine the better all their lives after? Do not we use to say a man of honour stomachs an indignity? Is not English feeding the foundation of English bravery? and good claret, of *fierté* and French sprightliness?

In short, courage, honour, wit, and sense, and all arts and sciences, take their rise here; and this an ancient has observed, "*magister artis ingeniique largitor venter*," which, if it be true, I will take upon me to declare our vulgar saying, "that men have guts in their brains," is a vulgar error, and should be rectified, and that rather their brains are in their guts; and when we see some men less courageous, witty, or learned than others, we should pity their bad stomachs or indigestion, rather than their incapacity or indisposition of brain. I am so sensible of this, that I have of many years disused, as an absurdity, that saying to a simple fellow, "God help your head;" but I wish him with more propriety a good stomach or a better dinner.

I could here chemico-mechanically resolve men's parts into their feeding, and show what sort of humours and genius must necessarily proceed from particular sorts of meats, and explain a great deal of the heathen mythology by it; but this I reserve for a treatise by itself. Yet this I will say, that a writer's stomach, appetite, and victuals may be judged from his method, style, and subject, as certainly as if you were his mess-fellow, and sat at table with him. Hence we call a subject dry, a writer insipid, notions crude and indigested, a pamphlet empty or hungry, a style *jejune*, and many such-like expressions, plainly alluding to the diet of an author; and I make no manner of doubt but Tully grounded that saying of "*bellua librorum*," upon the same observation.

Now I say it is evident if this be true that every man at meat is most honoured when he is most humoured, or when he sits nearest to that which pleases his palate best; and consequently that is the first place to him upon that principle, and such men must be allowed to have the truest taste of honour of all others. I have observed these sort of people have generally a great propensity to roast beef; and it will be granted that to sit even at the foot of the table next a sirloin, which is a dish of dignity, and of old hereditary knighthood, is in strictness of heraldry more honourable than a place next the biggest plain country squire at the upper end,—and I have often chosen it.

But to return from this useful digression. The noble personage aforementioned, who honoured me with his sentiments upon this abstruse point, must be allowed to have as good a local memory as any lord in the kingdom; and has never been known once to mistake, or forget, or recede from that place of distinction which is due to him. He could settle the forms of a royal interment, and adjust the ceremonies of a coronation if occasion were; and I must add, but that he has more honour than to be officious, he could have determined that late controverted point of an English bishop's place among ours, and had saved the house, had he been called upon, the trouble and delays of referring to the English precedents.

I say his lordship, who is expert in heraldry, and as communicative of that useful knowledge as becomes noble spirits, has assured me there is no notice taken in that science of any distinction of place for learned faculties; and for mechanical ones, such as appear on collar days, or riding the franchises, they are below the thoughts of a man of quality. He pretends not to know what by-laws, or private compacts of precedency there may be between goldsmiths and grocers, vintners and shoemakers.

I have now before me a table of precedence, given me by the same noble hand, reaching down from a prince of the blood to a country squire, and regarding every branch of their families in the minutest manner, —which I reserve for my own use, and am envious enough to deny it to the world; and the rather, that it is to be found in Mackenzie and Gwillim, and may be had for 2*s.* 6*d.* in the office.

The case being so, there can be no other way, as I conceive, of deciding a question of precedency between the two faculties of law and physic, but by inquiring into their antiquity and dignity: and whichsoever of them shall appear to be most ancient, and most useful to the world, I presume the world will, in justice, think fit to have the greatest honour for, and give the precedence to.

I take it for granted that priority of time, *cæteris paribus*, gives a preference of place, and this naturally, or by common consent—for that I take to be the meaning of nature in most cases, *viz.*, what is found reasonable in itself, and has been always agreed to by mankind, and is confirmed by constant and uninterrupted practice; and this I desire some young preachers to take good notice of, and get by rote. I likewise by the way take upon me, now I think of it, to advise a certain deacon of my acquaintance to read Doctor Cumberland all through, and twice before he presumes to plead "the law of nature" in the pulpit; to learn mathematics before he pretends to demonstrate there; to peruse Aristotle, Tacitus, and the State-Tracts, before he meddles with politics; and be able to act

[a] "Behind the first, yet still before the last."—Duncombe.

[b] Seize on the present joy, and thus possess,
Where'er you live, an inward happiness."—Francis.

[c] A man called the fire-eater, who exhibited himself as a show about this period.

[d] Who is said to have killed herself by swallowing live coals.

Eteocles, before he attempts Greek quotations in his sermons. What if Jocasta or Antigone should bear a mispronunciation from the pulpit; or any other of those young Greeks who so lately did an honour to Euripides, transported their audience into Thebes, and inspired the old bachelors on the foremost bench with that παιδικὴν ἡδονὴν, which they so handsomely represented!

I say time gives a natural right of precedence by common consent; and hence age is honoured above youth, and by it. The very heathens thought it indecency, and a trespass in point of manners, "si juvenis seni non assurrexerit," if a young man did not rise up, and give way to an older; and the canonists, I hope, will be ingenious enough to own, though in this argument against their brethren the civilians, that it was a rule of the primitive church, that a deacon should not sit in the presence of a presbyter. In a word, wisdom and experience, which are divine qualities, are the properties of age, and make it honourable; and youth, in the want of them, contemptible.

But I do not say this to mortify or discourage young men. I would not, by any means, have them despise themselves, for that is the ready way to be despised by others; and the consequences of contempt are fatal. For my part, I take self-conceit and opinionativeness to be of all others the most useful and profitable quality of the mind; it has to my knowledge made bishops, and judges, and smart writers, and pretty fellows, and pleasant companions, and good preachers.

It is a sure way of being agreeable to the ladies, who ever judge of men as they observe men do of themselves. If all men were to have the same opinion of themselves that others have of them, there would not be, out of mere shame, above two sermons next Sunday in this large city, nor five lawyers to go through with the business of next term. Self-conceit supports the dignity of church and state; and I pronounce him an enemy to the public who is so to that.

Much less do I intend any trouble to young clergymen of the court or city by the foregoing remark; as if, because deacons of old used to stand before presbyters, that now it were fit to rise when they come in, or give the civility of the hat or wall to any rusty rum in the street. I know the inconvenience of that mistaken piece of old breeding to both parties, and think it prudently laid aside. It is respect to an old parson not to oblige him uncover in the cold, and unsocket his head with both hands, and so daggle his gown out of ceremony; it is the same respect to a spruce bob, to let it lie quiet and undisturbed in its hat-case. I know no reason why powder and oil should submit to grease and greyness; that a white wig should lower to hoary hair; or a brushed beaver strike to a Carolina hat with stays.

I cannot forbear here to applaud the present refinement of ecclesiastics in their habits, and say they are more primitive and regular in their dress than those of any age before them. A clergyman ought to be κοσμιος, *i. e.*, not, as we read, of good behaviour, but well dressed: as indeed nothing contributes more to polite behaviour than good clothes. This is a various reading. And here I observe for the use of young stagers in divinity, that nothing will bring them into greater repute for deep learning, than to enterprise in criticism, and adventure betimes to change the common reading of any text in the Bible. This single word is, in my opinion, enough to vindicate their silks and velvets against all the fanatics in Christendom, and our own canons to back them.

It is an old observation that piety is mostly supported by the female sex; so that whatever is agreeable to them is for the advantage of religion, and consequently the clergy should dress in respect to the ladies, *i. e.*, for the good of the church. And indeed I have known some of the younger sort, that could not preach with a ruffled band or a wig out of curl; and a certain lady of my acquaintance, very religious, and who had a good taste of men, always made a judgment from the air and dress of the preacher, and never relished any doctrine that came not recommended with a scarf and a diamond ring. I am not one that, "ambitiosa recidet ornamenta," would strip the young clergy, and retrench their decencies of dress; so far from it, that I wish them, with all my heart, greater elegance, and finer apparel. Well fare the heart of that sprightly youth, a deacon of this church, who I foresee shall first adventure to hoop his canonical coat, and border his band or shirt with mechlin lace, or a modest fringe.

But to return from this incident to my subject again (from which a vast impetuous force of wit, and learning, and love of my country, has led me devious). The nicest logicians will allow it a fair way of arguing in all cases, to refer to things what is true as to persons; and therefore I conclude, if physic be a faculty more ancient than that of civil law, then it literally goes before it, *i. e.*, takes place of it; and I hope it will not be denied that physic is as old as the occasion of it,—as old indeed, within a few days as mankind; which can by no means be said of the other (in comparison) upstart profession, unless any one will be so hardy to affirm there was a doctors' commons or bishops' court in Paradise. And if any man should insist to know the year and day of the rise of physic, I take him to be ignorant of religion and history, and will disdain an answer; though I could tell him not only what the first distemper was, and that epidemical, *viz.*, a falling sickness, but also who it was that cured it; but I do not think fit to satisfy dulness and ignorance so far.

I have ever blamed St. Jerome in my heart for indiscretion, that when some pragmatical deacons set up for equality with presbyters, he to humble them made presbyters equal in effect to bishops. And I could do something of the same kind in the present dispute; and show those assuming civilians, that they can with so little reason arrogate a place above physicians, or an equality with them, that in my humble opinion some faculties, which they have in contempt, are superior to them in point of time, which I have already proved to be the natural ground of precedency; and it is enough here but to name the excellent faculties of music and poetry, whose antiquity I think no man of sense or modesty will call in question.

But having mentioned poetry I must go aside a little to salute my worthy friend the professor[a] of, or to speak more properly, the reader in, that faculty in Oxford, who has befriended the world so much by his incomparable performances of that kind, especially his latest. I will own he has taught me, and I believe some other gentlemen who had lost their Latin, the true grammatical construction of Virgil, and deserves not our acknowledgments only, but those of Eton and Westminster. I am sensible construction is as necessary to the relish and use of an author, as chewing is to taste and digestion. However, I must take upon me to admonish him of one great mistake; and I know that the modesty of the man, and the good nature familiar to him, and which shines as much in his conversation as wit and true poetry do in his works, will bear it from a friend: he has more than once, as I remember, put jasmine for sweet-marjoram, the true version; but as this and a few more are his only variations from the letter of the original, it may well be excused,—my fear is that school-boys may come to

[a] Dr. Joseph Trapp was elected poetry professor in 1708, and published his lectures under the title of "Prælectiones Poeticæ."

suffer by his mistake. I dare venture to affirm, in favour of that good pot-herb, that sweet-marjoram is not improper either in broth or heroics.

Though I think what has been urged is sufficient to weigh in favour of the faculty I have here espoused, yet, upon occasion, I would allow all this to go for nothing, and place the controversy upon another footing, and argue from the natural dignity of medicine itself and the universal use and benefit of it to mankind; for it is well known that physic has been always necessary to the world and what mankind cannot be without. It has been requisite in all ages and places; which is more than can be asserted in behalf of law, either civil or canon. I do not believe they know anything of these in China or the Mogul's country; but we know they do of physic, which prevails in the East, which supplies us with great part of our *materia medica;* and no Englishman ought in gratitude to forget that the greatest genius and honour of England was cured of a fit of the gout by a salutary moss from the East.[a]

But this is not all: The force of physic goes further than the body, and is of use in relieving the mind under most of its disorders: and this I dare venture to affirm, having frequently made the experiment upon my own person with never-failing success; and this I did by the direction of my worthy parish minister, who is indeed an excellent divine, and withal an able physician; and a good physician only to be the better divine. That good man has often quieted my conscience with an emetic, has dissipated troublesome thoughts with a cordial or exhilarating drops, has cured me of a love-fit by breathing a vein, and removed anger and revenge by the prescription of a draught, thence called bitter; and in these and other instances has convinced me that physic is of use to the very soul, as far as that depends on the crisis of the body:

——Mentem sanare corpus ut ægrum
Cernimus, et flecti Medicinâ posse videmus.—Lucret.

And I am so fully persuaded of this, that I never see a wretch go to execution but I lament that he had not been in the hands of a good physician, who would have corrected these peccant humours of his body which brought him to that untimely death.

Now can anything like this be pleaded in behalf of one or other of the two laws we are dealing with, or of both together? By the way, I must observe here, that these two laws, civil and canon, are put in couples for their unluckiness, and I think they ought to be muzzled too. And here lies the disadvantage of the present dispute: physic we know is a plain simple thing: now that this single faculty, without one friend on earth to take its part and be a second, should dispute with a pair at once, is as if one poor blood-hound should engage with a couple of mastiffs; or that a man should fight a gentleman and his lackey, or with a single rapier against sword and pistol; it is very foul play, and standers-by should interpose, so hard are the terms of this debate; but there is no help for it: these two fast friends can scarce be parted, and are seldom found asunder; they must rise and fall together. My Lord Bacon used to say, very familiarly, "When I rise, my a— rises with me." I ask pardon for the rudeness of the allusion; but it is certain that the canon-law is but the tail, the fag-end, or footman, of the civil, and, like vermin in rotten wood, rose in the church in the age of its corruption, and when it wanted physic to purge it.

But I am weary of proving so plain a point. To me it is clear beyond contradiction, that the antiquity and dignity of physic do give it the precedence of civil law and its friend. I could here very easily stop the mouth of ecclesiastical civilians, by an example or two of great authority; but I hope they will take the hint, and save me the trouble: and for lay-professors I will only say, he that is not convinced, has little sense not only of religion (perhaps that is their least consideration), but of good manners and loyalty and good fellowship. The blood of the *de Medicis* flows in the best veins of Europe; and I know not how far any slight offered to the faculty may exasperate the present king of France or the grand duke, to a resentment prejudicial to our wines and the public peace and the present posture of affairs. All that love their country and right good Florence, will perceive by this on which side of the argument they ought to appear.

And now, for the universal peace of mankind, I make the following rule to be observed by all professors in each faculty and their understrappers: I decree that a doctor of physic shall take place of a doctor of laws; a surgeon, of an advocate; an apothecary, of a proctor of office; and a tooth-drawer, of a register in the court. I intended this for a parallel; but here it fails me, and the lines meet.[a]

I shall now only observe further, that as the case seems desperate on the side of civilians in point of reason, so I hear they have another game to play, and are for appealing to authority: as I have known a school-boy fairly beaten at cuffs, run with a bloody nose to complain to his master. I am credibly informed, there is a design on foot to bring in heads of a bill in favour of civilians next session of parliament: but how generous that sort of proceeding is I leave the world to judge. I am but one, and will certainly oppose any such motion in my place; though, from the number of civilians in the house, I have reason to apprehend it will be to little purpose. The college, a true *alma mater*, has dubbed most of us doctors, and has been more wise than Christian in her favours of that kind; for she has not given hoping for nothing again.

But here I enter my protest against all designs that may any way prejudice so great and illustrious a body of men as our college of physicians are; and I shall take care to draw out the substance of this argument, and present it, in short heads, to each member at a proper time: and not without some hopes that reason may weigh them.

In the mean time I hope a worthy gentleman, a member of our house, will stand up on that occasion, and assert the rights of a faculty which he has entered into and does an honour to: it must be remembered to his credit that being equally skilled in physic and civil law, and perhaps in divinity as well as either, he chose to commence in medicine, having chiefly qualified himself for that noble faculty by repeated travels, and enriched his mind with many curious observations, which the world may, in time, expect incredible benefit from.

If any man thinks fit to reply to this argument, and rectify any mistakes in it, I desire him to preserve his temper, and debate the matter with the same coolness that I have done, that no blood may be drawn in the controversy, nor any reason given me to complain of "*civilis vulnera dextræ*." As conviction chiefly engaged me on the side of physicians, so in some measure a sense of gratitude for a faculty to which I owe the comforts of life, and perhaps life itself, having received from it unspeakable ease in the two inveterate distempers of the spleen and the gout.

[a] See Sir William Temple's essay "On the cure of Gout by Moxa," an Indian moss so called.

[a] A meer at Sacheverell.

MAXIMS CONTROLLED IN IRELAND.[a]

THE TRUTH OF MAXIMS IN STATE AND GOVERNMENT EXAMINED, WITH REFERENCE TO IRELAND.

DESCRIBED by Mr. Burke as "a collection of State Paradoxes, abounding with great sense and penetration, and on a very important subject."

THERE are certain maxims of state, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government, nor even controlled by any writer upon politics. Yet all these maxims do necessarily presuppose a kingdom or commonwealth to have the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind who have entered into civil society; for if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain, before you could institute them into a republic, that an allowance must be made for those material defects wherein they differed from other mortals. Or imagine a legislature forming a system for the government of bedlam, and proceeding upon the maxim that man is a sociable animal, should draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general assemblies; the consequence might probably be that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the house over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors committed by crude and short thinkers, who reason upon general topics without the least allowance for the most important circumstances, which quite alter the nature of the case.

This has been the fate of those small dealers who are every day publishing their thoughts, either on paper or in their assemblies, for improving the trade of Ireland, and referring us to the practice and example of England, Holland, France, or other nations.

I shall therefore examine certain maxims of government, which generally pass for uncontrolled in the world, and consider how far they will suit with the present condition of this kingdom.

First, It is affirmed by wise men that the dearness of things necessary for life in a fruitful country is a certain sign of wealth and great commerce, for when such necessaries are dear, it must absolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifestly false in Ireland, for the following reason. Some years ago the species of money here did probably amount to 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.*, and I have good cause to believe that our remittances then did not much exceed the cash brought in to us. But by the prodigious discouragements we have since received in every branch of our trade by the frequent enforcement and rigorous execution of the navigation act, the tyranny of under custom-house officers, the yearly addition of absentees, the payments to regiments abroad, to civil and military officers residing in England, the unexpected sudden demands of great sums from the treasury, and some other drains of perhaps as great consequence, we now see ourselves reduced to a state (since we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies, at least if our enemies were of such a kind as to be capable of any regard towards us except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the British empire was, most unfortunately for us and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation, but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert, which in some sort it still continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641 make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years' campaigns did in ours, by fighting England's battles.

By slow degrees, as by the gentle treatment we received under two auspicious reigns,[a] we grew able to live without running in debt. Our absentees were but few; we had great indulgence in trade, and a considerable share in employments of church and state; and while the short leases continued, which were let some years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with ease and cheerfulness, to the great regret of their landlords, who had taken up a spirit of opposition that is not easily removed. And although, in these short leases, the rent was gradually to increase after short periods, yet as soon as the terms elapsed, the land was let to the highest bidder, most commonly without the least effectual clause for building or planting. Yet, by many advantages, which this island then possessed and has since utterly lost, the rents of lands still grew higher upon every lease that expired, till they have arrived at the present exorbitance; when the frog, overswelling himself, burst at last.

With the price of land of necessity rose that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in; hence likewise, obviously, the rates of all goods and manufactures among shopkeepers, the wages of servants, and hire of labourers. But although our miseries came on fast, with neither trade nor money left; yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what that rent must be paid with, nor any shopkeeper, tradesman, or labourer live at lower expense for food and clothing than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this first head, because the same observations will clear up and strengthen a good deal of what I shall affirm upon the rest.

The second maxim of those who reason upon trade and government is to assert that low interest is a certain sign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of Holland and England. But with relation to Ireland this maxim is likewise entirely false.

There are two reasons for the lowness of interest in any country. First, that which is usually alleged, the great plenty of species; and this is obvious. The second is want of trade, which seldom falls under common observation, although it be equally true; for where trade is altogether discouraged there are few borrowers. In those countries where men can employ a large stock, the young merchant, whose fortune may be 400*l.* or 500*l.*, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reasonable interest. Neither is it easy at this day to find many of those whose business reaches to employ even so inconsiderable a sum, except among the importers of wine, who as they have most part of the present trade in these parts of Ireland in their hands, so they are the most exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all possible speed to ruin both themselves and the nation.

From this defect of gentlemen's not knowing how to dispose of their ready money, arises the high purchase of land, which in all other countries is reckoned a sign of wealth. For the frugal squires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to dispose of their savings but by mortgage or purchase, by which the rates of land must naturally increase; and if this trade continues long, under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to send their cash to England and place it in the funds; which I myself am determined to do the first considerable sum I shall be master of.

It has likewise been a maxim among politicians,

[a] See an Essay on the Absurdities in England.

[a] Those of Charles II. and James II.

"That the great increase of buildings in the metropolis argues a flourishing state." But this, I confess, has been controlled from the example of London; when, by the long and annual parliamentary session, such a number of senators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw such prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hospitable custom of lords and gentlemen living in their ancient seats among their tenants is almost lost in England,—is laughed out of doors, insomuch that in the middle of summer a legal house of lords and commons might be brought in a few hours to London from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The case in Ireland is yet somewhat worse, for the absentees of great estates, who if they lived at home would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, have learned to rack their lands and shorten their leases as much as any residing squire, and the few remaining of those latter having some vain hope of employments for themselves or their children, and discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers, or seduced by the vanity of their wives on pretence of their children's education (whereof the fruits are so apparent), together with that most wonderful, and yet more unaccountable, zeal for a seat in their assembly, though at some years' purchase of their whole estates; these and some other motives have drawn such concourse to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses, while 1500 of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited and falling to ruin. Their method is the same with that which was first introduced by Dr. Barebone at London, who died a bankrupt. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money, and when their work is finished sell it to the best advantage they can. But as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story and are all reduced to beggary: insomuch that I know a certain fanatic brewer, who is reported to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have purchased the greatest part of them at half value from ruined undertakers,—has intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builder's distress, and by the advantage of ready money, gets 50 *per cent.* at least for his bargain.

It is another undisputed maxim in government, "That people are the riches of a nation," which is so universally granted that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it into doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that if we had the African custom or privilege of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burden and bringing us money in the stead. But in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very skilful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, two-thirds whereof would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour, where that fails the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This has made me often wish for some years past, that instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether papists or protestants, to America, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with very sensible pleasure when I hear of a mortality in any country parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth,—brought up to steal or beg, for want of work,—to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for on account both of themselves and the public.

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable and beneficial to the subject, and the commonest reasoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly false, and the putting of it in practice may have such a pernicious consequence as I certainly believe the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far, as to declare solemnly that what I shall say of those lords and squires does not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons; for although I have not the honour of the least acquaintance with any one among them (my ambition not soaring so high), yet I am too good a witness of the situation they have been in for 30 years past; the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and distinction they receive from the court; the weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from England, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the same bottom.

THE BLUNDERS, DEFICIENCIES, DISTRESSES, AND MISFORTUNES OF QUILCA.[a]

PROPOSED TO CONTAIN 21 VOLUMES IN QUARTO.

Begun April 20, 1724, and to be continued Weekly, if due Encouragement be given.

But one lock and a half in the whole house.

The key of the garden door lost.

The empty bottles all uncleanable.

The vessels for drink very few and leaky.

The new house all going to ruin before it is finished.

One hinge of the street-door broke off, and the people forced to go out and come in at the back-door.

The door of the dean's bedchamber full of large chinks.

The beaufet letting in so much wind that it almost blows out the candles.

The dean's bed threatening every night to fall under him.

The little table loose and broken in the joints.

The passages open over head, by which the cats pass continually into the cellar and eat the victuals, for which one was tried, condemned, and executed by the sword.

The large table in a very tottering condition.

But one chair in the house fit for sitting on, and that in a very ill state of health.

The kitchen perpetually crowded with savages.

Not a bit of mutton to be had in the country.

Want of beds, and a mutiny thereupon among the servants until supplied from Kells.

[a] Quilca, a country seat of Mr. Sheridan, lent to the dean as a summer residence.

An egregious want of all the most common necessary utensils.

Not a bit of turf this cold weather; and Mrs. Johnson and the dean in person, with all their servants, forced to assist at the Bog, in gathering up the wet bottoms of old clamps.

The grate in the ladies' bedchamber broke, and forced to be removed, by which they were compelled to be without fire, the chimney smoking intolerably; and the dean's great-coat was employed to stop the wind from coming down the chimney, without which expedient they must have been starved to death.

A messenger sent a mile to borrow an old broken tun-dish.

Bottles stopped with bits of wood and tow, instead of corks.

Not one utensil for a fire, except an old pair of tongs, which travels through the house, and is likewise employed to take the meat out of the pot, for want of a flesh-fork.

Every servant an arrant thief as to victuals and drink, and every comer and goer as arrant a thief of everything he or she can lay their hands on.

The spit blunted with poking into bogs for timber, and tears the meat to pieces.

Bellum atque fœminam: or a kitchen war between nurse and a nasty crew of both sexes; she to preserve order and cleanliness, they to destroy both; and they generally are conquerors.

April 28. This morning the great fore-door quite open, dancing backward and forward with all its weight upon the lower hinge, which must have been broken if the dean had not accidentally come and relieved it.

A great hole in the floor of the ladies' chamber, every hour hazarding a broken leg.

Two damnable iron spikes erect on the dean's bedstead, by which he is in danger of a broken shin at rising and going to bed.

The ladies' and dean's servants growing fast into the manners and thieveries of the natives; the ladies themselves very much corrupted; the dean perpetually storming, and in danger of either losing all his flesh or sinking into barbarity for the sake of peace.

Mrs. Dingley full of cares for herself, and blunders and negligence for her friends. Mrs. Johnson sick and helpless. The dean deaf and fretting; the lady's maid awkward and clumsy; Robert lazy and forgetful; William a pragmatical, ignorant, and conceited puppy; Robin and nurse the two great and only supports of the family.

Bellum lactæum: or the milky battle, fought between the dean and the crew of Quilca; the latter insisting on their privilege of not milking till eleven in the forenoon, whereas Mrs. Johnson wanted milk at eight for her health. In this battle the dean got the victory; but the crew of Quilca begin to rebel again, for it is this day almost ten o'clock, and Mrs. Johnson has not got her milk.

A proverb on the laziness and lodgings of the servants: "The worse their sty—the longer they lie."

Two great holes in the wall of the ladies' bedchamber, just at the back of the bed, and one of them directly behind Mrs. Johnson's pillow, either of which would blow out a candle in the calmest day.

A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND. 1727.

I AM assured, that it has for some time been practised as a method of making men's court when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of the tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom and how their rents are paid; to answer that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representation, besides being looked on as not well-affected, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so cordially asked or so obligingly answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole island; I shall only enumerate, by rules generally known and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniences of life, not only sufficient for the inhabitants but for exportation into other countries.

The second is the industry of the people in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is the conveniency of safe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries which will permit them, except those who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is by being governed only by laws made with their own consent, for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increasing the number of their people, without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is the residence of the prince or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is the concourse of foreigners, for education, curiosity, or pleasure, or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is by disposing all offices of honour, profit, or trust, only to the natives, or at least with very few exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country and are supposed to understand and regard the interests of it as their own.

The eleventh is when the rents of land and profits of employment are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another, the former of which will certainly happen where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any moneys, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury either in clothes, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect; but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my

thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts, and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich, because those who come for gold will go off with pewter and brass rather than return empty, and in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth make the least parade, which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in showing their faces on the Exchange.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England, yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals, in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided that, of all the excellent timber cut down within these 50 or 60 years, it can hardly be said that the nation has received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own prince or state; yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce,—besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to, which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord chief-justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et natale solum* written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease, and thus we are forced to pay 500 per cent. to decide our properties;* in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges; and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

* The Appeal to the house of Peers.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels, where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here have the least title to any considerable employment, to which they are seldom preferred but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England, which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver; every petty prince, vassal to the emperor, can coin what money he pleases. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries, particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true (upon which I could easily enlarge), I should be glad to know by what secret method it is that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money, or the privilege of coining, without industry, labour, or improvement of land, and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing; and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the north, a trade casual, corrupted, and at mercy, and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason, like the thorn at Glastonbury that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy commissioners who come from England ride round the kingdom; and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land, the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods, the abundance and vicinity of country seats; the commodious farms, houses, and barns; the towns and villages, where everybody is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers, the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people; the vast number of ships in our harbours and docks, and ship-wrights in our sea-port towns; the roads crowded with carriers laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress! what glorious reports would they make when they went back to England!

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer, for it is manifest that whatever stranger took such a journey would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Yslaud rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general deso-

lation in most parts of the kingdom; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hogsty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all his wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery, there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money; hence the dearness of necessaries of life, because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land (which they must take or go a-begging) without raising the price of cattle and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of building in this city, because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of bankers, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver and one third of our gold; so that within three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about 500,000*l.*, is now less than two, and must daily diminish unless we have liberty to coin as well as that important kingdom the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought that this paradox of the kingdom's growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS, who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us; and I have often wished that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle! ye are idle! answered Pharaoh to the Israelites when they complained to his majesty that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation which I have above enumerated, and into the bargain a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard or one farthing value received on our side; but how long we shall be able to continue the payment I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that when the hen is starved to death there will be no more golden eggs.

I think it a little inhospitable, and others may call it a subtile piece of malice, that, because there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables their guests upon their return to England shall report that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet I confess I have known an hospital where all the household officers grew rich, while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude; if Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind, and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers when they deliver such paradoxes, but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom who gives the same verdict must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man pleaser at the expense of all honour, conscience, and truth.

THE

STORY OF THE INJURED LADY;

WRITTEN BY HERSELF,

IN A LETTER TO HER FRIEND;

WITH HIS ANSWER.

SIR,—Being ruined by the inconstancy and unkindness of a lover, I hope a true and plain relation of my misfortunes may be of use and warning to credulous maids never to put too much trust in deceitful man.

A gentleman [England] in the neighbourhood had two mistresses, another and myself [Scotland and Ireland]; and he pretended honourable love to us both. Our three houses stood pretty near one another; his was parted from mine by a river [the Irish Sea], and from my rival's by an old broken wall [the Picts' wall]. But before I enter into the particulars of this gentleman's hard usage of me I will give a very just and impartial character of my rival and myself.

As to her person, she is tall and lean, and very ill shaped; she has bad features and a worse complexion; she has a stinking breath and twenty ill smells about her besides; which are yet more insufferable by her natural sluttishness; for she is always lousy, and never without the itch. As to her other qualities, she has no reputation either for virtue, honesty, truth, or manners; and it is no wonder, considering what her education has been. Scolding and cursing are her common conversation. To sum up all, she is poor and beggarly, and gets a sorry maintenance by pilfering wherever she comes. As for this gentleman, who is now so fond of her, she still bears him an invincible hatred, reviles him to his face, and rails at him in all companies. Her house is frequented by a company of rogues and thieves and pickpockets, whom she encourages to rob his henroosts, steal his corn and cattle, and do him all manner of mischief. She has been known to come at the head of these rascals, and beat her lover until he was sore from head to foot, and then force him to pay for the trouble she was at. Once attended with a crew of ragamuffins she broke into his house, turned all things topsyturvy, and then set it on fire. At the same time she told so many lies among his servants that it set them all by the ears, and his poor steward [Charles I.] was knocked on the head; for which I think, and so does all the country, that she ought to be answerable. To conclude her character, she is of a different religion, being a presbyterian of the most rank and violent kind, and consequently having an inveterate hatred to the church; yet I am sure I have been always told that in marriage there ought to be a union of minds as well as of persons.

I will now give my own character, and shall do it in few words, and with modesty and truth.

I was reckoned to be as handsome as any in our neighbourhood until I became pale and thin with grief and ill usage. I am still fair enough, and have I think no very ill features about me. They that see me now will hardly allow me ever to have had any great share of beauty, for besides being so much altered I go always mobbed, and in an undress, as well out of neglect as indeed for want of clothes to appear in. I might add to all this, that I was born to a good estate, although it now turns to little account under the oppressions I endure, and has been the true cause of all my misfortunes.

Some years ago this gentleman, taking a fancy either

to my person or fortune, made his addresses to me, which, being then young and foolish, I too readily admitted; he seemed to use me with so much tenderness, and his conversation was so very engaging, that all my constancy and virtue were too soon overcome; and to dwell no longer upon a theme that causes such bitter reflections I must confess with shame that I was undone by the common arts practised upon all easy credulous virgins, half by force and half by consent, after solemn vows and protestations of marriage. When he had once got possession, he soon began to play the usual part of a too fortunate lover, affecting on all occasions to show his authority and to act like a conqueror. First, he found fault with the government of my family, which I grant was none of the best, consisting of ignorant, illiterate creatures, for at that time I knew but little of the world. In compliance to him therefore I agreed to fall into his ways and methods of living; I consented that his steward should govern my house, and have liberty to employ an under steward [the lord-lieutenant], who should receive his directions. My lover proceeded further, turned away several old servants and tenants, and supplying me with other from his own house. These grew so domineering and unreasonable, that there was no quiet, and I heard of nothing but perpetual quarrels, which although I could not possibly help, yet my lover laid all the blame and punishment upon me, and upon every falling out still turned away more of my people, and supplied me in their stead with a number of fellows and dependents of his own, whom he had no other way to provide for. Overcome by love and to avoid noise and contention, I yielded to all his usurpations, and finding it in vain to resist, I thought it my best policy to make my court to my new servants and draw them to my interests; I fed them from my own table with the best I had, put my new tenants on the choice parts of my land, and treated them all so kindly that they began to love me as well as their master. In process of time all my old servants were gone, and I had not a creature about me, nor above one or two tenants but what were of his choosing, yet I had the good luck by gentle usage to bring over the greatest part of them to my side. When my lover observed this he began to alter his language, and to those who inquired about me he would answer that I was an old dependent upon his family, whom he had placed on some concerns of his own, and he began to use me accordingly, neglecting by degrees all common civility in his behaviour. I shall never forget the speech he made me one morning, which he delivered with all the gravity in the world. He put me in mind of the vast obligations I lay under to him in sending me so many of his people for my own good, and to teach me manners; that it had cost him ten times more than I was worth to maintain me; that it had been much better for him if I had been damned, or burnt, or sunk to the bottom of the sea; that it was reasonable I should strain myself as far as I was able to reimburse him some of his charges; that from henceforward he expected his word should be a law to me in all things; that I must maintain a parish watch against thieves and robbers, and give salaries to an overseer, a constable, and others, all of his own choosing, whom he would send from time to time to be spies upon me; that to enable me the better in supporting these expenses, my tenants should be obliged to carry all their goods across the river to his own town-market, and pay toll on both sides, and then sell them at half value. But because we were a nasty sort of people, and that he could not endure to touch anything we had a hand in, and likewise because he wanted work to employ his own folks, therefore we must send all our goods to his market just in their naturals; the milk immediately from the cow, without making it into cheese or butter; the corn in the ear, the grass as it was mowed, the wool as it comes from the sheep's back; and bring the fruit upon the branch, that he might not be obliged to eat it after our filthy hands: that if a tenant carried but a piece of bread and cheese to eat by the way, or an inch of worsted to mend his stockings, he should forfeit his whole parcel: and because a company of rogues usually plied on the river between us, who often robbed my tenants of their goods and boats, he ordered a waterman of his to guard them, whose manner was to be out of the way till the poor wretches were plundered, then to overtake the thieves, and seize all as a lawful prize to his master and himself. It would be endless to repeat a hundred other hardships he has put upon me: but it is a general rule, that whenever he imagines the smallest advantage will redound to one of his footboys by any new oppression of me and my whole family and estate, he never disputes it a moment. All this has rendered me so very insignificant and contemptible at home, that some servants to whom I pay the greatest wages, and many tenants who have the most beneficial leases, are gone over to live with him, yet I am bound to continue their wages and pay their rents; by which means one-third part of my whole income is spent on his estate, and above another third by his tolls and markets; and my poor tenants are so sunk and impoverished that, instead of maintaining me suitably to my quality, they can hardly find me clothes to keep me warm, or provide the common necessaries of life for themselves.

Matters being in this posture between me and my lover, I received intelligence that he had been for some time making very pressing overtures of marriage to my rival, until there happened to be some misunderstandings between them; she gave him ill words, and threatened to break off all commerce with him. He on the other side, having either acquired courage by his triumphs over me, or supposing her as tame a fool as I, thought at first to carry it with a high hand, but hearing at the same time that she had thoughts of making some private proposals to join with me against him, and doubting with very good reason that I would readily accept them, he seemed very much disconcerted. This I thought was a proper occasion to show some great example of generosity and love, and so without further consideration I sent him word that, hearing there was likely to be a quarrel between him and my rival, notwithstanding all that had passed, and without binding him to any conditions in my own favour, I would stand by him against her and all the world while I had a penny in my purse or a petticoat to pawn. This message was subscribed by all my chief tenants, and proved so powerful that my rival immediately grew more tractable upon it. The result of which was, that there is now a treaty of marriage [treaty of union] concluded between them, the wedding-clothes are bought, and nothing remains but to perform the ceremony, which is put off for some days because they design it to be a public wedding. And to reward my love, constancy, and generosity, he has bestowed on me the office of being sempstress to his grooms and footmen, which I am forced to accept or starve. Yet in the midst of this my situation I cannot but have some pity for this deluded man, to cast himself away on an infamous creature, who, whatever she pretends, I can prove would at this very minute rather be a whore to a certain great man that shall be nameless, if she might have her will. For my part I think, and so does all the country too, that the man is possessed; at least none of us are able to imagine what he can possibly see in her, unless she has bewitched him or given him some powder.

I am sure I never sought this alliance, and you can

bear me witness that I might have had other matches; nay, if I were lightly disposed, I could still perhaps have offers that some who hold their heads higher would be glad to accept. But alas! I never had any such wicked thought; all I now desire is only to enjoy a little quiet, to be free from the persecutions of this unreasonable man, and that he will let me manage my own little fortune to the best advantage, for which I will undertake to pay him a considerable pension every year, much more considerable than what he now gets by his oppressions; for he must needs find himself a loser at last, when he has drained me and my tenants so dry that we shall not have a penny for him or ourselves. There is one imposition of his I had almost forgot, which I think insufferable, and will appeal to you or any reasonable person whether it be so or not. I told you before that by an old compact we agreed to have the same steward, at which time I consented likewise to regulate my family and estate by the same method with him, which he then showed me written down in form, and I approved of. Now the turn he thinks fit to give this compact of ours is very extraordinary; for he pretends that whatever orders he shall think fit to prescribe for the future in his family he may, if he will, compel mine to observe them without asking my advice or hearing my reasons. So that I must not make a lease without his consent, or give any directions for the well-governing of my family but what he countermands whenever he pleases. This leaves me at such confusion and uncertainty that my servants know not when to obey me, and my tenants, although many of them be very well inclined, seem quite at a loss.

But I am too tedious upon this melancholy subject, which however I hope you will forgive, since the happiness of my whole life depends upon it. I desire you will think awhile, and give your best advice what measures I shall take, with prudence, justice, courage, and honour, to protect my liberty and fortune against the hardships and severities I lie under from that unkind, inconstant man.

THE

ANSWER TO THE INJURED LADY.

Madam,—I have received your ladyship's letter, and carefully considered every part of it, and shall give you my opinion how you ought to proceed for your own security. But first I must beg leave to tell your ladyship that you were guilty of an unpardonable weakness the other day, in making that offer to your lover of standing by him in any quarrel he might have with your rival. You know very well that she began to apprehend he had designs of using her as he had done you; and common prudence might have directed you rather to have entered into some measures with her for joining against him, until he might at least be brought to some reasonable terms: but your invincible hatred to that lady has carried your resentments so high as to be the cause of your ruin; yet if you please to consider, this aversion of yours began a good while before she became your rival, and was taken up by you and your family in a sort of compliment to your lover, who formerly had a great abhorrence of her. It is true, since that time you have suffered very much by her encroachments upon your estate,[a] but she never pretended to govern and direct you; and now you have drawn a new enemy upon yourself; for I think you may count upon all the ill offices she can possibly do you, by her credit with her husband; whereas if, instead of openly declaring against her without any provocation, you had but sat still awhile and said nothing, that gentleman would have lessened his severity to you out of perfect fear. This weakness of yours you call generosity, but I doubt there was more in the matter; in short, madam, I have good reasons to think you were betrayed to it by the pernicious counsel of some about you; for to my certain knowledge several of your tenants and servants, to whom you have been very kind, are as arrant rascals as any in the country. I cannot but observe what a mighty difference there is in one particular between your ladyship and your rival. Having yielded up your person, you thought nothing else worth defending, and therefore you will not now insist upon those very conditions for which you yielded at first. But your ladyship cannot be ignorant that some years since your rival did the same thing, and upon no conditions at all; nay, this gentleman kept her as a miss, and yet made her pay for her diet and lodging.[a] But it being at a time when he had no steward, and his family out of order, she stole away and has now got the trick very well known among the women of the town, to grant a man the favour over night and the next day have the impudence to deny it to his face. But it is too late to reproach you with any former oversights which cannot now be rectified. I know the matters of fact as you relate them are true and fairly represented. My advice therefore is this: get your tenants together as soon as you conveniently can, and make them agree to the following resolutions:

First, That your family and tenants have no dependence upon the said gentleman, further than by the old agreement, which obliges you to have the same steward and to regulate your household by such methods as you should both agree to.

Secondly, That you will not carry your goods to the market of his town unless you please, nor be hindered from carrying them anywhere else.

Thirdly, That the servants you pay wages to shall live at home, or forfeit their places.

Fourthly, That whatever lease you make to a tenant, it shall not be in his power to break it.

If he will agree to these articles I advise you to contribute as largely as you can to all charges of parish and county.

I can assure you several of that gentleman's ablest tenants and servants are against his severe usage of you, and would be glad of an occasion to convince the rest of their error, if you will not be wanting to yourself.

If the gentleman refuses these just and reasonable offers, pray let me know it, and perhaps I may think of something else that will be more effectual.

I am, madam, your ladyship's, etc.

OBSERVATIONS

OCCASIONED BY READING A PAPER ENTITLED, "THE CASE OF THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES OF DUBLIN," &c.

The paper called "The Case of the Woollen Manufactures," &c., is very well drawn up. The reasonings of the author are just, the facts true, and the consequences natural. But his censure of those seven vile citizens who import such a quantity of silk stuffs and woollen cloth from England is a hundred times gentler than enemies to their country deserve; because I think no punishment in this world can be great enough for them without immediate repentance and amendment. But after all the writer of that paper has very lightly touched one point of the greatest importance, and very poorly answered the main objection, that the clothiers are defective both in the quality and quantity of their goods.

For my own part, when I consider the several

[a] Disturbances excited by Scottish colonists.

[a] The subjugation of Scotland by Cromwell.

societies of handicraftsmen in all kinds, as well as shopkeepers, in this city, after eighteen years' experience of their dealings, I am at a loss to know in which of these societies the most or least honesty is to be found. For instance, when any trade comes first into my head, upon examination I determine it exceeds all others in fraud. But after I have considered them all round, as far as my knowledge or experience reaches, I am at a loss to determine, and to save trouble I put them all upon a par. This I chiefly apply to those societies of men who get their livelihood by the labour of their hands. For as to shopkeepers, I cannot deny that I have found some few honest men among them, taking the word honest in the largest and most charitable sense. But as to handicraftsmen, although I shall endeavour to believe it possible to find a fair dealer among their class, yet I confess it has never been once my good fortune to employ one single workman who did not cheat me at all times to the utmost of his power in the materials, the work, and the price. One universal maxim I have constantly observed among them, that they would rather get a shilling by cheating you than twenty in the honest way of dealing, although they were sure to lose your custom, as well as that of others whom you might probably recommend to them.

This I must own is the natural consequence of poverty and oppression. These wretched people catch at anything to save them a minute longer from drowning. Thus Ireland is the poorest of all civilized countries in Europe, with every natural advantage to make it one of the richest.

As to the grand objection which this writer slubbers over in so careless a manner, because indeed it was impossible to find a satisfactory answer, I mean the knavery of our woollen manufacturers in general, I shall relate some facts which I had more opportunities to observe than usually fall in the way of men who are not of the trade. For some years the masters and wardens, with many of their principal workmen and shopkeepers, came often to the deanery to relate their grievances, and to desire my advice as well as my assistance. What reasons might move them to this proceeding, I leave to public conjecture. The truth is, that the woollen manufacture of this kingdom sat always nearest my heart. But the greatest difficulty lay in these perpetual differences between the shopkeepers and the workmen they employed. Ten or a dozen of these latter often came to the deanery with their complaints, which I often repeated to the shopkeepers. As that they brought their prices too low for a poor weaver to get his bread by; and instead of ready money for their labour on Saturdays, they gave them only such a quantity of cloth or stuff at the highest rate, which the poor men were often forced to sell one-third below the rate to supply their urgent necessities. On the other side, the shopkeepers complained of idleness, and want of skill or care or honesty in their workmen; and probably their accusations on both sides were just.

Whenever the weavers in a body came to me for advice I gave it freely, that they should contrive some way to bring their goods into reputation; and give up that abominable principle of endeavouring to thrive by imposing bad ware at high prices on their customers, whereby no shopkeeper can reasonably expect to thrive. For besides the dread of God's anger (which is a motive of small force among them) they may be sure that no buyer of common sense will return to the same shop where he was once or twice defrauded. That gentlemen and ladies when they found nothing but deceit in the sale of Irish cloths and stuffs would act as they ought to do, both in prudence and resentment, in going to those very bad citizens the writer mentions, and purchase English goods.

I went further, and proposed that ten or a dozen of the most substantial woollen-drapers should join in publishing an advertisement, signed with their names, to the following purpose:—That for the better encouragement of all gentlemen, &c., the persons undernamed did bind themselves mutually to sell their several cloths and stuffs (naming each kind) at the lowest rate, right merchantable goods, of such a breadth which they would warrant to be good according to the several prices; and that if a child of ten years old were sent with money, and directions what cloth or stuff to buy, he should not be wronged in any one article. And that whoever should think himself ill used in any of the said shops, he should have his money again from the seller, or upon his refusal from the rest of the said subscribers, who if they found the buyer discontented with the cloth or stuff should be obliged to refund the money; and if the seller refused to repay them and take his goods again, should publicly advertise that they would answer for none of his goods any more. This would be to establish credit, upon which all trade depends.

I proposed this scheme several times to the corporation of weavers, as well as to the manufacturers, when they came to apply for my advice at the deanery-house. I likewise went to the shops of several woollen-drapers upon the same errand, but always in vain; for they perpetually gave me the deaf ear, and avoided entering into discourse upon that proposal: I suppose, because they thought it was in vain, and that the spirit of fraud had gotten too deep and universal a possession to be driven out by any arguments from interest, reason, or conscience.

A LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,[a]

CONCERNING THE WEAVERS.

My Lord,—The corporation of weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your grace and called upon me with their schemes and proposals, were with me on Thursday last; when he who spoke for the rest, and in the name of his absent brethren, said, "It was the opinion of the whole body that if somewhat was written at this time by an able hand to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good use to the nation in general, and preserve many hundreds of their trade from starving." To which I answered, "That it was hard for any man of common spirit to turn his thoughts to such speculations without discovering a resentment which people are too delicate to bear." For I will not deny to your grace that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion, and without often examining, as I pass the streets, whether those animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in England as to the outward shape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in the forest; which any man of common prudence would immediately discover, by persuading them to define what they meant by law, liberty, property, courage, reason, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our sins, would most justly send us a pestilence, whoever should dare to discover his grief in public for such a visitation, would certainly be censured for disaffection to the government; for I

[a] Dr. William King, the friend and correspondent of our author.

solemnly profess that I do not know one calamity we have undergone these many years which any man whose opinions were not in fashion dared to lament without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, because, although a mother, when she has corrected her child, may sometimes force it to kiss the rod, yet she will never give that power to the footboy or the scullion.

My lord, there are two things for the people of this kingdom to consider; first, their present evil condition; and secondly, what can be done in some degree to remedy it.

I shall not enter into a particular description of our present misery; it has been already done in several papers, and very fully in one entitled, "A short View of the State of Ireland." It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigour, the remission of a million every year to England, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all these evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence against ruinous folly will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and opposition we labour under; but our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and visionary; consequently drawn from wrong reasoning and from general topics, which, from the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am weary of so many abortive projects for the advancement of trade; of so many crude proposals in letters sent me from unknown hands; of so many contradictory speculations about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver: I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to America, although very much for the causes that drive them from us, since the uncontrolled maxim, "That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever, from a hundred pounds to fifty, and he has no other method to supply the deficiency, I desire to know, my lord, whether such a person has any other course to take than to sink half his expenses in every article of economy, to save himself from ruin and a gaol. Is not this more than doubly the case of Ireland, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above mentioned, and many more too well known and felt and too numerous or invidious to be related, have been gradually sinking us for above a dozen years past to a degree that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the revolution? Therefore instead of dreams and projects for the advancing of trade we have nothing left but to find out some expedient whereby we may reduce our expenses to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with strong opposition by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men, to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women, who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their whole stock of invention in contriving new arts of profusion faster than the most parsimonious husband can afford: and to compass this work the more effectually, their universal maxim is to despise and detest everything of the growth of their own country, and most in value whatever comes from the very remotest parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that if the virtuosi could once find out a world in the moon, with a passage to it, our women would wear nothing but what directly came from thence.

The prime cost of wine yearly imported to Ireland is valued at 30,000*l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that sum. The lace, silks, calicoes, and all other unnecessary ornaments for women, including English cloths and stuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grossly) about 400,000*l.*

Now if we should allow the 30,000*l.*, wherein the women have their share, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000*l.* more for overreaching, there would still remain 300,000*l.*, annually spent for unwholesome drugs and unnecessary finery; which prodigious sum would be wholly saved, and many thousands of our miserable shopkeepers and manufacturers comfortably supported.

Let speculative people busy their brains as much as they please, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from sinking for ever than by utterly renouncing all foreign dress and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband of any fortune in the kingdom is nourishing a poisonous devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country they might still vie with each other in the course of foppery; and still have room left to vie with each other and equally show their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of Irish stuffs. And if they could be contented with their native wholesome slops for breakfast, we should hear no more of the spleen, hysterics, colics, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other and their husbands at play, because the money lost would circulate among ourselves.

My lord, I freely own it a wild imagination that any words will cure the sottishness of men or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy when there will not be money left for the common course of buying and selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and silk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your grace and to me, are the bottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago they attended your grace when I had the honour to be with you, and designed me the same favour. They desired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of Irish stuffs, which might probably spread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom, and perhaps among the lawyers and gentlemen of the university, and among the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions. I then mentioned a kind of stuff, not above 8*d.* a yard, which I heard had been contrived by some of the trade and was very convenient. I desired they would prepare some of that or any sort of black stuff on a certain day, when your grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your grace's visitation approaching, you could then have the best opportunity of seeing what could be done in a matter of such consequence, as they seemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But instead of attending as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new proposal, that something should be written by an acceptable and

able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home-manufactures; and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I asked if they had prepared the stuffs, as they had promised and your grace expected; but they had not made the least step in the matter, nor as it appears thought of it more.

I did some years ago propose to the masters and principal dealers in the home-manufactures of silk and wool that they should meet together; and after mature consideration publish advertisements to the following purpose:—

That, in order to encourage the wearing of Irish manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they the undersigned would enter into bonds, for themselves and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuffs, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in such a manner that if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness and measure of the ware; and lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill used in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satisfied by the whole corporation without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The mortal danger is, that if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of Ireland in favour of their goods, they would relapse into the knavish practice, peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-seller, who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor and outsells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worst he can buy, till his customers will come no more. Thus I have known at London in a general mourning the drapers dye black all their damaged goods, and sell them at double rates, then complain, and petition the court that they are ready to starve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I say, those principal weavers who would enter into such a compact as I have mentioned must give sufficient security against all such practices, for if once the women can persuade their husbands that foreign goods, besides the finery, will be as cheap and do more service, our last state will be worse than the first.

I do not here pretend to digest perfectly the method by which these principal shopkeepers shall proceed in such a proposal, but my meaning is clear enough and cannot reasonably be objected against.

We have seen what a destructive loss the kingdom received by the detestable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithstanding all the care of the governors of that board when we had an offer of commerce with the Spaniards for our linen, to the value as I am told of 30,000*l.* a-year. But while we deal like pedlars we shall practise like pedlars, and sacrifice all honesty to the present urging advantage.

What I have said may serve as an answer to the desire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to anything further, let them apply themselves to the parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the house of commons to grant one very reasonable request, and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation when I read a vote to this purpose,—"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this house will for the future wear no cloths but such as are made of Irish growth or of Irish manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other, and that they will to the utmost endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants, to follow their example." And if at the same time they could banish tea and coffee and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, schoolboys, splenetic visitors of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epsom, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude unwrought goods to England, and receiving from thence and all other countries nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistence.

I have been for a dozen years past wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom, which any human creature of common sense could foretel, with as little sagacity as myself. My meaning is, that a consumptive body must needs die which has spent all its spirits and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to, or to scarcity of silver, which to a nation of liberty would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ON BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR, 1728.

I HAVE been lately looking over the advertisements in some of your Dublin newspapers, which are sent me to the country, and was much entertained with a large list of denominations of lands to be sold or let. I am confident they must be genuine, for it is impossible that either chance or modern invention could sort the alphabet in such a manner as to make those abominable sounds, whether first invented to invoke or fright away the devil I must leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at anything barbarous, ridiculous, or absurd among us, this should be one of the first. I have often lamented that Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty king from Ireland who followed his camp to come over and civilize us with a conquest, as his countrymen did Britain, where several Roman appellations remain to this day, and so would the rest have done if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people, had not changed them so much for the worse, although in no comparison with ours. In one of the advertisements just mentioned I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human shape except an Irishman of the savage kind to pronounce; neither would I undertake such a task to be owner of the lands, unless I had liberty to humanize the syllables twenty miles round. The legislature may think what they please, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conquests of barbarous nations; but I am deceived if anything has more contributed to prevent the Irish from being tamed than this encouragement of their language, which might be easily abolished, and become a dead one in half an age with little expense and less trouble.

How is it possible that a gentleman who lives in those parts where the *town-lands* (as they call them) of his estate produce such odious sounds from the mouth, the throat, and the nose, can be able to repeat the words without dislocating every muscle that is used in speaking, and without applying the same tone to all other

words in every language he understands, as it is plainly to be observed not only in those people of the better sort who live in Galway and the western parts, but in most counties of Ireland?

It is true that in the city parts of London the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing, and so in my time had many ladies and coxcombs at court. It is likewise true that there is an odd provincial cant in most counties in England, sometimes not very pleasing to the ear, and the Scotch cadence as well as expression are offensive enough. But none of these defects derive contempt to the speaker, whereas what we call the *Irish brogue* is no sooner discovered than it makes the deliverer in the last degree ridiculous and despised, and from such a mouth an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail whether the censure be reasonable or not, since the fact is always so. And what is yet worse, it is too well known that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are not the least liable to such reproaches, further than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education has been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country that they should speak Irish. It may possibly be so, but I think they should be such who never intend to visit England upon pain of being ridiculous; for I do not remember to have heard of any one man that spoke Irish who had not the accent upon his tongue easily discernible to an English ear.

But I have wandered a little from my subject, which was only to propose a wish that these execrable denominations were a little better suited to an English mouth, if it were only for the sake of the English lawyers, who in trials upon appeals to the house of lords find so much difficulty in repeating the names, that if the plaintiff or defendant were by they would never be able to discover which were their own lands. But besides this I would desire, not only that the appellations of what they call *town-lands* were changed, but likewise of larger districts, and several towns, and some counties, and particularly the seats of country gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to solve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means trust these alterations to the owners themselves, who, as they are generally no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well skilled in prosody. The utmost extent of their genius lies in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrow, a castle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet these are exceeded by others, whereof some have contrived anagrammatical appellations from half their own and their wives' names joined together, others only from the lady, as for instance a person whose wife's name was Elizabeth calls his seat by the name of *Bess-borow*. There is likewise a famous town where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*, the original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it. It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen who ruined themselves with this iron project. *Sw.* stands for *Swift*, *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling.* for *Darling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like *Smectymnuus*, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the iron-work, and could wish they had been hanged as well as undone for their wit. But I was most pleased with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately saw in an advertisement of Pue's paper:—"This is to give notice that the lands of *Douras, alias* WHIG-*borough*," &c. Now this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty to future ages within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make use of this expedient, wherein he seems to mistake his account; for this distinguishing term whig had a most infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the fanatic sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued till this idea was a little softened some years after the Revolution and during a part of her late majesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the queen's death, since which time it hath indeed flourished with a witness: but how long will it continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer; and therefore he should have set a date on the title of his borough, to let us know what kind of a creature a whig was in that year of our Lord. I would readily assist nomenclators of this costive imagination, and therefore I propose to others of the same size in thinking that, when they are at a loss about christening a country seat, instead of straining their invention, they would call it *Booby-borough*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to express the talents of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myself to the prudence of this lord of WHIG-*borough*, because I have not yet heard among the presbyterian squires, how much soever their persons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have distinguished their country abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like, because there may probably come a time when those kind of sounds may not be so grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of discretion, upon supposing a gentleman, in allusion to his name or the merit of his ancestors, to call his house *Tyburn-hall*.

But the scheme I would propose for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible syllables is by employing some gentlemen in the university, who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue and their judgment in sounds, might imitate the Roman way, by translating those hideous words into their English meanings, and altering the termination where a bare translation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be easily delivered from the mouth. And when both those means happen to fail then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the soil, or some peculiar circumstance belonging to it, as in England, *Farn-ham*, *Oat-lands*, *Black-heath*, *Corn-bury*, *Rye-gate*, *Ash-burnham*, *Barn-elms*, *Cole-orton*, *Sand-wich*, and many others.

I am likewise apt to quarrel with some titles of lords among us that have a very ungracious sound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to those who have not the honour to be acquainted with their persons or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon those gentlemen who have gotten titles since the judicature of the peers among us has been taken away, to which they all submitted with a resignation that became good christians, as undoubtedly they are. However since that time I look upon a graceful harmonious title to be at least 40 *per cent.* in the value intrinsic of an Irish peerage; and since it is as cheap as the worst for any Irish law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would advise the next set before they pass their patents to call a consultation of scholars and musical gentlemen to adjust this most important and essential circumstance. The Scotch noblemen though born almost under the north pole have much more tunable appellations, except some very few, which I suppose were given them by the Irish along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered and planted from hence, and to this day retain the denominations of places and surnames of families, as all historians agree.

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I should likewise not be sorry if the names of some bishops' sees were so much obliged to the alphabet, that upon pronouncing them we might contract some veneration for the order and persons of those reverend peers, which the gross ideas sometimes joined to their titles are very unjustly apt to diminish.

ANSWER TO A PAPER, &c.

The memorial to which this paper is an answer was written by Sir John Browne, the same person alluded to as one of the witnesses examined before the council of England in favour of Wood's project, and stigmatized as a person tried for a rape.

FROM SIR JOHN BROWNE.

Rev. Sir, Dawson Street, April 4, 1728.

By a strange fatality, though you were the only person in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the secret of it; the ignorant poor man who was intrusted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the secret from all others, yet from the nature of the subject concluded that I could have no interest in concealing it from you, who were so universally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the welfare of Ireland. But though the accident gave me some uneasiness at first, yet, when I consider your character, I cannot doubt (however slender the foundation of such a hope may be from any merits of my own) your generosity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I shall not presume, sir, to detain you with the narrative of the origin and progress of the parliamentary accusations and votes against me, although, would you do me the honour to inquire, I could easily convince you, from my own particular case, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either,—one which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the subject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may say so) in the subject, and describes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I shall beg of you is to suspend your judgment upon it, since all parties allow that, although I had several summons from the committee for Monday, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their summons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding Saturday, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithstanding anything I could urge to the contrary. This I hope I may say without injury to Mr. Bingham, for sure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magistrate under the immediate direction of the lord chief-justice, who takes examinations against him, examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent also.

It shall suffice therefore to say, I went from Ireland loaded with the severest censures of the house of commons, injured as I thought and oppressed to the greatest degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itself, and all that by an overbearing and overpowering interest.

I sought in England for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me, my countrymen injured me. The nature of man is sociable; I was forced to herd with strangers. A prime minister engaged in the success of a scheme wants no emissaries to spy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately set by those sort of creatures; my sentiments on the state of our money matters were industriously sifted through me, and when that was done, before I knew anything of the matter, I was served with his majesty's summons; in a hurry I ran out of town, and stayed in the country awhile, but on my return again found another summons at my lodgings, and, terrified by the dismal effects of power at home from risking a second shipwreck abroad, I yielded to it and appeared at the cockpit.

It is true my appearance at the cockpit, to those who knew me only by the votes in the house of commons, must have looked like a design of revenge, and I had many and powerful enemies who gave all my actions the worst colour. But to take the matter impartially, sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the dismal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehensions of second dangers? Is there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the council of England, in which his majesty was present; and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments, forced, sir, to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our parliament?

But alas, the consequence!—You, sir, the defender of Ireland, were soon engaged against me on that account, and that fatal genius of yours in an instant ruined my character. But even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it; the cause which you undertook was dear to me, and though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, while you thought it necessary for the public good so to do. But now the end is served, dear sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato, being told that certain persons aspersed his character and represented him abroad as a very ill man, instead of expostulating with his enemies and returning reproach for reproach, consoled himself, saying, "No matter, my friends, the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie."

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country,—under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise,—and under the keen edge of the drapier's wit,—the only revenge in which I indulged myself was by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, sir, permit me in peace to take his great example, and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you, but I must say it was not the sword of Ajax, but the armour of Achilles, which he put on, that won the day.

The cause for which you undertook my ruin was the cause of my country. It was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! as long as your works subsist, wherever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain. It is a hard sentence, and yet, unless the spear of Achilles, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, sir, you must be a man of honour; it is not possible that honour should be wanting where all the distinguishing characteristics of it are found. I cannot doubt it, and therefore I will let you fully into a secret which accident has given you a part of, and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the house of commons, but I have laboured however, as I always shall, to serve my country and make myself agreeable to them. And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private con-

versation of my countrymen, which is the surest and best way to know our true interest, yet I flatter myself that my little essays may be useful, at least they may be no bad beginning, and you know it is easy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it and render it useless to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's mistake made me determine this private application to you, and I must say that I shall reckon it no small degree of honour if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean time I shall beg the favour of you to keep a secret which no other person but my printer, my bookseller, and the bearer knows.

I am, reverend sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

ANSWER TO A PAPER

CALLED A MEMORIAL OF THE POOR INHABITANTS, TRADESMEN, AND LABOURERS, OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

SIR, Dublin, March 25, 1728.

I RECEIVED a paper from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer, and sent, I suppose, to me among others without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn, and some schemes for making it cheaper which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a short history of the steps by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was indeed the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and when their leases were near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havoc that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who upon expiration of the farmers' leases were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen, having been before often ill paid, and their land worn out of heart, were too easily tempted when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land and give them security for payment. Thus a vast tract of land where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people.

It must be confessed that the farmers were justly punished for their knavery, brutality, and folly. But neither are the squires and landlords to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of beggars, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That farmers should be limited in ploughing is very reasonable, and practised in England, and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases; but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the farmers been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and further limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a million of money, and been more populous by above two hundred thousand souls.

For a people denied the benefit of trade to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a wild Indian would be ashamed of; especially when we add that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The grazier's employment is to feed great flocks of sheep or black cattle, or both. With regard to sheep, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity (further than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured but to one certain country, and only to some few ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more sheep we have the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool or eat the flesh. Ajax was mad when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies; but we shall never be sober until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the grazier's business is what we call black-cattle, producing hides, tallow, and beef for exportation: all which are good and useful commodities if rightly managed. But it seems the greatest part of the hides are sent out raw, for want of bark to tan them; and that want will daily grow stronger; for I doubt the new project of tanning without it is at an end. Our beef, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets, for the old reasons. But our tallow, for anything I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public economy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythians, and their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood, and milk, and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of corn; but I confess myself so degenerate that I am not easy without bread to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two was to see, in this prodigious plenty of cattle and dearth of human creatures and want of bread, as well as money to buy it, that all kind of flesh-meat should be monstrously dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws that there was not some regulation in the price of flesh as well as bread; but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt to think that the whole kingdom is overstocked with cattle, both black and white; and as it is observed that the poor Irish have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing and but half the quantity of milk, so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat bullock or wether than it would be if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am assured that the district in the several markets called Carrion-row is as reasonable as the poor can desire; only the circumstances of money to purchase it, and of trade or labour to purchase that money, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, sir, to return more particularly to you and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of wheat, you say, should be imported hither; and 10,000*l.* premium to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation? I am no commissioner of the treasury; but am well assured that the whole running cash would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much corn, which, only at 20*s.* a-barrel, will be 100,000*l.*; and 10,000*l.* more for the premium. But you will traffic

for your corn with other goods: and where are those goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of absentees, and other occasions in London, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers' paper? I suppose they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these rich farmers and engrossers of corn, in so bad a year and so little sowing?

You are in pain for 2*s.* premium, and forget the 20*s.* for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the miserable state of this nation. Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloths, are the particulars you mention upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first, because they are unwholesome; and the last because I should be glad if they were all burned: but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us awhile forget our misery; or give your tenants leave to plough for barley. But I will tell you a secret which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the customs in London; they said, when any commodity appeared to be taxed above a moderate rate, the consequence was to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me that the mistake of parliaments on such occasions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the business of laying impositions, two and two never made more than one; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine, yet the number of both who can afford such expenses is so small that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than increased. But, allowing no force in this argument, yet so preternatural a sum as 110,000*l.*, raised all on a sudden (for there is no dallying with hunger), is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in England; which as things now stand would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprising it would be in foreign parts to hear that the poor were starving in a rich country, &c. Are you in earnest? Is Ireland the rich country you mean? Or are you insulting our poverty? Were you ever out of Ireland? Or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to purchase a good estate in England. But by talking so familiarly of 110,000*l.* by a tax upon a few commodities, it is plain you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition: or else you would know and allow that such a sum is not to be raised here without a general excise; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in taxes more than England ever did in the height of war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Most certainly not the poor, who will not be able to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but I think your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in potatoes and buttermilk till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better, because the thing at least is possible; and I think if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of justice as well as charity. In the mean time, go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising 110,000*l.*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais, which was to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country!

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity; what I writ was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion; and it was obvious to every common understanding that such effects must needs follow from such causes;—a fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while the spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of whig and tory, of high church and low church; which no more concerned them than the long and famous controversy of strops for razors: while agriculture was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers and poorer tradesmen forced to beggary or banishment. "Wisdom crieth in the streets: Because I have called on you: I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh."

I have now done with your memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stranger, and as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God has given it in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper entitled A Short View of the State of Ireland; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late lord chief-justice Whitshed with an appearance of severity; since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I choose to do it here. Laying it therefore down for a postulatum, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no little creature of so mean a birth and genius had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I answer thus; whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, as some authors contend, or only one goddess sounding different trumpets, it is certain that people distinguished for their villany have as good a title to a blast from the proper trumpet, as those who are most renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most celebrated profligates have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world, yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest

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reason is the best. He was armed with power and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two printers, one to death and both to ruin, who had neither offended God nor the king, nor him nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this! If an ill man be alive and in power we dare not attack him; and if he be weary of the world or of his own villanies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just Latin enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum;* so that if Socrates and Anytus his accuser had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace or fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true; but when men are openly abandoned and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports or otherwise publishes anything which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the least misrepresentation or aggravation of facts deserves the same censure in some degree; but in this case I am quite deceived if my error has not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake (and probably of their dreams while they sleep), in the most detestable actions and designs; who delight in mischief, scandal, and obloquy, with the hatred and contempt of all mankind against them, but chiefly of those among their own party and their own family; such whose odious qualities rival each other for perfection: avarice, brutality, faction, pride, malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness, ignorance, vanity, and revenge, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed, neither is it prudent or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will rot, there may be some benefit for their survivors to smell it while it is rotting.

I am sir, your humble servant, A. B.

TWO LETTERS

ON SUBJECTS RELATIVE TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND.

TO MESSRS. TRUEMAN AND LAYFIELD.

GENTLEMEN,—I am inclined to think that I received a letter from you two last summer, directed to Dublin, while I was in the country, whither it was sent me; and I ordered an answer to it to be printed, but it seems it had little effect, and I suppose this will not have much more. But the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed. And gentlemen I am to tell you another thing—that the world is too regardless of what we write for public good: that after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of sending it into the world unless we will be at all or half the expense; and although we are willing enough to bestow our labours we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket, because it probably may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and in a great measure your manner of declaring them, and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

That great prelate [archbishop King], in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it me in the morning, and I begin my answer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer, because I conceive it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person; for although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to America. And if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of Pennsylvania, to tempt people to go thither, I do declare that those who were tempted by such a narrative to such a journey were fools, and the author a most impudent knave, at least if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above 25 years ago, dedicated to William Penn (whom by a mistake you call "sir William Penn"), and styling him by authority of the Scripture "most noble governor." For I was very well acquainted with Penn, and did some years after talk with him upon that pamphlet and the impudence of the author, who spoke so many things in praise of the soil and climate, which Penn himself did absolutely contradict. For he did assure me "That this country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudson's Bay and the Frozen Sea, which destroyed all plantations of trees and was even pernicious to all common vegetables." But indeed New York, Virginia, and other parts less northward, or more defended by mountains, are described as excellent countries; but upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither I am yet to seek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence is easier to be determined. They conceive themselves to live under the tyranny of most cruel exacting landlords, who have no views further than increasing their rent-rolls. Secondly, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you seem not to know the reason. Thirdly, You lament most justly the money spent by absentees in England. Fourthly, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. Fifthly, That your tithe-collectors oppress you. Sixthly, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law and all civil employments whatsoever. Seventhly, You are undone for want of silver and want all other money.

I could easily add some other motives which, to men of spirit, who desire and expect and think they deserve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But as these speculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people I shall choose to let them pass unmentioned. Yet I cannot but observe that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency Burnet[a] (*O fili, nec tali indigne parente!*) has not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals, by his oratory in the style of a commander, to settle a revenue on his viceroyal person. I have been likewise assured that in one of those colonies on the continent, which nature has so far favoured as (by the industry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice, the stubborn people, having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might sell their own rice at whatever foreign market

[a] William Burnet, the eldest son of bishop Burnet, at this time governor of Massachusetts

they pleased, and seem by their practice very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But to return to my subject; I must confess to you both, that if one reason of your people's deserting us be the despair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one syllable to answer, because that would be to hope for what is impossible; and so I have been telling the public these ten years. For there are events which must precede any such blessing; first, a liberty of trade; secondly, a share of preferments in all kinds, equal to the British natives; and thirdly, a return of those absentees who take almost one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the first and second, there is nothing left us but despair; and for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom has no money to send them; for which, in my own particular, I shall not be sorry.

The exaction of landlords has indeed been a grievance of above 20 years' standing. But as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to the improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side; for the landlords, either by their ignorance or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in 500 who has made any improvement worth mentioning; for which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation; the cabins of the Scotch themselves, in Ulster, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish. Whereas good firm penal laws for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent, and a reasonable period of time, would in 20 years have increased the rents of Ireland at least a third part of the intrinsic value.

I am glad to hear you speak with some decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tithes. But you entirely mistake the fact, for I defy the most wicked and the most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For although the Ulster tithing-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth; and where the corn much exceeds the small tithes, as except in some districts I am told it always does, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However I take it that your people bent for America do not show the best side of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint; yet they are so far wise as not to make the payment of tithes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any protestant dissenter except a quaker to pretend. But do your people indeed think that if tithes were abolished or delivered into the hands of the landlord, after the blessed manner in the Scotch spiritual economy, the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person who must be lord of the soil and of the tithe together?

I am ready enough to grant that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequences, the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurement from America, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight; which is their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles. But I was surprised to find that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For while I was last year in the northern parts a person of quality, whose estate was let above 20 years ago and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives and some perpetuities, did in a few months purchase eleven of those leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. Whence it is manifest that our present miserable condition and the dismal prospect of worse, with other reasons above assigned, are sufficient to put men upon trying this desperate experiment of changing the scene they are in, although landlords should by a miracle become less inhuman.

There is hardly a scheme proposed for improving the trade of this kingdom which does not manifestly show the stupidity and ignorance of the proposer; and I laugh with contempt at those weak wise heads who proceed upon general maxims or advise us to follow the examples of Holland and England. These empirics talk by rote without understanding the constitution of the kingdom; as if a physician, knowing that exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a severe fit of the gout to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for Ireland are very short and plain, to encourage agriculture and home consumption and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessaries, conveniences, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature or not to be attained by labour and industry! Are those detestable extravagancies of Flanders lace, English cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, Italian or Indian silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, china-ware, and that profusion of wines by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies better known to others than me—are these, I say, fit for us any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the highest indignity to human nature that men should be such poltroons as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonness of their wives, who under their present corruptions seem to be a kind of animal suffered for our sins to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose whole study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living; who by long practice can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive, as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poisons, and spend the revenues of a moderate family to adorn a nauseous unwholesome living carcase? Let those few who are not concerned in any part of this accusation suppose it unsaid; let the rest take it among them. Gracious God, in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully besotted!

If I am possessed of 100*l.* a-year, and by some misfortune it sinks to 50 without a possibility of ever being retrieved, does it remain a question in such an exigency what I am to do? must not I retrench one half in every article of expense? or retire to some cheap, distant part of the country, where necessaries are at half-value?

Is there any mortal who can show me, under the circumstances we stand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the desolation caused by absentees, under many other circumstances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade or subsist by

any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmost parsimony, in the manner I have already prescribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreasonable, well-meaning people, who are daily pressing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture, which upon many others I have so often done in vain. What will it import that half a score people in a coffeehouse may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of those few differ in every sentiment from me? If the farmer be not allowed to sow his corn, if half the little money among us be sent to pay rents to Irish absentees, and the rest for foreign luxuries and dress for the women, what will our charitable dispositions avail when there is nothing left to be given? when contrary to all custom and example all necessaries of life are so exorbitant; when money of all kinds was never known to be so scarce; so that gentlemen of no contemptible estates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to show any bounty to the poor?

ANSWER TO SEVERAL LETTERS SENT FROM UNKNOWN HANDS. 1729.

I am very well pleased with the good opinion you express of me, and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several schemes and proposals which you think should be offered to the parliament. In answer, I will assure you that in another place I have known very good proposals rejected with contempt by public assemblies merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the same fate, especially if handed to the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expense, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the drapier was not owing to my abilities but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge who is now gone *to his own place*. But let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my drapier's letters) which it were heartily to be wished that the parliament would take under their consideration, such as will no way interfere with England otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, gentlemen, about the highways, which indeed are almost everywhere scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and saver of his money, who being possessed of some adjacent lands has been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them, and has assured me that his lands are thereby advanced 4*s.* or 5*s.* an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But generally speaking all over the kingdom the roads are deplorable, and what is more particularly barbarous there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot, no, not near the city, except in a very few places and in a most wretched manner; whereas the English are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there 100 miles with less inconvenience than one mile here. But since this may be thought too great a reformation I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one-third smaller than England, yet by some natural disadvantages it would not bear quite the same proportion in value with the same encouragement. However it has so happened for many years past that it never arrived to above one-eleventh part in point of riches; and of late by the continual decrease of trade and the increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part, at least if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side.

Now supposing day-labour to be cheaper by one-half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one-eighth part so much as those of England, which is a very moderate computation, I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burden to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, 20 acts of parliament in six or seven years of the late king for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several counties of England, by erecting turnpikes and receiving passage-money, in a manner that everybody knows. If what I have advanced be true it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here; since the necessity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship at least twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually with allowances for the poverty of the nation by so many perch a-year, but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort; but against these no doubt the wisdom of the nation may and will provide.

Another evil, which in my opinion deserves the public care, is the ill management of the bogs; the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters that the red, swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is not by any means to be fully reduced, but the skirts which are covered with a green coat easily may, being not accretion or annual growth of moss like the other.

Now the landlords are generally so careless as to suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief; for the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural soil, yet by continuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times as low as the channel or gravel, would become secure summer-pasture; the margins might with great profit and ornament be filled with quickens, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars with great expense, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it has been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation as well as wonder to think how any landlord could be so absurd as suffer such havoc to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are I am told extremely defective, which with great submission must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the west-south-west wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not

planted in groves, except very rarely and where there is much land-shelter. I have not indeed read all the acts, but from inquiry I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least in many hundred miles' riding, except about a very few gentlemen's houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made than by planting large groves of ash a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow in the same or less time to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes to oblige cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabins and round their potato-gardens, where cattle either do not or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objection against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered by showing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life; but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or a horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble achievement to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only English on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing; yet I am wholly deceived if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very trifling expense; for such I look upon a tax to be of only 6000*l.* a-year to accomplish so great a work. This would in a great measure civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. This method is plain and simple, and although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to such a degree that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty, or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade except what is detrimental, which has forced such great numbers of weavers and others to seek their bread in foreign countries; the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduces 20 families to one; these events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish therefore under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it advisable to save 100,000*l.* a-year, which is now sent out of this kingdom, to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations than that of encouraging agriculture, and therefore to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away and the other have nothing to do?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads that his majesty might be applied to in a national way for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use, I believe no good subject will be under the least apprehension that such a request could meet with refusal or the least delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society, under the proper inspection of its prince or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty prince in Germany, vassal to the emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces with the inscription of CIVITAS WATERFORD, DROGHEDAGH, and other towns.

A LETTER

ON MR. M'CULLA'S PROJECT ABOUT HALFPENCE, AND A NEW ONE PROPOSED,

IN A LETTER TO DR. DELANY. 1729.

SIR,—You desire to know my opinion concerning Mr. M'Culla's project of circulating notes, stamped on copper, that shall pass for the value of halfpence and pence. I have some knowledge of the man: and about a month ago he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes; but I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time I called at his house, where I discoursed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a stranger to his character. He talked to me in the usual style, with a great profession of zeal for the public good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a first minister of state down to a corncutter. But I stopped him short, as I would have done a better man; because it is too gross a practice to pass at any time, and especially in this age, where we all know one another so well. Yet whoever proposes any scheme which may prove to be a public benefit, I shall not quarrel if it prove likewise very beneficial to himself. It is certain that, next to the want of silver, our greatest distress in point of coin is the want of small change, which may be some poor relief for the defect of the former, since the crown will not please to take that work upon them here as they do in England. One thing in M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material (except gold or silver), as well as upon paper. The question is whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal nor witnesses to prove it? To supply this he has proposed that the materials upon which this note is written shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be inquired into. His scheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, stamped with a promissory note to pay you 20*d.* for every pound of copper notes whenever you shall return them. Eight-and-forty of these halfpenny-pieces are to weigh a pound; and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for 2*s.*: by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 per cent.; that is to say 2*d.* in every 1*s.*

This will certainly arise to a great sum if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require: enough indeed to make any Irish tradesman's fortune; which however I should not repine at in the least if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why

Mr M'Culla would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my lord Dartmouth and colonel Moore were by their patents obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. First, "He conceived his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best English halfpence made by the crown: That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people; who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him, which he could not be able to support: And lastly, that his copper (as is already said) being equal in value and bulk to the English halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination proceeding from spite and envy might be formed against him."

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for; nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himself. The first is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the English halfpence and farthings; and secondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good; and thirdly, when he will think fit to stop his hand and give us no more; for I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr. M'Culla as of Mr. Wood.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by coinage of any metal: for they subtract or ought to subtract no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the question. By what I could gather from Mr. M'Culla good copper is worth 14*d.* per pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for 2*s.* the pound and will pay 20*d.* back, then the expense of coinage for one pound of copper must be 6*d.* which is 30 per cent. The world should be particularly satisfied on this article before he vends notes: for the discount of 30 per cent. is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For if we add to that proportion the 16 per cent. which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about 46 per cent. Or to reckon I think a fairer way: Whoever buys a pound of Mr. M'Culla's coin at 2*s.* per pound carries home only the real value of 14*d.*, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loser of 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent. But, however, this high discount of 30 per cent. will be no objection against M'Culla's proposal; because, if the charge of coining will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater sufferer of the two; because the buyer can lose but 4*d.* in a pound and M'Culla must lose 6*d.*, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction before we can safely take Mr. M'Culla's copper notes for value received; and how he will give that satisfaction is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The first point is that we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best English halfpence.

The second point is to know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight the matter is easy by his own scheme; for, as I have said before, he proposes 48 to weigh a pound, which he gives you for 2*s.*, and receives it by the pound at 20*d.*: so that, supposing pure copper to be 14*d.* a pound, he makes you pay 30 per cent. for the labour of coining, as I have already observed, beside 16 per cent. when he sells it. But if to this he adds any alloy to debase the metal, although it be not above 10 per cent., then Mr. M'Culla's promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above 47 per cent. discount.

For subtracting 10 per cent. off sixty pounds' worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about 5½ per cent. in the whole 100*l.*, which added to

	£41	13	4
	5	10	0
will be per cent.	47	3	4

That we are under great distress for change, and that Mr. M'Culla's copper notes, on supposition of the metal being pure, are less liable to objection than the project of Wood may be granted: but such a discount, where we are not sure even of our 20*d.* a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his scheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had some copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with those of Mr. M'Culla and observed as follows:

First I weighed Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny against an English one of king Charles II., which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's a fourth part, or 25 per cent.

I likewise weighed an Irish Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. M'Culla's 12½ per cent. It had a very fair and deep impression and milled very skilfully round.

I found that even a common harp halfpenny, well preserved, weighed equal to Mr. M'Culla's. And even some of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid these loose thoughts together with little order, to give you and others who may read them an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. M'Culla's project; but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of king Charles II., which I weighed against Mr. M'Culla's, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be; for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much outweigh those of Mr. M'Culla, for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them; I have indeed seen accidentally one or two very light, but it must certainly have been done by chance, or rather I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, farther than by his informing me that it is only 14*d.* a pound; by which I observe he charges the coinage at 30 per cent.; and therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But to say the truth, the dearness or cheapness of the metal does not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced from 16 to 8 per cent., and the charge of coinage, if possible, from 30 to 10 or 15 at most.

Mr. M'Culla must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding 20,000*l.*, by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of king Charles II., he will at 16 per cent. gain 3200*l.*, a very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune.

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer, by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin,

to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He has no wardens or masters, or other officers of the mint, to suck up his profit, and therefore can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether this project will succeed in Mr. M'Culla's hands (which, if it be honestly executed, I should be glad to see); one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, farther than the bare interest of their money. And Mr. M'Culla, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society, whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honour and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And first, I am confident, without any skill but by general reason, that the charge of coining copper would be very much less than 30 per cent. Secondly, I believe 10,000*l.* in halfpence and farthings would be sufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and most unnecessary distress for the want of silver, and that without such a distress half the sum would suffice. For I compute and reason thus: the city of Dublin, by a gross computation, contains 10,000 families; and I am told by shopkeepers "That if silver were as plenty as usual, 2*s.* in copper would be sufficient in the course of business for each family." But in consideration of the want of silver, I would allow 5*s.* to each family, which would amount to 2500*l.*; and to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp-halfpence which are left of lord Dartmouth's and Moor's patents under king Charles II., and the small Patrick and David for farthings. To the rest of the kingdom I would assign the 7500*l.* remaining, reckoning Dublin to answer one-fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to answer (if I mistake not) one-third of England—I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of small change by the number of souls in the kingdom, besides being perplexed, is I think by no means just. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at least are beggars in all circumstances except that of wandering about for alms; and that circumstance may arrive soon enough, when it will be time to add another 10,000*l.* in copper. But without doubt the families of Ireland who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting small change cannot be above 40,000 or 50,000, which the sum of 10,000*l.*, with the addition of the fairest old halfpence, would tolerably supply: for if we give too great a loose to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleases, the kingdom will be (how shall I express it under our present circumstances?) more than undone.

And hence appears in a very strong light the villany of Wood, who proposed the coinage of 108,000*l.* in copper for the use of Ireland, whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaded with 10*s.* or 12*s.*, although Wood might not transgress the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number, the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill informed are great men on the other side, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half-a-crown!

But to return to the proposal I have made. Suppose ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, should raise 200*l.* a-piece, and from the time the money is deposited, as they shall agree, should begin to charge it with 7 per cent. for their own use; that they should as soon as possible provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper sufficient for coining 2000*l.*, subtracting a fifth part of the interest of 10,000*l.* for the charges of the tools and fitting up a place for a mint the other four parts of the same interest to be subtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000*l.* each, with a just allowance for other necessary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply stamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can consist to have it rightly coined (wherein I am wholly ignorant), and the bulk as large as that of king Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint security to receive all the coins they issue out for seven or ten years, and return gold and silver without any defalcation.

Let the same club or company when they have issued out the first 2000*l.*, go on the second year, if they find a demand and that their scheme has answered to their own intention, as well as to the satisfaction of the public. And if they find 7 per cent. not sufficient, let them subtract 8, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have in two years coined 10,000*l.*, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but shut up their mint and dismiss their workmen, unless the real, universal, unsolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom shall signify a desire that they should go on for a certain sum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themselves, one of which should be to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at by the loss of intrinsic value in the coinage of 10,000*l.* in copper under the management of such a society of gentlemen.

First, It is plain that, instead of somewhat more than 16 per cent. as demanded by Mr. M'Culla, this society desires but 8 per cent.

Secondly, Whereas Mr. M'Culla charges the expense of coinage at 30 per cent., I hope and believe this society will be able to perform it at ten.

Whereas it does not appear that Mr. M'Culla can give any security for the goodness of his copper, because not one in ten thousand have the skill to distinguish, the society will be all engaged that theirs shall be of the best standard.

Fourthly, That whereas Mr. M'Culla's halfpence are one-fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of king Charles II., these gentlemen will oblige themselves to the public to give the coin of the same weight and goodness with those halfpence, unless they shall find they cannot afford it, and in that case they shall beforehand inform the public, show their reasons, and signify how large they can make them without being losers, and so give over or pursue their scheme as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large and of as good metal as the best English halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr. M'Culla. And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from 30 per cent. to 10 or 15, or 20 at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article, only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near 30 per cent., otherwise the coiners of those counterfeit halfpence called raps would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages by having the management in such a society, would be the paying 8 per cent. instead of 16, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any farther coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom; and all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune who would be ready to give the best security

and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment, and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The strongest objections against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than 1 per cent. above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years, and perhaps without any justice raise the clamour of the people against them. Besides, it is most certain that many a squire is as fond of a job and as dexterous to make the best of it as Mr. M'Culla himself or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten such persons in this town, if they had only some visible mark to know them at sight. Yet I just foresee another inconveniency, that knavish men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination, while those who are honest and best-intentioned may be the instruments of as much mischief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greatest knaves; and more, because of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the most difficult point. It is not so hard to find an honest man as to make this honest man active, and vigilant, and skilful, which, I doubt, will require a spur of profit greater than my scheme will afford him, unless he will be contented with the honour of serving his country and the reward of a good conscience.

After reviewing what I had written, I see very well that I have not given any allowance for the first charge of preparing all things necessary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.*, besides 20*l.* per annum for five years' rent of a house to work in. I can only say that, this making in all 300*l.*, it will be an addition of no more than 3 per cent. out of 10,000*l.*

But the great advantages of the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen such as I have already described (if such are to be found) are these:—

First, They propose no other gain to themselves than 1 per cent. above the legal interest for the money they advance, which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-house.

Secondly, They bind themselves to make their coins of as good copper as the best English halfpence, and as well coined and of equal weight, and do likewise bind themselves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expense of coinage more than it shall really stand them in.

Thirdly, They will for a limited term of seven or ten years, as shall be thought proper upon mature consideration, pay gold and silver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that shall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins shall have a deep impression, leaving a rising rim on both sides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time, and the edges shall be milled.

I suppose they need not be very apprehensive of counterfeits, which it will be difficult to make so as not to be discovered, for it is plain that those bad halfpence called raps are so easily distinguished even from the most worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great present want of change.

I shall here subjoin some computations relating to Mr. M'Culla's copper notes. They were sent to me by a person well skilled in such calculations, and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr. M'Culla charges good copper at 14*d.* per pound, but I know not whether he means avoirdupois or troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 ounces to a pound .	6960 grains
A pound troy weight	5760 „

Mr. M'Culla's copper is 14*d.* per pound avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. M'Culla's penny notes, one with another, weigh	524 grains.
By which computation, 2*s.* of his notes which he sells for one pound weight, will weigh	6288 „
But one pound avoirdupois weighs, as above	6960 „

This difference makes 10 per cent. to Mr. M'Culla's profit in point of weight.

The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs	149 grains.
Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs . .	131 „
The difference is .	18

Which is equal to 10½ per cent.

The English halfpenny of king Charles II. weighs	167 „
Mr. M'Culla's halfpenny weighs . .	131 „
The difference is .	36

Which difference, allowed a fifth part, is 20 per cent.

ANOTHER COMPUTATION.

Mr. M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth 20*d.*; for which he demands 2*s.*

His coinage he computes at 6*d.* per pound weight; therefore laying out only 20*d.*, and gaining 4*d.*, he makes per cent. profit, ...	20
The 6*d.* per pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes per cent.	30
The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is per cent.	10
By all which (viz. coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loses per cent.	60

If Mr. M'Culla's coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive them back, the owner cannot sell them at above 12*d.* per pound; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 per cent., he will lose 60 per cent.

The scheme of the society, raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus:—

For interest of their money per cent.	8
For coinage, instead of 10, suppose at most per cent.	20
For 300*l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and house-rent, charge 3 per cent. upon the coinage of 10,000*l.*	3
Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c. per cent.	31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodness of the metal, the largeness of the coin, the deepness and fairness of the impression, the assurance of the society confining itself to such a sum as they undertake, or as the kingdom shall approve; and lastly, their paying in gold or silver for all their coin returned upon their hands without any defalcation would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and with a little steadiness and activity could, I doubt not, be easily compassed.

I would not in this scheme recommend the method of promissory notes, after Mr. M'Culla's manner; but as I have seen in old Irish coins, the words CIVITAS DVBLIN, on one side, with the year of our Lord and the Irish harp on the reverse.

A PROPOSAL

THAT ALL THE LADIES AND WOMEN OF IRELAND SHOULD APPEAR CONSTANTLY IN IRISH MANUFACTURES. 1729.

There was a treatise written about nine years ago, to persuade the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures. This treatise was allowed to have not one syllable in it of party or disaffection; but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occasioned by the utter want of trade, except the ruinous importation of all foreign extravagances from other countries. This treatise was presented by the grand jury of the city and county of Dublin, as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city grand jury; but the foreman for the county was one Dr. Seal, register to the archbishop of Dublin, wherein he differed much from the sentiments of his lord. The printer was tried before the late Mr. Whitshed, that famous lord chief-justice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart declared upon his salvation "That the author was a jacobite, and had a design to beget a quarrel between the two nations." In the midst of this prosecution about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The duke of Grafton, who was then lieutenant, being perfectly ashamed of so infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from England a *noli prosequi* for the printer. Yet the grand jury had solemn thanks given them from the secretary of state.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten) to show how dangerous it has been for the best meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more; wholly omitting the famous cause of the drapier and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr. Whitshed, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago there was a small paper printed which was called, "A Short View of the State of Ireland," relating to the several causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to Ireland. Whitshed was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled. Mist, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in London, for which his pressfolk were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth; and for aught I know are not yet discharged.

This is our case; insomuch, that although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company for fear of being thought disaffected.

But since I am determined to take care that the author of this paper shall not be discovered (following herein the most prudent practice of the drapier), I will venture to affirm that the three seasons wherein our corn has miscarried did no more contribute to our present misery, than one spoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the present plentiful harvest, although it should be followed by a dozen ensuing, would no more restore us than it would the rat aforesaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur coat but never bring him back to life.

The short of the matter is this: the distresses of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and so have been doing for above a dozen years past.

If you demand whence these distresses have arisen, I desire to ask the following question:

If two-thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return; and if the said kingdom be forbidden the most profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing those commodities which are most ruinous to itself; how shall that kingdom stand?

If this question were formed into the first proposition of an hypothetical syllogism, I defy the man born in Ireland, who is now in the fairest way of getting a collectorship or a cornet's post, to give good reason for denying it.

Let me put another case. Suppose a gentleman's estate of 200*l.* a-year should sink to 100*l.* by some accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not; and suppose the said gentleman utterly hopeless and unqualified ever to retrieve the loss; how is he otherwise to proceed in his future economy than by reducing it on every article to one half less, unless he will be content to fly his country or rot in gaol? This is a representation of Ireland's condition; only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propose a full remedy for this, but only a small prolongation of life, until God shall miraculously dispose the hearts of our neighbours and our kinsmen, our fellow-protestants, fellow-subjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to starve without running further into debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000*l.*; which is at least one-third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000*l.* more than all the cash.

It seems there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum, not the principal, for this is allowed impossible. The necessity of raising such a fund is strongly and regularly pleaded, from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it a fault of Ireland that these funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise while we have neither liberty to trade nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to employ them if we had? Our diseases are visible enough both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, "that my rents are sunk so low, that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages;" have I any other course left than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains? And I would think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legislators.

To return from digressing: I am told one scheme for raising a fund to pay the interest of our national debt is by a further duty of 40*s.* a tun upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this much further, by raising it to 12*l.*; which in a manner would amount to a prohibition: thus weakly arguing from the practice of England.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in discourse, that there is no topic so fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in Ireland from the example of England, Holland, France, or any other country whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of humankind. I could undertake to name six or seven of the most uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly false in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any

person may deliver his opinion upon it, until it shall have passed into a law; and till then I declare mine to be positively against it.

First, Because there is no nation yet known in either hemisphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of some cordial to keep up their spirits than in this of ours. I am not in jest; and if the fact will not be allowed me, I shall not argue it.

Secondly, It is too well and generally known that this tax of 40s. additional on every tun of wine (which will be double, at least, to the home consumer) will increase equally every new session of parliament, until perhaps it comes to 12*l.*

Thirdly, Because, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like instances in England, this additional tax will more probably lessen this branch of the revenue than increase it. And therefore Sir John Stanley, a commissioner of the customs in England, used to say, "That the house of commons were generally mistaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four." Thus, if you should lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raisins or sugar, the revenue instead of rising would certainly sink; and the consequence would only be, to lessen the number of plum-puddings and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewise assured by merchants, that upon this additional 40s. the French will at least equally raise their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers upon the balance by our trade with France for several years past; and although our gain amounts to no great sum, we ought to be satisfied, since we are no losers, with the only consolation we are capable of receiving.

Lastly, The worst consequence is behind. If we raise the duty on wine to a considerable height, we lose the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable estates. I am confident there is hardly a gentleman of 800*l.* a-year and upward in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to consider whether he should live here or in England, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of England as in some very indifferent ones here; or if there be any difference, that vein of thrift and prudence in economy which passes there without reproach, and (chiefly in London itself) would amply make up the difference. But the article of French wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune; and this it is which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the scale with those few landed men disengaged from employments who content themselves to live hospitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obscurity in another, with bad or with none at all.

Having, therefore, as far as in me lies abolished this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the least concern about paying the interest of the national debt, but leave it as in loyalty bound wholly to the wisdom of the honourable house of commons; I come now to consider by what methods we may be able to put off and delay our utter undoing as long as it is possible.

I never have discoursed with any reasonable man upon the subject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us but to lessen the importation of all unnecessary commodities as much as it was possible; and likewise either to persuade our absentees to spend their money at home, which is impossible; or tax them at five shillings in the pound during their absence, with such allowances upon necessary occasions, as shall be thought convenient: or by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three last methods are treated by Mr. Prior in his most useful treatise added to his list of absentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this insupportable grievance of bringing in the instrument of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near 90,000*l.* worth of silk, whereof the greater part is manufactured; 30,000*l* more expended in muslin, holland, cambric, and calico. What the price of lace amounts to is not easy to be collected from the custom-house book, being a kind of goods that takes up a little room and is easily run; but considering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dress at 10*l.*, 12*l.*, 20*l.*, a yard must be very great. The tea rated at 7*s.* per pound, comes to near 12,000*l.*; but considering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, sempstress, and tradesman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it must needs cost the kingdom double that sum. Coffee is somewhat above 7,000*l.* I have seen no account of chocolate and some other Indian or American goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000*l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000*l.* The lavishing of all which money is just as prudent and necessary as to see a man in an embroidered coat begging out of Newgate in an old shoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw silk is less pernicious, because we have some share in the manufacture: but we are not now in circumstances to trifle. It costs us above 40,000*l.* a-year; and if the ladies till better times will not be content to go in their own country shifts, I wish they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineness of their native linen: their beauty and gentleness will as well appear, as if they were covered with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is so weak as to hope or expect that such a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough hearty unanimous vote in both houses of parliament might perhaps answer as well: every senator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, "That neither himself nor any of his family would in their dress, or furniture of their houses, make use of anything except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependents and friends, to follow their example."

A MODEST PROPOSAL

FOR PREVENTING THE CHILDREN OF POOR PEOPLE IN IRELAND FROM BEING A BURDEN TO THEIR PARENTS OR COUNTRY, AND FOR MAKING THEM BENEFICIAL TO THE PUBLIC. 1729.

A foreign author is said actually to have considered the proposal as serious, and to have quoted it as an instance of the extremity under which Ireland laboured.

It is a melancholy object to those who walk through this great town or travel in the country, when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin doors, crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants; who as they grow up either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is in the present deplorable state of the kingdom a very great additional grievance; and therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children sound useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of professed beggars; it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of our projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a child just dropped from its dam, may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment; at most not above the value of 2*s.*, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner as instead of being a charge upon their parents or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall on the contrary contribute to the feeding, and partly to the clothing, of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bastard children, alas, too frequent among us! sacrificing the poor innocent babes I doubt more to avoid the expense than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about 200,000 couple whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract 30,000 couple who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many, under the present distresses of the kingdom;) but this being granted, there will remain 170,000 breeders. I again subtract 50,000 for those women who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain 120,000 children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, how this number shall be reared and provided for? which as I have already said under the present situation of affairs is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed. For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houses (I mean in the country) nor cultivate land; they can very seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time, they can however be properly looked upon only as probationers; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no saleable commodity; and even when they come to this age they will not yield above 3*l.* or 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* at most on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.

I shall now therefore humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration that of the 120,000 children already computed, 20,000 may be reserved for breed, whereof only one-fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to sheep, black cattle or swine; and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages, therefore one male will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining 100,000 may at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.

I have reckoned upon a medium that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will increase to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infant's flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentifully in March, and a little before and after: for we are told by a grave author, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman catholic countries about nine months after Lent than at any other season; therefore, reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of popish infants is at least three to one in this kingdom: and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of papists among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers) to be about 2*s.* per annum, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give 10*s.* for the carcass of a good fat child, which as I have said will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he has only some particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have 8*s.* net profit, and be fit for work till she produces another child.

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may flay the carcass; the skin of which artificially dressed will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive than dressing them hot from the knife as we do roasting pigs.

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased in discoursing on this matter to offer a refinement upon my scheme. He said that many gentlemen of

this kingdom, having of late destroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding 14 years of age nor under 12; so great a number of both sexes in every country being now ready to starve for want of work and service; and these to be disposed of by their parents if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations. But with due deference to so excellent a friend and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments; for as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our schoolboys by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable; and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then as to the females, it would I think with humble submission be a loss to the public, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides, it is not improbable that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice, (although indeed very unjustly,) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, has always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended.

But in order to justify my friend, he confessed that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Psalmanazar, a native of the island Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago; and in conversation told my friend, that in his country when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcass to persons of quality as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of 15, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the emperor, was sold to his imperial majesty's prime minister of state, and other great mandarins of the court, in joints from the gibbet, at 400 crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who without one single groat to their fortunes cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at playhouse and assemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed, and I have been desired to employ my thoughts what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an encumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known that they are every day dying and rotting by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers they are now in almost as hopeful a condition; they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal which I have made, are obvious and many as well as of the highest importance.

For first, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation as well as our most dangerous enemies; and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an episcopal curate.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to distress and help to pay their landlord's rent their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of 100,000 children, from two years old and upward, cannot be computed at less than 10*s.* a-piece per annum, the nation's stock will be thereby increased 50,000*l.* per annum, beside the profit of a new dish introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom who have any refinement in taste. And the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The constant breeders, beside the gain of 8*s.* sterling per annum by the sale of their children will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year.

Fifthly, This food would likewise bring great custom to taverns; where the vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best receipts for dressing it to perfection, and consequently have their houses frequented by all the fine gentlemen, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating: and a skilful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards or enforced by laws and penalties. It would increase the care and tenderness of mothers toward their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit or expense. We should see an honest emulation among the married women, which of them could bring the fattest child to the market. Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, their sows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For instance, the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barreled beef, the propagation of swine's flesh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon, so much wanted among us by the great destruction of pigs, too frequent at our table; which are no way comparable in taste or magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearling child, which roasted whole will make a considerable figure at a lord mayor's feast or any other public entertainment. But this and many others I omit, being studious of brevity.

Supposing that 1000 families in this city would be constant customers for infants' flesh, beside others who might have it at merry-meetings, particularly at weddings and christenings, I compute that Dublin would take off annually about 20,000 carcasses; and the rest of the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining 80,000.

I can think of no one objection that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual kingdom of Ireland and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be upon earth. Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: of taxing our absentees at 5*s.* a pound: of using neither clothes nor household furniture except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence,

and temperance: of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from LAPLANDERS and the inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO: of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to sell our country and conscience for nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy toward their tenants: lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shopkeepers; who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our negative goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients, till he has at least some glimpse of hope that there will be ever some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

But as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and at length utterly despairing of success I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it has something solid and real, of no expense and little trouble, full in our own power and whereby we can incur no danger in disobliging ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, although perhaps I could name a country which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author or authors will be pleased maturely to consider two points. First, as things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for 100,000 useless mouths and backs. And secondly, there being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence put into a common stock would leave them in debt 2,000,000*l.* sterling, adding those who are beggars by profession to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with the wives and children who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold as to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes as they have since gone through by the oppression of landlords, the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like or greater miseries upon their breed for ever.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich. I have no children by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past childbearing.

THE PRESENT MISERABLE STATE OF IRELAND.

IN A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN DUBLIN TO HIS FRIEND SIR R. WALPOLE IN LONDON: WHEREIN IS BRIEFLY STATED THE CAUSES AND HEADS OF ALL OUR WOES.

Supposed to be written in the character of the drapier.

SIR,—BY the last packet I had the favour of yours, and am surprised that you should apply to a person so ill qualified as I am, for a full and impartial account of the state of our trade. I have always lived as retired as possible; and have carefully avoided the perplexed honour of city offices; I have never minded anybody's business but my own; upon all which accounts and several others, you might easily have found among my fellow-citizens persons more capable to resolve the weighty questions you put to me than I can pretend to be.

But being entirely at leisure, even at this season of the year, when I used to have scarce time sufficient to perform the necessary offices of life, I will endeavour to comply with your request, cautioning you not implicitly to rely upon what I say excepting what belongs to that branch of trade in which I am more immediately concerned.

The Irish trade is, at present, in the most deplorable condition that can be imagined; to remedy it, the causes of its languishment must be inquired into: but as those causes (you may assure yourself) will not be removed, you may look upon it as a thing past hopes of recovery.

The first and greatest shock our trade received was from an act passed in the reign of king William, in the parliament of England, prohibiting the exportation of wool manufactured in Ireland. An act (as the event plainly shows) fuller of greediness than good policy; an act as beneficial to France and Spain as it has been destructive to England and Ireland. At the passing of this fatal act, the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, although no way interfering with the English; we made no broadcloths above 6*s.* per yard; coarse druggets, bays and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half-works, and gaudy stuffs, were the only product of our looms: these were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the northern nations, from which we had in exchange timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and hard dollars. At the time the current money of Ireland was foreign silver, a man could hardly receive 100*l.* without finding the coin of all the northern powers and every prince of the empire among it. This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, &c., for our own wear, for rents, for coals, for hardware, and all other English manufactures, and in a great measure supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation.

The repeated clamours of the English weavers produced this act, so destructive to themselves and us. They looked with envious eyes upon our prosperity, and complained of being undersold by us in those commodities which they themselves did not deal in. At their instance the act was passed, and we lost our profitable northern trade. Have they got it? No, surely, you have found they have ever since declined in the trade they so happily possessed; you shall find (if I am rightly informed) towns without one loom in them, which subsisted entirely upon the woollen manufactory before the passing of this unhappy bill; and I will try if I can give the true reasons for the decay of their trade and our calamities.

Three parts in four of the inhabitants of that district of the town where I dwell were English manufac-

turers, whom either misfortunes in trade, little petty debts contracted through idleness, or the pressure of a numerous family, had driven into our cheap country. These were employed in working up our coarse wool, while the finest was sent into England. Several of these had taken the children of the native Irish apprentices to them, who being humbled by the forfeiture of upward of three millions by the Revolution, were obliged to stoop to a mechanic industry. Upon the passing of this bill, we were obliged to dismiss thousands of these people from our service. Those who had settled their affairs returned home, and overstocked England with workmen; those whose debts were unsatisfied went to France, Spain, and the Netherlands, where they met with good encouragement, whereby the natives, having got a firm footing in the trade, being acute fellows, soon became as good workmen as any we have, and supply the foreign manufactories with a constant recruit of artisans; our island lying much more under pasture than any in Europe. The foreigners (notwithstanding all the restrictions the English Parliament has bound us with) are furnished with the greatest quantity of our choicest wool. I need not tell you, sir, that a custom-house oath is held as little sacred here as in England, nor that it is common for masters of vessels to swear themselves bound for one of the English wool ports, and unload in France or Spain. By this means the trade in those parts is in a great measure destroyed, and we were obliged to try our hands at finer works, having only our home consumption to depend upon; and I can assure you, we have, in several kinds of narrow goods, even exceeded the English, and I believe we shall, in a few years more, be able to equal them in broadclothe; but this you may depend upon, that scarce the tenth part of English goods are now imported of what used to be before this famous act.

The only manufactured wares we are allowed to export are linen cloth and linen yarn, which are marketable only in England; the rest of our commodities are wool, restricted to England, and raw hides, skins, tallow, beef, and butter. Now these are things for which the northern nations have no occasion; we are therefore obliged, instead of carrying woollen goods to their markets and bringing home money, to purchase their own commodities.

In France, Spain, and Portugal, our wares are more valuable, though it must be owned our fraudulent trade in wool is the best branch of our commerce; from hence we get wines, brandy, and fruit very cheap, and in great perfection; so that though Englishmen have constrained us to be poor, they have given us leave to be merry. From these countries we bring home moidores, pistoles, and louisd'ors, without which we should scarce have a penny to turn upon.

To England we are allowed to send nothing but linen cloth, yarn, raw hides, skins, tallow, and wool. From thence we have coals, for which we always pay ready money, India goods, English woollen and silks, tobacco, hardware, earthenware, salt, and several other commodities. Our exportations to England are very much overbalanced by our importations; so that the course of exchange is generally too high, and people choose rather to make their remittances to England in specie than by a bill, and our nation is in this manner perpetually drained of its little running cash.

Another cause of the decay of trade, scarcity of money, and swelling of exchange, is the unnatural affectation of our gentry to reside in and about London. Their rents are remitted to them, and spent there. The countryman wants employment from them; the country shopkeeper wants their custom. For this reason he can't pay his Dublin correspondent readily nor take off a great quantity of his wares. Therefore, the Dublin merchant cannot employ the artisan, nor keep up his credit in foreign markets.

I have discoursed with some of these gentlemen, persons esteemed for good sense, and demanded a reason for this their so unaccountable proceeding,—expensive to them for the present, ruinous to their country, and destructive to the future value of their estates,—and find all their answers summed up under three heads, curiosity, pleasure, and loyalty to king George. The two first excuses deserve no answer; let us try the validity of the third. Would not loyalty be much better expressed by gentlemen staying in their respective counties, influencing their dependents by their examples, saving their own wealth, and letting their neighbours profit by their necessary expenses, thereby keeping them from misery, and its unavoidable consequence, discontent? Or is it better to flock to London be lost in a crowd, kiss the king's hand, and take a view of the royal family? The act of seeing the royal house may animate their zeal for it; but other advantages I know not. What employment have any of our gentlemen got by their attendance at court, to make up to them for their expenses? Why, about forty of them have been created peers, and a little less than a hundred of them baronets and knights. For these excellent advantages, thousands of our gentry have distressed their tenants, impoverished the trader, and impaired their own fortunes!

Another great calamity is the exorbitant raising of the rents of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent,—leases granted but for a small term of years,—tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised on the expiration of their lease proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus it is that honest industry is restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; it is well if he can cover his family with a coarse home-spun frieze. The artisan has little dealings with him; yet he is obliged to take his provisions from him at an extravagant price, otherwise the farmer cannot pay his rent.

The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep-pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty!

We are apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed; but then we do not consider they have nothing to do. Sir William Temple, in his excellent remarks on the United Provinces, inquires, why Holland, which has the fewest and worst ports and commodities of any nation in Europe, should abound in trade, and Ireland, which has the most and best of both, should have none? This great man attributes this surprising accident to the natural aversion man has for labour; who will not be persuaded to toil and fatigue himself for the superfluities of life throughout the week, when he may provide himself with all necessary subsistence by the labour of a day or two. But with due submission to Sir William's profound judgment, the want of trade with us is rather owing to the cruel restraints we lie under than to any disqualification whatsoever in our inhabitants.

I have not, sir, for these thirty years past, since I was concerned in trade (the greatest part of which time distresses have been flowing in upon us), ever observed them to swell so suddenly to such a height as

they have done within these few months. Our present calamities are not to be represented; you can have no notion of them without beholding them. Numbers of miserable objects crowd our doors, begging us to take their wares at any price, to prevent their families from immediate starvation. We cannot part with our money to them, both because we know not when we shall have a market for their goods, and as there are no debts paid, we are afraid of reducing ourselves to their own lamentable circumstances. The dismal time of trade we had during Marr's troubles in Scotland, are looked upon as happy days when compared with the present.

I need not tell you, sir, that this griping want, this dismal poverty, this additional woe, must be put to the account of those accursed stocks, which have desolated our country more effectually than England. Stock-jobbing was a kind of traffic we were utterly unacquainted with. We went late to the South Sea market, and bore a great share in the losses of it, without having tasted any of its profits.

If many in England have been ruined by stocks, some have been advanced. The English have a free and open trade to repair their losses; but above all, a wise, vigilant, and uncorrupted parliament and ministry, strenuously endeavouring to restore public trade to its former happy state. Whilst we, having lost the greatest part of our cash, without any probability of its returning, most despair of retrieving our losses by trade, and have before our eyes the dismal prospect of universal poverty and desolation.

I believe, sir, you are by this time heartily tired with this undigested letter, and are firmly persuaded of the truth of what I said in the beginning of it, that you had much better have imposed this task on some of our citizens of greater abilities. But perhaps, sir, such a letter as this may be, for the singularity of it, entertaining to you, who correspond with the politest and most learned men in Europe. But I am satisfied you will excuse its want of exactness and perspicuity, when you consider my education, my being unaccustomed to writings of this nature, and above all, those calamitous objects which constantly surround us, sufficient to disturb the clearest imagination and the soundest judgment.

Whatever cause I have given you, by this letter, to think worse of my sense and judgment, I fancy that I have given you a manifest proof that I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant, J. S.

TEN REASONS FOR REPEALING THE TEST ACT.

1. Because the presbyterians are people of such great interest in this kingdom, that there are not above ten of their persuasion in the house of commons, and but one in the house of lords; though they are not obliged to take the sacrament in the established church to qualify them to be members of either house of parliament.

2. Because those of the established church of this kingdom are so disaffected to the king, that not one of them worth mentioning, except the late duke of Ormond, has been concerned in the rebellion; and that our parliament, though there be so few presbyterians, has, upon all occasions, proved its loyalty to king George, and has readily agreed to and enacted what might support his government.

3. Because very few of the presbyterians have lost an employment worth 20*l.* per annum for not qualifying themselves according to the test act; nor will they accept of a militia commission though they do of one in the army.

4. Because, if they are not in the militia and other places of trust, the pretender and his adherents will destroy us,—when he has no one to support him but the king of Spain; when king George is on a good understanding with Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark; and when he has made the best alliances in Christendom. When the emperor, king of Great Britain, the French king, the king of Sardinia, are all in the quadruple alliance against the Spaniard, his upstart cardinal, and the pretender; when bloody plots against Great Britain and France are blown to the winds; when the Spanish fleet is quite dispersed; when the French army is overrunning Spain; and when the rebels in Scotland are cut off.

5. The test clause should be repealed, because it is a defence against the reformation which the presbyterians long since promised to the churches of England and Ireland, viz., "We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, &c., each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear, first, That we will sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings to aid the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government. Secondly, That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour to promote the extirpation of popery, prelacy; that is, church government by archbishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, deacons, and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy."

6. Because the presbyterian church government may be independent of the state. The Lord Jesus is king and head of his church; hath therein appointed a government in the hands of church officers distinct from the civil magistrate. As magistrates may lawfully call a synod of ministers to consult and advise with about matters of religion; so, if magistrates be open enemies to the church, the ministers of Christ of themselves, by virtue of their office, or they with other fit persons, upon delegation from their churches, may meet together in such assemblies.

7. Because they have not the free use of their religion when they disdain a toleration.

8. Because they have so little charity for episcopacy as to account it iniquitous. The address of the general assembly to the duke of Queensberry in the late reign says, that to tolerate the episcopal clergy in Scotland would be to establish iniquity by a law.

9. Because repealing the test clause will probably disoblige ten of his majesty's good subjects for one it can oblige.

10 Because, if the test clause be repealed, the presbyterians may with the better grace get into employments, and the easier worm out those of the established church.

TWO LETTERS TO THE PUBLISHER OF THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL.

Nemo in sese tentat descendere.—Pers.

Sir, Saturday, September 14, 1720.

I sat down the other day to take myself into consideration, thinking it an odd thing that I should cast my eyes so much abroad to make discoveries of other people, and should never care or bethink what I myself was doing at home. Upon inquiry, I found *self-reflection* to be a very disagreeable thing. I was ever very well with myself upon the whole; but

when I came to this piece-work I saw so many faults and flaws, so many things wanting, and so many to be mended, that I did not know where to begin or what to say, but grew prodigiously sick of the subject. In fine, I became thoroughly chagrined and out of humour; till after much musing I most manfully came to a conclusion, and so softened down my long run of questions and answers into this issue:—Well, I care not though I have not got 30,000*l.* per annum; yet I am a projector, and except twice this sum very soon. Well, what if I am not a minister of state? I am a poet;—and straight to pen, ink, and paper, I betook me; and with these two single considerations I outbalanced the whole posse of articles that weighed just now against me.

I laid the foundation of an hundred and fifty poems, odes, satires, and ballads. I compared poetry and building together, as you will see it done in my parallel in this paper. I went on in the manner immediately following, and drew out the proposals, hereafter specified, for raising 54,674*l.* 12*s.* in two years. I grew well with myself in half an hour, was as rich as a Jew and as great as a lord. I despised everybody that could not write and make songs. I put on my best wig, coat, and best laced shirt; and away I went to Lucas's, to laugh at all the prig puppies that could not speak Spanish.

Before I came to this dernier, (amongst a million) I remember the few following observations occurred to me: As that a poet and projector are very near a-kin; the same fire and spirit, the same invention, penetration, and forecast being required to frame a project and a poem, especially projects of architecture and building; to both which I shall speak, and show their near resemblance to each other by and by. For instance, you must, both in poetry and projects, first lay your plan and ground-work; one part must precede and draw on and answer another; you must not only frame the main body, and shell or hull in one, and the drama or design in the other; but you must contrive passages, wings, out-houses, colonnades, porches, &c., which in poetry answer proemiums, digressions, parentheses, episodes, incidents, perorations, conclusions, prefaces, and indexes: Then the fable of a poem, or the ground-work of a project, must be equally probable, not too much exceeding life, taken from nature, or something very like nature. In the execution of both, you must grow from chaos and darkness to the little glimmerings of existence first, and then proceed to more lightsome appearances afterwards, keeping always the tip-top splendour and sublime in view, being very confident of the success of the undertaking, sparing no pains, nor money if you have it, to push the performance; cursing the diffidence and impatience of a certain sort of people of the quiet cast of mind, never being discouraged at any unkind muse or cross-grained deity that obstructs the pullulation of the *durum vegetaturum*, or who will not yet suffer the poem to become correct and complete; so that one may immediately say of the author,

Os popuili meruisse, et cedro digna locutum.

And if at last the project miscarries, and the poem be damned, you are to curse fortune, and damn a tasteless, unbelieving world; you are to drink a bottle of port after a quart of porter, and to begin a new design next morning, *et sic, in circulo ad infinitum*, till fame and fortune court you or till you are philosopher enough to despise them, which is all one, and then die; but be sure you never forgive the senseless and ungrateful town. *Probatum est.*

Now before I proceed I must declare that I pique myself mightily upon the laudable professions which I treat of; and I do freely acknowledge and own, however the severer sort may sneer at me for it, that I find more self-complacency and joy of mind from my professions of poetry and project-hunting, than from my knighthood, though it be the very mirror and glory of all knighthood, than from my learning, my birth, my little fortune and skill in dress, or my making love, or from any other advantage of mine over the herd of men; and to cut down the *cool ones* all at once, I hereby loudly affirm that the joy of mind arising from one's being conscious that he is a poet, exceeds all other advantages of mind, body, and fortune whatever.

In short, I'll out with the secret:—Depend on it, gentlemen, that poetry is meat, drink, clothes, washing, and lodging, and I know it. And I appeal for the truth of it to every hackney author, in prose as well as verse, in town. You will allow, I believe, all happiness to consist in imagination, that is, in men's way of thinking themselves to be happy or not; *crede quod habes, et habes.* Now I hope there is nobody that will dispute the right of imagination with a poet, *Ergo*—on which foundation, I never fail to argue thus with myself: My lord has disappointed me, true; d—n him, I have more sense than he; he cannot take my wit and my pen from me, and good sense and wit are a fortune at all times. What though he makes me hate him for a thousand reasons, he shall not, he cannot, put me out of conceit with myself—d—n him, I made two lines to-day of more worth and value than him and his, and all that belong to him.

Sed Vatem egregium! Cui non sit publica vena,
Qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
Communi feriat carmen triviale moneta!
Hunc! Qualem nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantùm.

Excellent, by my soul. *Sentio tantum!* and so, hang your lords and squires, your coaches, and equipages.

Ad incubatum, Sir James; fear not the *limæ labor et mora;* write, *quod demorsos sapit ungues*, and then you are happy, you are rich; Apollo's your patron, and the muses, and the fawns, and old *Silenus, et Bacchus Pater*, will crown you with joy, and your head will never ache, and your belly will never croak with the colic. Consider this, you wise ones, and believe it to be true:

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
Vidi docentem: credite, posteri.

Believe me, I say, and consider what follows as a proof of it.

If about three I find the company slink off, and that I am left alone in the green, I retire to a bench, where I pull out Virgil, and read the description of Elysium till five, contemplating how the shades are entertained below with philosophy, and how they live on pure ether, amidst groves and rivulets; this done, I pay a visit to my lady—drink green tea, and to prevent the too searching quality of that piercing fluid, I call for a thin slice or two of bread and butter, and then think no more of dinner than dulness; dinner's over for that day. If at night I am deserted the same way, at the playhouse or Lucas's, I retire; solitude is the blessedest state in the world; who would bear the noise and impertinency of fops and fools? So I read a little philosophy first, then some poetry, or a little Spanish prose, and never awake out of my studies till all the house is asleep; and then it's too late to think of sending to the cook's, or going to a tavern, and so truly I e'en go to bed. I am a perfect master of the art of sleeping, and take it to be a very nourishing thing. If I am served the same way the second day, I amuse my bowels with my own works, for which, I own, I never do want bowels. If the sun shines not more favourable the third day, I write; invention takes off all attention to everything but itself; when my brain is full, my belly is never empty; nor do I care who dines or sups, if I make and like my own verses: By wanting

provisions that day, I generally provide for many days, in some epistle or dedication, and maybe I have provided that, as I shall live well, so I shall never die; and that night I dream of whole markets of meat and whole rivers of wine.

N.B. A little bread, ale, and porter, must be supposed each day in some lucid interval.

The brain being drained, on the fourth day I begin to have some little compassion for my virtuous and forbearing guts; Hang it, says I, one cannot study and labour always—I will e'en go and divert my lord—he'll rejoice to see me—I'll say my best things—so—"*sans ceremony*, my lord, I know the beaux esprits are always at home with your lordship—I'gad, I am in the best humour in the world, my lord—my spirits are all up, my lord—I have finished an incomparable piece, my lord—and I don't know anybody, my lord, that relishes, and therefore deserves to have good things said to him more than your lordship, my lord:"—so, down I sit, and eat and drink like a devil.

But pray excuse me, gentlemen, for this digression; digression seems to be the very life and soul of writing, and therefore I here present you with the parallel I promised you just now, between a book and a house, and between building, projecting, and writing.

To the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal.

Nemo in sese tentat descendere.—Pers.

Sir, Saturday, September 21, 1728.

In my last I promised you a parallel between a book and a house, and between building, projecting, and writing, as also a proposal for raising a sum not exceeding 54,674*l.* 12*s.* in two years.

THE PARALLEL.

Cover of the book—top of the house. Blank leaves—avenue. Half title-page—court-yard and wall. Whole title-page—front of the house. Dedication—porter, who tells lies and flatters all day long, for the good of the family but to the utter abuse of the person he speaks to. Preface—hall, wherein are contained guns, pikes, and bows, for the defence of the premises. Contents—the mistress of the family. Introduction—the staircase. Bulk of the book—the master of the house and furniture. Ornaments—trophies, figures, similes, &c. Index—the house of office.

I might go on and show how particular sorts of writing resemble particular sorts of building, and that an epic poem is like a palace, and the panegyric its painted walls; that school divinity is like a church, where the terms of art, like the seats and pulpit, lie always in the same situation, and may be made use of very aptly for different purposes, according to the present possessors and occupiers, and serve the end of the heterodox at one time, the orthodox at another; that the law is like wooden houses of our ancestors, with wooden furniture, where you are continually offended with knots and hurt with flaws, and are very often fired out of all you have; that mathematics resemble a well-built arch; logic a castle; and romances castles in the air; divinity is like St. Paul's church at London, that will never be finished nor be liked by everybody, and that will be always decaying, repairing, and mending: sophistry is a dark entry, and irony a vault; digression a drawing room, history a gallery, essays a dining-room, and sermons a bedchamber: poetry may be compared to Gresham college, where there is a variety of gewgaws and rarities, which, when you have seen, you come away, but are neither the better, wiser, or richer for them.

There are many pieces of writing like one famous building in this city. Heraldry is bedlam; church controversy, bedlam; law terms of art, bedlam; physic-terms, bedlam; journals, bedlam; advertisements, bedlam; modern political tracts, bedlam. I might, I say, pursue this subject, had I a mind, and show that the Chillingworth and Hoadleian style and writings are the true and ancient Tuscan dialects, simple, well-concerted, and put together, beautiful enough, and what will last as long as the sun shines by means of their proportion; and that they who write in defence of impositions and constraint of opinions, raise their worth in the right Gothic order, far remote from the ancient proportions and ornaments of buildings, with a pillar here of a vast massy form, and there another as slender as a pole, having capitals without any certain dimensions, and carved with thorny leaves of thistles, coleworts, and bear's-foot, so that to see them or touch them offends you, but the comfort is they will not last long.

I might go through the Doric, the Ionic, the Corinthian, the Composite, and add the Attic order also, and show you the several authors and their writings that have resemblance to them; but I am not inclined to do it at this time, nor to show you the resemblance that several styles and kinds of writing have to the inside and furniture of buildings, whether palaces, private houses, lodges, or public buildings, as, that history puts one in mind of the housekeeper and nurse, and sometimes the good woman of the house; that poetry is the china-ware, ethics the looking-glasses; common place-books, p——g-p-ts, commentaries, candles in dark lanterns, which neither see themselves nor let anything else be seen; that an epic poem is a feast; translations, hashes; miscellanies, olios; that odes are tarts and cheese-cakes; dedications, whip syllabubs; epistles, pot-luck; lampoons, table-talk; satires, tea-tables; and polyanthuses, chamber-maids, that do all the business of the house,—and a thousand more, which some time or other I will record in this my never-dying registry, instead of which, for the present take what follows.

A LIST OF MY PROPOSALS FOR RAISING A SUM NOT EXCEEDING 54,674*l.* 12*s.* IN TWO YEARS.

	£.	s.	d.
For my new comedy this winter—			
The first third night	500	0	0
The second third night	150	0	0
The third third night	150	0	0
From the printer	105	0	0
For the dedication	105	0	0
Ditto for my tragedy next winter . .	1,010	0	0
For my two farces each winter. . .	100	0	0
In fame for them, placed to account as value received	5,000	0	0
For 52 papers to be sent, as the humour bites, to the printer, once a fortnight	54	12	0
For casual pamphlets, at a moderate computation, from the booksellers .	100	0	0
From the government for ditto . .	200	0	0
From ditto in fame	100	0	0
For answering Mist's Journal . . .	200	0	0
For panegyrics on four certain lords .	200	0	0
For casual odes, familiar epistles, lampoons, satires, dedications, loose letters and verses, anagrams, mottos for rings and sign-posts, stating cases, drawing petitions, translating, correcting, giving hints, landing a thought, altering sentences, adding paragraphs; and innumerable deles, modestly speaking	500	0	0
Hush-money of several sorts . . .	200	0	0
For a scheme to prevent running of goods	5,000	0	0
From the government for ways and means for two years	10,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
From the owner of the lamps, for lessening their number, by inventing one large one which, set on a pole 30 feet high, in the middle, shall enlighten every the least part of the largest street in town, so that one may read Greek by it, and by inventing an asbestenous phosphor to save the expense of oil, men's labour, &c., which phosphor may remain in the lamp without being tempered or attended, as long as the lamp holds together; and which lamps therefore need never be removed; and which phosphor, like the stars, will always shine when the sun disappears; for this invention 200*l.* per annum for ever, which, at 30 years' purchase, comes to	6,000	0	0
For inventing the perpetual motion .	5,000	0	0
For discovering the æquator stone, which points the needle east and west	20,000	0	0
In all .	£54,674	12	0

IMPERFECT PROJECTS.

To make salt water fresh.

To secure ships from sinking.

To restore Roman eloquence and love of our country.

To convert pagans.

To make all christians of one mind.

To revive masquerades.

To calculate nativities.

To break Hawkins and his agents by abolishing the several corporations of beggars, whores, pickpockets, and rapparees.

To prevent wrinkles in any part of the body or the face.

To prevent both sexes from ever being old women.

A preservative against the involuntary loss of a maidenhead.

But pray excuse haste, gentlemen, you shall soon hear from me more fully on all these subjects. In the meantime, I am, sir,

Your most humble servant, W. B.

THREE LETTERS UPON THE USE OF IRISH COAL.

To the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal.

Who is so blind as he
That can—but will not see?

SIR, Saturday, August 9, 1729.

As I take the following case to be of service to the kingdom in general as well as to this city in particular, I look upon it as a duty incumbent on you to publish it in your paper. I shall make no other apology, but subscribe myself a dear friend to my country, and

Yours, &c. S. D. H.

To all the housekeepers of the city of Dublin: the case of many thousand poor inhabitants of this city, in a letter to a very worthy member of parliament, &c.

SIR, Dublin, August 4, 1729.

HAVING some time ago laid before your house the case of many thousand poor families and housekeepers of the city of Dublin, concerning the extravagant rates of coals in this city, and meeting with some success, makes me now reassume this second trouble, which none but those who were eye-witnesses to the lamentable state and condition of the poor all this last hard winter can give an exact account of. In a word, the general cry throughout this city was of cold and hunger.

Looking back into the journals of your house last session, and the state of the accounts, I find a considerable sum of money (no less than 4000*l.*) allowed for the encouragement of Irish coals, *i. e.* for laying in a sufficient stock of our own coals to lower the extravagant price of the Whitehaven coal, &c., which coal was no less than 30*s.* per ton this last winter, when the Irish coals (if any could have been spared or kept in stock till winter) by our new company of adventurers were sold at 14*s.* and 15*s.* per ton.

The mismanagement thereof, the misapplication of that fund, the disadvantageous, hazardous situation of this new projected port, the embezzlement of both the money and coals, I shall treat of in a more particular manner hereafter.

When the city was starving all the last winter for want of coals, there was not one barrel of Irish coal to be had at any rate; and for the want of a stock the Whitehaven colliers imposed upon us what rates they pleased.

It is to be observed that all or great part of the Irish coals imported, and to be laid up for the winter season, was sold out in summer to the barracks, the custom-house, and the glass-house.

The barracks.—The computation, at so many bushels of coal to each room, according to the consumption and lasting of Whitehaven coal, which was near one-third less to the poor soldier in his firing, and the slack useless.

The custom-house.—The commissioners and officers having a hank upon the Whitehaven owners, they dare not impose upon them in the price of their coals, so that they might have been spared in selling out of the public stock, for the commissioners would have been content to have a stock left for the relief of the poor in winter; but in this, as in all other cases, the public and the poor are always the last to be served.

As I conceive such a stock ought not to be delivered out till the height of winter, and to be sold out in small parcels, as half a barrel or barrel at most at any one time, still to keep a stock for the relief of the poor, and to keep down any exaction or exorbitant price laid upon coals.

As to the glass-house, the undertakers in the one and the adventurers in the other, are most of them joined in company, and these coals consumed in blowing bottles.

A NEW EXPERIMENT IN FINDING THE VACUUM.

These bottle-makers, like the children, play with soap and water, blowing up bottles in a sun-shiny day, makes various fine colours while it lasts, and like their pots hitherto, both prove alike to be—a bubble.

I am no way for discouraging the design, though as yet it has proved all in vain, but entirely against lessening the stock (designed so to be reserved for the relief of the poor, &c.) upon any account whatever.

And I find the glass-house too near to the coal-yard and to the city. As to the latter, I remember two dreadful fires occasioned by glass-houses within this city.

Now that I am upon this subject of fire and smoke, I must mention that quarter of the town where I have seen such a train of coaches, the ladies taking a tour to the Strand, and all this gaiety at once eclipsed (like the chariot of the sun) by a dark thick cloud of smoke. This glass-house has been complained of as an exceedingly great nuisance in that neighbourhood, and by the several inhabitants thereabouts; but as the design is good, let them try their hand once more, until it is brought to some perfection, and when once a right

method is found, it will be an encouragement to proceed further therein, and carry on the work in some remote part of the town.

AS TO THE KEEPING A STOCK OF COALS.

One objection to our Irish coal, if kept for any time, is that the sulphoreous matter of the coal (when dug up and torn out of its natural bed) evaporates or exhales by the sun and air, and natural causes are offered; but we know that a coal, though it may lose some of the outward, whether sulphureous or bitumiuous, matter, yet the inside of the coal cannot be penetrated or made worse, either by the sun, air, water, or any cause whatsoever, in one season or two.

And how easy is all this remedied, at a little expense, when a thousand of furzes, with a little dirty stable litter on it, will cover 20,000 tons of coals.

And the same furzes may be made use of again, as you break into the body and bulk of your stock of coals, with little or no cost.

I come now to lay before you the great advantage of a coal that we have within ourselves, in our own province, that exceeds any other coal whatsoever, that is, the Kilkenny coal. I appeal to all those that make use of that coal, and to all such as ever have been in that country, for a just report.

What will neighbouring nations, what will posterity say of us, that for so great a series of time as these collieries have been found out, the use of so great a blessing as this is should have been so long neglected? They may truly say, an ignorant, indolent, cursed, slothful people:—as, when we find a good mine, we do not know how to make use of it.

Nature affords us navigable rivers near these collieries, the Barrow, upper and lower, which falls into Ross, Waterford, and other ports: and when once our neighbouring kingdom can get a trial, finding the value of this coal for several uses, they will be glad at any rate to purchase that which we ourselves have foolishly neglected so long a time. What hardships have we undergone! What immense sums have been taken out of this kingdom! laid out for a much worse coal; the value so much inferior to this of the Kilkenny, that there is no manner of comparison in goodness, for heat and duration.

This is the great article in draining the money out of the kingdom, without any the least return; this it is that makes silver so scarce; these colliers taking no other money over but that specie alone.

It is objected, the difficulty in lighting this coal. Do the people in that county make any difficulty in lighting their fires? and is turf so scarce here, that you will want a fire for want of turf to light it? Time and experience will tell the contrary.

In order to make your fire burn bright and clear, 'tis no more than to add a bar or two to the bottom of your grate, to give it more air, and you may have a constant, lasting, good fire, once you are accustomed to it, it will answer all the ends you propose.

As to any suffocating smell in this coal, and making people drowsy, those that are conversant with it deny the assertion, and say it is the violent heat in this more than in any other coal, which may be very easily qualified:

And a little turf, or any small quantity of coal, mixed with it, removes all objections that can be made; as the old saying, we are still more nice than wise.

Are there any people in this kingdom so free from asthmas as in the county of Kilkenny? Not only the inhabitants, but all others that resort thither, can testify, and much it is owing to their fire, free from smoke. The constant thick clouds of smoke that hang over Dublin are so nauseous, the air so corrupted, that the smell of the smoke is perceptible son miles off, insomuch, that few or none ever escape without some disorder.

Who is there here that cannot see the cause and has not felt the effect? None but those that are inured to this fire and smoke, that has so intoxicated their brains, that they are void of all their senses, and in such a lethargy they will not seek relief.

The physicians in Dublin make it their constant practice to remove their patients to some purer air near the suburbs, out of the smoke of the city, which in winter is so thick, and cloudy enough to stifle men and beasts, so great an influence, that it affects even the blossom and bloom of the flowers in the spring.

And the chief cause of the bad air about Dublin proceeds from the great quantity of smoke in the coals used here; the best proof that can be, by your senses in seeing and smelling.

I am very well informed and assured, that the common rate of the Kilkenny coal, at the pits, is 16*d.* the stand; the stand is 500, one quarter weight; that 4 stand makes 1 ton 1 cwt.; and 1 ton of this coal at the pit comes to about a crown-piece, which, with the further charge by water-carriage, &c., cannot exceed in the whole more than 10*s.* or 12*s.* per ton in Dublin, for Kilkenny coal; when the same coal, by land-carriage to this town, commonly costs about 20*s.* per ton in Dublin market, and that only to be had in the summer season. Is there no distinction to be made, when 1 ton of this coal will outlast 3 ton of any other coal? Have you no thought now (after such dear-bought experience these many years) of keeping what little money you have to circulate in your own kingdom, and lay it out among one another? O CIVES, CIVES, &c.

I have been very well assured, that several of the Whitehaven owners have combined together, and have declared, that this next winter they resolve to starve you out and out by raising their coals to 40*s.* a ton, on account of the usage they met with from the lord mayor the last winter; then necessity will compel you to what has now been offered.

As to the new projected port—in winter it will avail little or nothing; besides the great loss to the buyer in the slack of this coal, and many other disadvantages to all but the proprietors and undertakers. The cause of lashing out in this satirical manner proceeds not from any fondness for variety, but a just flight of passion, that people should be so blind and infatuated, in point of their own interest and welfare; but no inducement can swerve me from the interest of my country. I need not, nay, cannot urge it further; and like what a worthy prelate said upon the like occasion, for the good of his country—*Liberaei animam meam*,—I have done my duty, and discharged my conscience. I cannot find any but who will be pleased, except money-changers and chimney-sweepers.

Even most of the bankers (those worthy members of the commonwealth) will be for it, because they can get no exchange to and fro to Whitehaven.

Must I at last (Stewart-like) address myself to the ladies, (too hard a task for an old man to undertake with pleasure,) therefore I cannot hold long upon the subject.

The ladies may lay aside their washes, &c., that destroy the complexion. This preserves it, and renders the Kilkenny beauty both pure and lasting as the Kilkenny marble.

Sir, as I have exceeded the bounds of a letter, I refer the conclusion of this to your next. And am, for the present, my country's

Most humble, &c., M. B.

To the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal.

Who is so blind, as he
That can—but will not see?

SIR, Saturday, August 16, 1729.

I HAVE in my last given you a small sketch, hoping, the next session, you will propose, encourage, and improve the method already taken by our masters and owners of ships, in importing Kilkenny coal to this city, for immediate relief, that we may have a constant supply of coals to this city, and that a competent stock may be laid in for the relief of the poor.

I pray and wish (for I have nothing more at heart, no other view, than the service of the public) that this scheme in particular serving the city of Dublin and the kingdom in general may and will be improved. For my part, I can think of no other surer way than the encouragement of importing the coals aforesaid.

I am, sir, your most humble servant, M.B.

N.B. The reason of writing and communicating this affair so early before the session, is that no time should be lost, that now in summer the coals may be dug up (I mean in great quantities) and drawn from the pits to the water side.

Now the way is paved, and a clear road, without any let or trouble in bringing them.

This will employ the poor and a great many hands, and this is the time for encouraging and carrying on the work, as the city, the head of this weak, poor, feeble nation is grown so monstrous great (a head too big for the body), so in proportion it will require and take an exceedingly great quantity of coals to serve it with firing.

But when you consider the difference, as I shall hereafter show and demonstrate the lasting of this coal, that in a great measure will lessen the quantity of coals to supply and answer this great call, and save you above one-third in the charge of your firing. It will save immense sums that are now drawn from you every year by the Whitehaven and other colliers, in this so great an article and charge of firing, and when the poorer sort cannot lay in a stock in the proper season. Upon many accounts, as embargos and many other accidents, the rates and price of coals continually advance and grow more and more. The making use of your own fuel, of what sort soever, it is like the poor man's case, who, when he has a garden of his own well planted, and can dig up his own potatoes, can have no occasion then to buy potatoes from his neighbours.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since I received this former account, I sent for one hundred weight of Kilkenny coal, which cost 1s., and weighed one-quarter of the hundred of this coal, one quarter of the Whitehaven, and a quarter of a hundred of the Irish coal,—so ordered, for an experiment or trial, three separate fires to be made. The latter consumed away very swift, in a blaze, lasted but between two and three hours (from the time the fire was full lighted) leaving little or no cinders, but all ashes.

The Whitehaven coal lasted between four and five hours, and left a small heap of cinders, with some slates, and I find it to abound with slates, and very slaty coal, that flies and crackles in the fire. The Kilkenny fire held good and clear above nine hours, with a great heat. Afterwards my fire-maker washed the cinders thereof, and made as good a fire as before, and so continued the same, which convinced me of the extraordinary goodness of this coal, preferable to all the coals that I ever saw, for several uses the most beneficial coal that I ever yet read or heard of in these kingdoms or in all Europe.

Is it not very surprising? or can any sensible man say that we are in our senses, to encourage and send abroad for coals when we have so good a coal of our own at home, far better than the coal which we pay so much ready money for, and so little to share in the kingdom. Now I may venture to say and affirm it to be the very best coal in the world.

Look at your prisons, behold the vast number of poor debtors, and with pity look upon the poor starving in your streets, while the rich and estated men live in pomp and innate folly and prodigality abroad, draining this poor country of their wealth.

And when many poor farmers and other manufacturers, for want of due encouragement, are running away and transporting themselves to the plantations abroad; see the decay of trade in general, and all other the misfortunes that surround you, that which was formerly called the island of Saints, the plentiful island, so swarmed with the poorer sort that it is now almost an island of beggars.

The curious, upon inquiry, may have a full account of these coals by the masters and owners of ships at Aston's Quay, Dublin.

Some papers have been brought here, as proposals, in relation to some new discoveries of more coal mines, and the more the better, but at first sight they seem to savour too much of self-interest.

Till these projectors bring specimens, and to such a bearing as the Whitehaven, and till there be a security for the ships, where the proposalists call for 10,000*l.*, though, as I am informed, with a great uncertainty of performance, and another call by way of subscription for above 20,000*l.* But where and how the money will be raised here, and upon what security, will be another question.

I must be so free with those gentlemen projectors, that at this time a much less sum than either would be better laid out for the relief of the poor; and since I can have no other view (no manner of interest there) than serving the public, entitled, without any apology, to a much greater freedom in this city, than poor projectors begging subscriptions to carry on their own works, in the manner and way they have heretofore proposed.

That it is most natural to begin with the coals you have nearest at hand, lying in your own province, and so far preferable, that no other coal here can sink the established credit of the Whitehaven; and the first point that ought to be cleared up, besides the advantage in bringing them up, both by land and by sea, in great quantities to Dublin. And if the Irish coal be rated from 14s. to 17s. per ton, and Whitehaven from 17s. to 20s., and the Kilkenny coal, which is three times a more lasting and better coal, and may serve for an alloy to the former, can be brought at a less price by water-carriage, as before mentioned, and as by some persons that made trial and freighted ships from thence at their own expense have found out, why we should not choose the latter seems very strange. And further, that there are several other coal mines lately discovered there, and those collieries daily improving, that will answer all purposes; and I am sure I can depend upon the credit of so many worthy gentlemen that make a report thereof, and which in a proper time and place you will hear further of.

Excuse haste. I am, with great affection as well as freedom, your most humble, &c. M. B.

N.B. This letter (for the benefit of the curious) is to be sold by Christopher Dixon, printer, at the post-office, Dublin. Printed alone, for the convenience of sending them to the country.

To the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal.

Sir,—We had some time ago in your Weekly Journal two letters about the coals for the use of this city, the inserting this *third* letter, as relates to the former, will be a satisfaction to your correspondents and oblige every one that is a well wisher to his country.

We are, your constant readers, and subscribe,

A. B. C. D., &c.

A third letter, in answer to a worthy member of parliament, and in behalf of many thousand poor inhabitants of this city, concerning the extravagant rates of coals, &c.

Sir, Dublin, October 23, 1729.

Your friends being abroad, I read, as you desired, the whole budget of papers you sent about the coals.

Proposals, animadversions, with queries, and other remarks, with some ridiculous advertisements in habit and dress more suitable to coal-porters than gentlemen of liberal arts and education. I do not know whose hand the glove fits—but it is not worth the taking up. It seems to be somebody full of scorbutic humour, and who wants Dr. Hinton's receipt.

Upon your request, I inquired into this affair of coals; and to strengthen and preserve the poor, weak, disordered habit and constitution of body, that this city labours under, with a complication of distempers, requires some remedies, without jarring at one another.

One great disorder and complaint about coals (which the drapier most justly observes) is, that there was a considerable sum of money advanced for the encouragement of Irish coals, for laying in, namely, a sufficient stock of our own coals to lower the extravagant rates of the Whitehaven coal.

When the city was starving all the last winter for want of coals, there was not one barrel of this Irish coal to be had at any rate, and for want of that stock the Whitehaven colliers imposed upon us what rates they pleased.

He also tried the nature and quality of the several sorts of coals, and sent for one hundred of Kilkenny coal, which cost a shilling, and weighed one quarter of an hundred of that coal, one quarter of the Whitehaven, and a quarter of an hundred of the Irish coal, and so ordered, for an experiment or trial, three several fires to be made. The latter consumed away very swift in a blaze, lasted between two and three hours (from the time that the fire was full lighted), leaving little or no cinders, but all ashes.

The Whitehaven coal lasted between four and five hours, and left a small heap of cinders; and find it to abound with slates, a very slaty coal, that flies and crackles in the fire. The Kilkenny fire held good and clear above nine hours, with an exceeding great heat; afterwards the fire-maker washed the cinders thereof, a great quantity, and made as good a fire as before, and so continued the same. It is the most beneficial coal ever yet heard of in these kingdoms; a coal that has no waste in it, and one ton thereof will outlast two of the Whitehaven. In the Irish history, province of Leinster, county of Kilkenny, this coal is particularly mentioned. It supplies great part of Leinster and Munster; there is a very large description of the qualities and goodness of this coal for many uses too tedious here to insert, and far exceeding any other coal for the common use and lasting fire.

Whatever new discoveries there are of more coal mines, (as I am informed of one in the county of Meath,) the more the better; and let all the encouragement that can be given for finding out the same.

We ought first to begin with the coals we have found to be so good, that we have so near at hand, lying in our own province; so far preferable, that no other coal as yet found here can sink the established credit of the Whitehaven, for lasting, except the Kilkenny coal.

And I can find no manner of objection but what is all fully answered in the Drapier's postscript and letter which you received in May last.

There is one of these gentlemen (mentioned in your letter) has frankly confessed, that the Kilkenny coals are preferable for kitchen uses; and if what we generally called Kilkenny coals could be brought up in quantities sufficient to supply this city, yet they would not answer all uses, so in consequence other sorts of coals will be sought after.

But I think the coals for kitchen use, as he calls it, is the chief and most use in the city; and pray if it be a better coal for the kitchen, (which is the greatest article in firing,) is it not good enough for the parlour?

If he wants an extraordinary swift fire for my lady's dressing-room he may get faggots, and abundance of tallies when he wants faggots.

I have often wondered why the same sort of tea in the county of Kilkenny has a sweeter flavour and drinks better there than the Dublin; and I find the cause proceeds frequently from the smoke of the coals here, notwithstanding all the care that can be taken, leaves some tincture in the water and spoils the taste of the tea.

By the two different fires you will find a great difference in your tea. Some will have it to be the difference in the water; but I assure you upon trial you will find it to be in the fire and smoke. There is a great deal in the quality and nature of the coal, those fiery particles that set the water in a ferment; the more easily discerned before it is infused and sweetened.

It is not upon account of recommending this dear-bought East India commodity, nor the modish custom of drinking tea; nor on the other hand, am I for disobliging the fair sex in so small a trifle as tea-equipage and china-ware; but rather to prevent the many disappointments they meet with in their entertainments occasioned by the base stinking smoky coals used here.

And I must further remark, as to the Kilkenny fire, that notwithstanding all the variety, French, English, and all sorts of cooks in Dublin, their entertainments in Kilkenny are more palatable, pleasing to the taste, their meat relishes, and much better dressed there than here, and sometimes by the same hand, so that it is altogether owing to their sweet clear and lasting good fire.

I have heard the master cooks own all this to be matter of fact, and so often recruiting and mending the fire, condemn the sea-coal for dressing meat on account of the smoke. So plain a demonstration may be very easily tried for our own satisfaction.

The Ballycastle or Irish coal, (so called for distinction from the Kilkenny,) a small quantity thereof mixed with the Kilkenny coal, has been tried, and makes a brisk clear and ready fire, and answers both purposes; and therefore due encouragement ought to be given to both.

In every half barrel of coals you have the one-half of it slack, and that slack of little use. In the Kilkenny, you have all coal and no slack. But I am told by those who have tried it, and it is very natural, that the slack, wet, and thrown upon the Kilkenny fire by suppression, causes a much greater heat then before, and very useful to both.

The methods proposed for bringing the Kilkenny coal by water are much cheaper than by land-carriage and in both they have the advantage of any other colliery.

The method is by importing the same yourselves, which may be had at very easy freight.

The coals, great quantities dug up, and the conveniences for bringing them are all fixed ready for embarkation; ships and seamen here in your own port are lying idle, for want of freight; and this short trip is a voyage so easy, and secure with harbours, in winter-time, that the seafaring men would very willingly embrace any offer to bring the coals in here.

Besides, consider the great difference in freighting your own ships, bringing yourselves your own provision to supply your own market.

The Kilkenny coals that have been here imported, I was so curious to inquire, and I find they have been sold on Aston's Quay here in Dublin at 10*d.*, 11*d.*, and 12*d.* an cwt., the highest price then given.

And upon your own importation, the price of all sorts of coals and other firing will be much lessened here, without any imposition or exaction from the master and owners, from engrossers, forestallers, or any other interested persons whatsoever. It will be a singular great service and relief to your city; and save you half in the charge of your firing, and another much greater article in saving the money within yourselves.

But where there is such a jargon and disagreement, no harmony nor concord among one another, in such a confusion even our neighbours make a spoil of us, and we become a ridicule to other nations.

The Whitehaven colliers are continually exhausting your treasure.

> The *calf* has nothing to lick but *chalk*,
> The butcher's continually bleeding it,
> And *Molly* makes the feast.

I shall briefly conclude this answer with what I particularly took notice of in the public,—the true notion and knowledge our neighbours have of this coal in the London prints: St. James's Evening Post, August 18, 1729.

"That several persons have undertaken to bring Kilkenny (coal) to Dublin by water, for public consumption there, which will in some measure lessen the sums carried out of that kingdom for coals if it proves successful."

The rest I refer to your own judgment, and every reader to his own interest; it is plain matter of fact, and just proofs.

All these schemes may be commendable, and where there is no self-interest but public good, may be brought to perfection, and a benefit to have both the Kilkenny and Irish coals brought up here for your relief; but the latter will be a work of time.

At present we are in want of a stock, in great want of coals, as we were last year, and no prices regulated.

I am in great hopes the ladies, for the reasons aforementioned, will join in verdict, give their negative to the Whitehaven coals as formerly, NO WOODS, nor no Whitehaven.

I am, in duty and good manners, bound to give you an answer to this letter, and submit the same to your consideration.

I am, sir, your most humble, &c.

THE SUBSTANCE

OF WHAT WAS SAID BY

THE DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S

TO THE LORD MAYOR AND SOME OF THE ALDERMEN OF DUBLIN, WHEN HIS LORDSHIP CAME TO PRESENT THE SAID DEAN WITH HIS FREEDOM IN A GOLD BOX, ABOUT THE YEAR 1736.

WHEN his lordship had said a few words, and presented the instrument, the dean gently put it back and desired first to be heard. He said, "He was much obliged to his lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him. That it was true, this honour was mingled with a little mortification by the delay which attended it, but which, however, he did not impute to his lordship or the city; and that the mortification was the less, because he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a mistake;—for which opinion he would tell his reason."

He said, "It was well known that some time ago a person[a] with a title was pleased in two great assemblies to rattle bitterly somebody without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a jacobite, an enemy to king George, and a libeller of the government; which character," the dean said, "many people thought was applied to him. But he was unwilling to be of that opinion, because the person who had delivered those abusive words had for several years caressed, and courted, and solicited his friendship more than any man in either kingdom had ever done,—by inviting him to his house in town and country,—by coming to the deanery often, and calling or sending almost every day when the dean was sick,—with many other particulars of the same nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the said person made those invectives in the council and house of lords. Therefore that the dean would by no means think those scurrilous words could be intended against him; because such a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, justice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the dean will endeavour to believe that the said person had some other object in his thoughts, and it was only the uncharitable custom of the world that applied this character to him. However that he would insist on this argument no longer. But one thing he would affirm and declare, without assigning any name, or making any exception, that whoever either did, or does, or shall hereafter, at any time, charge him with the character of a jacobite, an enemy to king George, or a libeller of the government, the said accusation was, is, and will be false, malicious, slanderous, and altogether groundless. And he would take the freedom to tell his lordship, and the rest that stood by, that he had done more service to the Hanover title, and more disservice to the pretender's cause, than 40,000 of those noisy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature has denied any talent that could be of use to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and spitting their venom against all who differ from them in their destructive principles, both in church and state. That he confessed it was sometimes his misfortune to dislike some things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wise and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his prince or love to his country. But on the contrary he protested that such dislikes never arose in him from any other principles than the duty he owed to the king, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and ministers long enough, and knew too well that the best ministers might mistake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at least full as honest, as any can be at present."

The dean further said, "That since he had been so falsely represented he thought it became him to give some account of himself for above 20 years, if it were only to justify his lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him." He related briefly how, "merely by his own personal credit, without other assistance, and in two journeys at his expense, he had procured a grant of the first-fruits to the clergy in the late queen's time, for which he thought he deserved

[a] The person here intimated, Joshua lord Allen (whom Swift elsewhere satirizes under the name of Traulus), was born in 1685.

some gentle treatment from his brethren. That during all the administration of the said ministry he had been a constant advocate for those who are called the Whigs,—had kept many of them in their employments both in England and here,—and some who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him." He reflected a little upon the severe treatment he had met with upon his return to Ireland after her majesty's death, and for some years after. "That being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service than by employing all the little money he could save, and lending it without interest in small sums to poor industrious tradesmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased to bless his endeavours, that his managers tell him he has recovered above 200 families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life."

The dean related, how much he had suffered in his purse, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a most iniquitous judge; who to gratify his ambition and rage of party had condemned an innocent book, written with no worse a design than to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the said judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind; but they proved so honest, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and send them back nine times; until, at last, they were compelled to leave the printer to the mercy of the court, and the Dean was forced to procure a *noli prosequi* from a noble person, then secretary of state, who had been his old friend.

The dean then freely confessed himself to be the author of those books called "The Drapier's Letters;" and spoke gently of the proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to discover the writer. He said, "That although a certain person was pleased to mention those books in a slight manner at a public assembly, yet he (the dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thousand to one in the kingdom who differed from that person; and the people of England, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in France, were all of the same opinion."

The dean mentioned several other particulars, some of which those from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great consequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him.

The dean concluded, with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been graven on the box, showing some reason why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a person in a private station;—those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments.

ADVERTISEMENT BY DR. SWIFT,

IN HIS DEFENCE AGAINST JOSHUA LORD ALLEN.

February 18, 1729.

"WHEREAS Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, hath been credibly informed, that on Friday the 13th of this instant February a certain person did, in a public place and in the hearing of a great number, apply himself to the right honourable the lord mayor of this city, and some of his brethren, in the following reproachful manner: 'My lord, you and your city can squander away the public money in giving a gold box to a fellow who has libelled the government!' or words to that effect.

"Now, if the said words or words to the like effect were intended against him the said dean, and as a reflection on the right hon. the lord mayor, aldermen and commons, for the decreeing unanimously, and in full assembly, the freedom of this city to the said dean, in an honourable manner, on account of an opinion they had conceived of some services done by him, the said dean to this city, and to the kingdom in general, —the said dean doth declare, that the said words, or words to the like effect, are insolent, false, scandalous, malicious, and in a particular manner perfidious; the said person, who is reported to have spoken the said or the like words, having, for some years past and even within some few days, professed a great friendship for the said dean; and what is hardly credible, sending a common friend of the dean and himself, not many hours after the said or the like words had been spoken, to renew his profession of friendship to the said dean, but concealing the oratory; whereon the dean had no account till the following day, and then told it to all his friends."

A VINDICATION OF

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN LORD CARTERET

FROM THE CHARGE OF FAVOURING NONE BUT TORIES, HIGH-CHURCHMEN, AND JACOBITES, 1730.

Lord Carteret, who headed a party against the influence of Walpole, held the situation of lord-lieutenant in Ireland, under very precarious circumstances

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be convenient to give some account of his excellency; in whose life and character there are certain particulars which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, ancient, and most loyal families, the Carterets and the Granvilles; too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted and what they suffered, in defending the former constitution in church and state, under king Charles the martyr: I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom a form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity; as we may read at large in our common prayer books; which day has been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency, the present lord, was educated in the university of Oxford, [in Christ-Church college;] from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and Philosophy, than properly became a person of his rank; indeed much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on, upon his first appearance in the world and having just got clear of his guardians. For as soon as he came to town some bishops and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom, although he was fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit; and to finish the work, all these were fortified, even in his youth, with the advantages received by such employments as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education,—having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly

allow him to take a degree; and made principal secretary of state at a period when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house, or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak side in his excellency. For it is known and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched; and there is reason to suspect that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by Tory hands. I am likewise assured that he has been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own there may be some grounds for this charge, because I have it from good hands that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most insupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny that his excellency lies under another very great disadvantage; for with all the accomplishments above mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he has in a most unexemplary manner led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem and friendship and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is disposed to admit an entertaining evening companion, he does not always enough reflect whether the person may possibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a Tory; nor at such times do the natural or affected fears of popery and the pretender make any part of the conversation; I presume because neither Homer, Plato, Aristotle, nor Cicero, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings; yet I think it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware how much my sentiments differ from the orthodox opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Pistorides; for these have decided the matter directly against me, by declaring that no person who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single Tory principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the worst of times, should be allowed to come within the verge of the castle; much less to bow in the antechamber, appear at the assemblies, or dance at a birthnight. However, I dare assert that this maxim has been often controlled; and that on the contrary a considerable number of early penitents have been received into grace who are now an ornament, happiness, and support to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one. I have not heard that any care has hitherto been taken to discover whether Madame Violantea be a Whig or Tory in her principles; or even that she has ever been offered the oaths to government; on the contrary, I am told that she openly professes herself to be a highflyer; and it is not improbable, by her outlandish name, she may also be a papist in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female openly caressed by principal persons of both parties, who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a grand jury, or even from squire Hartley Hutcheson himself, that zealous prosecutor of hawkers and libels: and as Hobbes wisely observes, so much money being equivalent to so much power, it may deserve considering, with what safety such an instrument of power ought to be trusted in the hands of an alien, who has not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many Whigs in this kingdom of the old-fashioned stamp, of whom we might make very good use. They bear the same loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family, in the person of king George II.; the same abhorrence of the pretender, with the consequences of popery and slavery; and the same indulgence to tender consciences: but having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more leisure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy prospects concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both Whig and Tory; who, if they have anything to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now, I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this species of thinkers, under the names of Tories, jacobites, papists, libellers, rebels, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor hungry, bustling, well-meaning mortal Pistorides, who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference than a mixture of pity on one side and of aversion on the other.

How has he been pelted, pestered, and pounded, by one single wag, who promises never to forsake him living or dead!

I was much pleased with the humour of a surgeon in this town, who having in his own apprehension received some great injustice from the earl of Galway, and despairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends that he had set apart one hundred guineas to purchase the earl's carcass from the sexton, whenever it should die, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and show them for threepence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits, against whom there is no defence but innocence and philosophy, neither of which is likely to be at hand; and, therefore, the wounded have nowhere to fly for a cure but to downright stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable creature Traulus; lord Allen, who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to outdo even the genius of Pistorides, in that miscarrying talent of railing, without consistency or discretion, against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an honest gentleman for the bitterest invectives against one to whom he professes the greatest friendship, provided he acts in the dark so as not to be discovered: but in the midst of caresses, visits, and invitations, to run into the streets or to as public a place, and without the least pretended incitement spatter out the basest and falsest accusations, then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper it was all for his service. This proceeding, I am bold to think, a great failure in prudence; and I am afraid lest such a practitioner with a body so open, so foul, and so full of sores, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political surgeon, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocations; who without waiting for his death, will flay and dissect him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the disordered cells of his brain, the venom of his

* A famous Italian rope-dancer.

tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatuses of his spleen: and all this for threepence. [Poem of Traulus.]

In such a case, what a scene would be laid open! and to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaken friend might an angry enemy draw and expose! particularising that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies, so inconsistent with each other in the same breast: furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world by an angry Whig of the old stamp, the unavoidable consequence must be, a confinement of our friend for some months more to his garret; and thereby depriving the public for so long a time and in so important a juncture, of his useful talents in their service, while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole; but I hope with a special regard to the quantity and quality of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities, by imputing them to madness; because it is well known that madness only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind. For the curators of Bedlam assure us that some lunatics are persons of honour, truth, benevolence, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, discover in every word and action the utmost baseness and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that academy.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuse the overflowings of that zeal which our friend shows or means for our cause. And it must be confessed that the easy and smooth fluency of his elocution, bestowed on him by nature and cultivated by continual practice, added to the comeliness of his person, the harmony of his voice, the gracefulness of his manner, and the decency of his dress, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist, upon any public occasion of making them appear with universal applause. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their jest better than their friend, surely to gain the reputation of the first orator in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the friends he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and as some kinds of assemblies are called the schools of politics, I confess nothing can better improve political school-boys than the art of making plausible or implausible harangues against the very opinion for which they resolve to determine.

So cardinal Perron, after having spoken for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates that he could have spoken another hour and much better to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it has constantly met with ill success in the mouth of our friend; but whether for want of good luck or good management I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression: If persons in higher stations have been allowed to choose wenches without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the least reflection on their loyalty or their protestantism, shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for choosing a companion who may formerly have been suspected for differing from the orthodox in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound Whig?

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern Ireland, whose unfortunate weak side it happens to be, for several reasons above mentioned, that he has encouraged the attendance of one or two gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his Majesty, and pray heartily for him; yet, because they may perhaps be stigmatised as *quondam* Tories by Pistorides and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish them, under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere protestant and a loyal subject, and yet rather choose to drink fine ale at the Pope's Head than muddy at the King's.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain the high-flown loyalists, in the present sense of the word, have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes that the zeal of their principles has eaten up their understandings; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours, for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love, and taste, and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? Our thoroughsped republic of Whigs, which contains the bulk of all hopers, pretenders, expecters, and professors, are beyond all doubt most highly useful to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible that an original or proselyte favourite of the times might have been born to those useless talents which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, it sweeps the house clean and leaves room for many other spirits to take joint possession, until the last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old unfashionable academic education; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table, to some book-learned companion, without blushing, even when persons of great stations are by.

I will venture one step further, which is freely to confess that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt to spoil their politics and principles; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read teach them lessons directly contrary in every point to the present practice of the world: and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes that the writings of the Greeks and Romans made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first-minister, and embrace notions of liberty and property.

It has been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and as the mother rightly expresses it, could never take to their books; yet are well enough quali-

fied to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (rightly spelt) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against religion and high-flying; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world with that dignity which best becomes a senator and a 'squire.

I could heartily wish his excellency would be more condescending to the genius of the kingdom he governs, to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old English story-books, that one Agesilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the parson of the parish riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that Socrates, a heathen philosopher, was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a king called Cæsar Augustus (or some such name) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of Tories; and that two great men, called Scipio and Lælius (I forget their Christian names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at duck and drake with smooth stones on a river: Now, I say, if these facts be true (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity which is not morally evil, provided he gives no public scandal, which is by all means to be avoided: I say, why he may not be indulged twice a week to converse with one or two particular persons, and let him and them con over their old exploded readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing ways and means from and to his most obedient politicians, for the welfare of the kingdom; although the said particular person or persons may not have made so public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the business of the nation requires, still submitting my opinion to that happy majority which I am confident is always in the right; by whom the liberty of the subject has been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who by their wise counsels have made commerce to flourish, money to abound, inhabitants to increase, the value of lands and rents to rise, and the whole island put on a new face of plenty and prosperity.

But in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accusation of showing his favours to high flyers, Tories, and jacobites, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a Tory denomination to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour was doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be observed that this happened so early in his excellency's government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so dangerous an article. The doctor being well known and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth, beyond most of his profession for many years past, was recommended to his excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it seems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands that his lordship was too easily prevailed on by the doctor's request, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that unknown language by the doctor's lads, which was written by some heathen author; but whether it contained any Tory or high-church principles must be left to the consciences of the boys, the doctor, and his excellency, the only witnesses in this case whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems his excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that some time after he gave the doctor a church living to the value of almost 100*l.* a-year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an antiquated notion, that good schoolmasters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to make this bold step without strong recommendations from persons of undoubted principles fitted to the times; who thought themselves bound in justice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children or of those of their friends. Yet the catastrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof as it is to be supposed the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church, he stopped at Cork to attend on his bishop; and going to church on the Sunday following, was, according to the usual civility of country clergymen, invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It happened to be the 1st of August; and the 1st of August happened that year to light upon a Sunday; and it happened that the doctor's text was in these words, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof:"[a] and lastly, it happened that some one person of the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his majesty's person and government, when service was over gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town; and by the zeal of one man of no large dimensions of body or mind, such a clamour was raised that we in Dublin could apprehend no less than an invasion by the pretender, who must be landed in the south. The result was that the doctor must be struck out of the chaplain's list and appear no more at the castle; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a Whig or a Tory, I think is a secret; only it is manifest that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry,[b] and a great admirer of the present royal family through all its branches. His friends likewise assert that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that not having observed the words till he was in the pulpit and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that in the whole sermon there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident there seems to have been a union of events that will probably never happen again to the end of the world, or is at least like the grand conjunction in the heavens, which I think they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology), who under the suspicion of a Tory received some favour from his excellency, is Mr. James Stopford; very strongly recommended by the most eminent Whig in England, on the account of his learning and virtue and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study or in travelling, and was either not at home or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party, which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of Tories; and therefore think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglass, worth about 100*l.* a-year.

The third is doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under some disadvantage, having in his youth received many civilities from a certain person,[c] then in a very high station here, for which reason I doubt the doctor never drank his confusion since; and what makes the matter desperate it is now too late, unless our inquisitors will be content with drinking confusion to his memory. The aforesaid eminent person,

[a] The first of August is the anniversary of the Hanoverian family's accession to the crown of Great Britain.

[b] This is a sneer at a poem by Sheridan, of which his friend did not highly approve.

[c] Phipps, lord chancellor of Ireland when queen Anne died.

who was a judge of all merit except that of party, distinguished the doctor among other juniors in our university for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the doctor was then in too good a situation at his college to hope or endeavour at a better establishment from one who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present lord lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a friend, among other clergy of distinction as persons whose characters it was proper his excellency should know; and by the truth of which the giver would be content to stand or fall in his excellency's opinion, since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the gentleman who gave in their names. By this and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late archbishop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency, whose fatal turn of mind toward heathenish and outlandish books and languages, finding as I conceive a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic as we are told he is at the castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society (which it may not be for their honour to mention) resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils and his senior fellowship with all its perquisites, he received every year between 900*l.* and a 1000*l.* And a small northern living in the university's donation, of somewhat better than a 100*l.* a-year, falling at the same time with the chancellorship of Christchurch, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency, the doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition, having squandered away all his annual income in a manner which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover either on the exchange or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral, which, being of near the same value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues after he shall have paid the great incumbrances upon it; so that he may now be said to possess of church preferments in scattered tithes 300*l.* a-year, instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed, beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But since the doctor has not, in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either Whig or Tory, and that the lord-lieutenant still continues to admit him, I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US; but like a new freemason, who has not learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any Tory doctrines, except perhaps some among those few with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred for the most solid reasons to the whole body of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy; and upon the strictest examination have not been able to find above one of that order against whom any party suspicion can lie,—I mean the unfortunate gentleman doctor Sheridan, who by mere chance-medley shot his own fortune dead with a single text.

As to the laity, I can hear but of one person of the Tory stamp who since the beginning of his excellency's government did ever receive any solid mark of his favour,—I mean sir Arthur Acheson, reported to be an acknowledged Tory, and what is almost as bad, a scholar into the bargain. It is whispered about as a certain truth that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack[a] upon his estate, within two miles of his own house, for which the Crown is to be his tenant at the rent of 60*l.* per annum, he being only at the expense of about 500*l.* to put the house in repair, build stables, and other necessaries. I will place this invidious mark of beneficence conferred on a Tory in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations; after which it may be seen how much sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public, notwithstanding his unfortunate principles and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

	£.	s.	d.
For repairs, &c., 500*l.*, the interest whereof per annum	30	0	0
For all manner of poultry to furnish the troopers, but which the said troopers must be at the labour of catching, valued per annum	5	0	0
For straggling sheep	8	0	0
For game destroyed five miles round . .	6	0	0
	£49	0	0
Rent paid to sir Arthur	60	0	0
Deduct	49	0	0
Remains clear . . .	£11	0	0

Thus if sir Arthur Acheson shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive net profit annually from the Crown ELEVEN pounds sterling, to help him in entertaining the officers and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry, by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of good protestants, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the farmers there of leaving their country: but I am not so skilful in arithmetic as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one per cent. below the legal interest for the money that sir Arthur must expend, and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a saver at least, which is a prodigious instance of moderation in our friends toward a professed Tory, whatever merit he may pretend by the unwillingness he has shown to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have with the utmost impartiality collected every single favour (further than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on Tories and reputed Tories, since his first arrival here to the 30th day of April in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question; and the account will stand thus:—

Disposed of preferments and employments to Tories or reputed Tories by his excellency John lord Carteret, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in about the space of six years:—

	£.	s.	d.
To doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory near Kinsale, per annum	100	0	0
To sir Arthur Acheson, baronet, a barrack, per annum	11	0	0
	£111	0	0

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his excellency to the true

[a] This was nothing else than the project of converting Hamilton's Hawn into a barrack.

friends of their king and country, and of the protestant religion.

It is to be remembered, that although his excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue, and some others, yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from England by their interest at court, for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable that the only considerable station conferred on a Tory since his present excellency's government was of this latter kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable) real Tories can often with much less difficulty obtain very high favours from the government than their reputed brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy, which however will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG Account.

	£.	s.	d.
To persons promoted to bishoprics or removed to more beneficial ones, computed per annum	10,050	0	0
To civil employments	9,030	0	0
To military commands.	8,436	0	0
	£27,516	0	0

TORY Account.

To Tories	111	0	0
Balance	£27,405	0	0

I shall conclude with the observation that as I think the Tories have sufficient reason to be fully satisfied with the share of trust, power, and employment which they possess under the lenity of the present government; so I do not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but high-church, high-fliers, termagants, laudists, Sacheverellians, tiptopgallantmen, jacobites, tantivies, antihanoverians, friends to popery and the pretender and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms, haters of TRUE protestants, laurelmen, annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, ormondians, iconoclasts, antiglorious-memorists, antirevolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians, and the like; when, by a fair state of the account, the balance, I conceive, seems to lie on the other side.

AN ANSWER

TO THE CRAFTSMAN OF DECEMBER 12, 1730, ON A VERY INTERESTING SUBJECT RELATIVE TO IRELAND.

To which is prefixed the Craftsman itself.

THE CRAFTSMAN.

No. 238. Saturday, Dec. 12, 1730.

THE following article, which has lately appeared in the newspapers, deserves our immediate consideration, viz.:—

"They write from Dublin that an officer from every regiment in the French service is arrived there in order to raise recruits for their respective corps; which is not to be done in a clandestine manner as formerly (when several persons suffered death for it), but publicly. These gentlemen are to disperse themselves into the several counties where they have the best interest, and a field-officer is ready to reside constantly at Dublin to hear all complaints which may be made by any of the recruits against their officers; and also to prepare for sending them off. Count Broglio has been soliciting an order to this purpose these two years."

When I first read this account in the public prints I looked upon it as a common piece of false intelligence and was in full expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next day's papers according to frequent custom, but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true (although I can hardly yet believe it, especially as to every part) the duty which I owe my country and my zeal for the present establishment, oblige me to take some notice of an affair which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be necessary in the first place to give the reader a short account of the nature of these troops as they are now established in France.

They consist, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horse and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered; so that they are of themselves a very considerable body of men.

But their number is the least point to be considered in this affair. There are other circumstances which render these troops infinitely more formidable to Great Britain. They are not only all Roman catholics, but the most dangerous of that communion with respect to us,—I mean Roman catholic subjects of our dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country on account of rebellions and conspiracies in which they have been engaged; and all of them devoted by inclination, by interest, by conscience, by every motive human and divine, to the service of the pretender in opposition to the protestant succession in his majesty's royal family.

To this we may add that they are generally esteemed the best forces in the French service; that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late wars; and are commanded by officers of approved courage as well as great skill and experience in military affairs.

It is said likewise that the serjeants, corporals, and private men, are so well seasoned to danger and expert in their duty, that by a gradual promotion they could furnish officers for a very formidable army in case of any sudden invasion or insurrection.

In the next place it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony by act of parliament in Ireland for any subject of that kingdom to enlist himself or to enlist others in the service of any foreign state; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have suffered death upon that account.

We know it may be said that a power is reserved to his majesty by a clause in that act to dispense with it by granting any foreign prince a licence to raise forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his subjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to dispute any of his majesty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wisdom of the legislature in question, yet I must take the liberty to observe that such powers have been sometimes granted out of complaisance to the crown, that the prince's hands may not be absolutely tied up, and in full confidence that they will never be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or possibly of some protestant ally, upon great emergencies of state. The exercise of the prerogative in these cases is therefore merely a prudential part, which is left to the discretion of the prince and his ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best judges of these affairs: and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the attorney-general for his opinion in such a case, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the

affair be actionable or not; but ministers ought to regulate their conduct in these respects according to the situation of affairs and the exigencies of government.

I must therefore beg leave to consider the present subject of the Irish forces in this light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a licence to recruit Roman catholic regiments of English subjects in foreign service, and in the interest of a pretender to the crown (which is death by the law without his majesty's permission), is a favour of a very extraordinary nature and ought to be attended with some extraordinary circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary circumstances at present; unless it should be said that this favour was granted in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of Dunkirk; but I hope they have more generosity than to insist upon such hard terms for the effectual performance of that which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am sure such conditions seem unreasonable on our part after we have made them so many other concessions; particularly with relation to the flag and Santa Lucia; which I think are sufficient to make them comply with all our demands without expecting any further favours, and even supererogation of friendship.

Perhaps my adversaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this strain; but as it sometimes serves their turn to make me a great man and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so; and methinks, if I had the honour of being but half an hour in that station, I could reason against such an order for the good of my king and my country in the following manner:—

1. These troops have always been made use of whenever there has been any attempt in favour of the pretender; and indeed they are upon many accounts the fittest for this purpose. They are our fellow-subjects; they speak our language; are acquainted with our manners; and do not raise that aversion in the people which they naturally conceive against other foreign troops who understand neither. I am afraid I may add that they are kept up for this purpose in entire regiments without suffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known at least that they supplied the late king James with a nursery of soldiers who were always ready for his service whenever any opportunity offered itself for his restoration; and that at this time the pretender is always the bait made use of by their officers to raise recruits. They never mention the king of France or the king of Spain upon these occasions, but list the poor wretches under an assurance that they are entered into the service of him whom they call their natural and rightful king. I will not suspect the present fidelity of France and their cordiality to the protestant establishment, yet methinks we might easily excuse ourselves from furnishing them with instruments which they may employ against us whenever ambition or reasons of state shall dissolve their present engagements and induce them to espouse the cause of the pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his catholic majesty (who has likewise several regiments of this kind in his service) will expect the same favour of recruiting them in Ireland, and that he may in case of refusal make it a pretence at any time for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and disturbing us again in the possession of Gibraltar. And here it is proper just to take notice that these troops did his catholic majesty the most eminent service in the last siege of that important place. He may complain perhaps of our partiality to France, and allege that we do not treat Spain in the same manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of Ireland seems at this time in a very ill condition to admit of any such drafts out of her dominions. She has been already so much exhausted by the voluntary transportation of multitudes of her inhabitants (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to seek their bread in other parts of the world), that the interposition of parliament was found necessary to put a stop to it: and shall we suffer any foreign power to drain her still further under such circumstances, especially in this manner and for this purpose? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above 2000 men to complete their corps, and who knows but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own, or even to form some new regiments of these troops? But supposing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that Ireland were in a capacity to spare them, it is well known how easily such limitations are evaded and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous controversy concerning Mr. Wood's patent for supplying Ireland with a particular sum of copper halfpence; and the arguments upon that subject may be applied to this, with some allowances for the difference between the two cases. It may perhaps be said likewise that all the vigilance of the ministry has been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the French from clandestinely recruiting these regiments with Irish catholics, and therefore that we may as well allow them to do it openly, nay, that it is our interest to let them purge Ireland of her popish inhabitants as much as they please; but I deny this for several reasons, which I shall mention presently; and if it were really the case that the French can at any time recruit these troops clandestinely, I cannot see any reason why they should solicit an order so pressingly for two years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other design. Ought not even this consideration to put us a little upon our guard, and is it not a tacit confession that these troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wish? Besides, are we to license and authorise a mischievous practice because we cannot totally prevent it? Every one justly applauded his majesty's singular firmness and resolution in supporting the rights of his German subjects when an attempt was made to seduce some of them into the king of Prussia's service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the enlisting of a miller's son, and a few other ordinary peasants, occasioned such a misunderstanding between the two crowns as proceeded almost to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the English parliament backward on this occasion, but on this consideration, among others, resolved to keep up a body of 12,000 Hessian troops in our pay, which have already cost us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the same paternal care will always influence his majesty to guard and protect his British subjects in the same manner, and if any measure should be taken which savours too much of the French interest, and seems of dangerous consequence to the interest of his family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful representations of those who lie under such particular obligations to the court of France that they can refuse them nothing.

4. Such a licence seems to give encouragement to the people of Ireland to continue Roman catholics, since they are sure to meet with a provision both in the French and Spanish service, whereas we always reject them in our troops and absolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in Ireland. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our armies, yet certainly we ought

not to give the least encouragement to their entering into foreign service, especially into such compact bodies as these regiments. And here it will not be amiss to relate a story much more to the honour of an English nobleman, who has also one of the largest estates in Ireland of any man in the kingdom. When he went to visit the Invalides in France, a place in the nature of our Chelsea college here, all the Irish officers and soldiers of that hospital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no question that their chief view was to have some present from his lordship; but though he has a heart as well disposed to generous charity as any man and a purse well able to answer the dictates of it, yet out of regard to his country, for which he has likewise the most disinterested zeal, his answer to them was only this:—Gentlemen, I am very sensible of the honour you have done me, and heartily pity your misfortunes, but as you have drawn them upon yourselves by serving against your country, you must not expect any relief or reward from me for having suffered in a service in which I wish you had never engaged."

5. Is there not some reason to apprehend that this licence may at one time or other prove a snare to that country and draw many people in to their destruction, for unless it is made perpetual, can it be supposed that all the poor ignorant wretches in the kingdom should be apprised how long this licence is to be in force, or when they may enlist with impunity and when they may not? Besides, as it may be presumed that these officers will never go for the future upon such errands without some pretended orders, when the real one is expired, so they will find it no difficult matter to impose such a counterfeit upon illiterate people, who may thus incur the penalties of the law without knowing anything of the matter. Such a method of providing for persons whose principles render them unserviceable to our army is indeed a little more charitable than a late project for preventing Irish children from being starved, by fattening them up and selling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that these troops have been made use of in parliament as an argument for keeping up a standing army in England; and I think we need not take any measures to render that argument stronger. God knows there are too many arguments already upon such occasions.

I might insist upon some other points which this affair naturally suggests to a considering mind, particularly the danger of suffering several bigoted Irish papists in foreign service to disperse themselves into those counties where they have the best interest, and to stroll about Ireland among their relations and old acquaintance of the same principles with themselves. Are we sure that they will not make a bad use of this liberty, by inquiring into the strength of their party, by giving them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert measures for the advantage of their cause? have we no reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise seamen as well as soldiers under colour of this order? or engage great numbers of their countrymen to transport themselves over to the French colonies and plantations in the West Indies, which are already grown formidable to the trading interest of Great Britain in those parts?

But whatever may be the motives to such an extraordinary favour or the consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest mark of our confidence in France, and such an one as I believe they would not place in us upon any occasion. I will illustrate this by a parallel case.

The French protestants who fled over hither from a persecution on account of religion never discovered any principles which were incompatible with the civil government of France, nor ever set up any pretender to the present royal family of that kingdom; and yet if we should think fit to form any considerable number of them into complete distinct regiments, to be composed of French protestants only, and commanded by French officers, without any incorporation of British soldiers, I fancy it would give our good allies some umbrage. But I am almost confident that they would never permit us to send over a protestant French officer from every regiment to recruit their respective corps, by dispersing themselves into those provinces where they have the best interest, or suffer a field-officer in English pay to reside constantly in Paris, and exercise a sort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I say they would hardly suffer this, even though our ambassador should solicit such an order with the utmost application for 20 years together.

And yet the case of the Irish forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion, but hold principles absolutely destructive of our civil government, and are generally looked upon abroad as a standing army kept on foot to serve the pretender upon any occasion.

I must ask a question or two which naturally offer themselves in this place.

What power has this field-officer to exercise during his residence in Dublin? Is the French martial law to take place, if any of these recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

Troops are generally armed as soon as they are listed. Is this rule to be observed in the present case? If so, another question occurs. It has been found necessary for the security of Ireland to restrain all Roman catholics from wearing or keeping any arms in their houses. I ask therefore whether the authority of this license is to supersede the laws of the land? I may go further.

The garrison of Dublin seldom consists of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Supposing double that number of Popish recruits should be brought thither in order to be viewed by their field-officer, will it be said there is no just apprehension of danger? But as these suggestions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of France (a case not to be supposed at present) I press them no further.

I must however repeat it, that this order is the fullest demonstration of the confidence we repose in them; and I hope they will scorn to make any bad use of it; but if it were possible to suspect that they could have any design to play the knave with us, they could not wish for a better opportunity to promote it than by such a power as is now said to be put into their hands.

I hope my remarks on this article of news will not be construed in a jacobite sense, even by the most prostitute scribblers of the present times; but I must beg leave to expostulate a little with the public on that mean, infamous practice which these writers have lately used in explaining some of my papers into treasonable libels, taking an occasion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down as a point granted that there is an actual concerted design of setting aside the present establishment. This is a practice which may be of great service to the real enemies of the present government; and every jacobite in the kingdom may make use of it to publish the most explicit invectives on the king and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit design of other writings. It is a practice which was never allowed till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the secret meaning of any author such explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds,

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and are punishable by the laws, without any extraordinary methods of construction. These writers ought to remember the case of sir Richard Steele, who published the pretender's declaration at the beginning of the late reign with an answer annexed; and although he did it with a very good design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to law; and if his principles of loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe prosecution. I shall make no reflections on those who encouraged such explanations; and those who are hired to do it are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common-places of servile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by such nauseous, dishonest adulation, as I am sure gives the most offence to those persons to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they please. Let them charge me with designs which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knows my heart; I am as zealous for the welfare of the present royal family as the most sordid of these sycophants. I am sensible that our happiness depends on the security of his majesty's title, and the preservation of the present government upon those principles which established them at the late glorious revolution, and which I hope will continue to actuate the conduct of Britons to the latest generations. These have always been my principles; and whoever will give himself the trouble of looking over the course of these papers will be convinced that they have been my guide: but I am a blunt, plain-dealing old man, who am not afraid to speak the truth; and as I have no relish for flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just praise, nor slipped any seasonable opportunity to distinguish the royal virtues of their present majesties.* More than this I cannot do; and more than this I hope will not be expected. Some of my expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the climate of a court, but they flowed purely from the sincerity of my heart; and the freedom of my writings has proceeded from my zeal for the interest of my king and country.

With regard to my adversaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge whether, even in private life, that man is not most to be depended upon who—being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend—never loads him with fulsome flatteries, but takes the honest liberty of warning him against the measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The case is much stronger in public life; and a crown is beset with so many difficulties, that even a prince of the most consummate wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the dangers which surround him from the stratagems of artful ministers, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad ministers, and pursue the same methods of supporting themselves,—by flattering him into measures which tend to his destruction.

But it is time to draw to a conclusion; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any design contrary to the interests of the present establishment I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the affair which occasioned this paper instead of giving myself and the reader so much trouble.

C. D.

ANSWER TO THE CRAFTSMAN.†

Sir,—I detest reading your papers because I am not of your principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet I was prevailed on to peruse your Craftsman of December the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an enemy of this country as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a project I proposed of making the children of Irish parents to be useful to the public instead of being burdensome; and you venture to assert that your own scheme is more charitable,—of not permitting our popish natives to be listed in the service of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a sort of goods of no intrinsic value, which it costs us above 40,000*l.* a-year to dress and scour and polish, which altogether do not yield one penny advantage; and we annually export above 700,000*l.* a-year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one single farthing in return, even the money paid for letters sent in transacting this commerce being all returned to England. But now, when there is a most lucky opportunity offered to begin a trade whereby this nation will save many thousand pounds a-year, and England be a prodigious gainer, you are pleased without a call officiously and maliciously to interpose with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known that, about sixty years ago, the exportation of live cattle from hence to England was of great benefit to both kingdoms until that branch of traffic was stopped by an act of parliament on your side, whereof you have sufficient reason to repent. Upon which account, when another act passed your parliament forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were so wise to put in a clause allowing it to be done by his majesty's permission under his sign manual; for which, among other great benefits granted to Ireland, we are infinitely obliged to the British legislature. Yet this very grace and favour you, Mr. D'Anvers, whom we never disobliged, are endeavouring to prevent; which I will take upon me to say is a manifest mark of your disaffection to his majesty, a want of duty to the ministry, a wicked design of oppressing this kingdom, and a traitorous attempt to lessen the trade and manufactures of England.

Our truest and best ally, the most Christian king, has obtained his majesty's licence, pursuant to law, to export from hence some thousand bodies of healthy, young, living men, to supply his Irish regiments. The king of Spain, as you assert yourself, has desired the same civility, and seems to have at least as good a claim. Supposing then that these two potentates will only desire leave to carry off 6000 men between them to France and Spain; then by computing the maintenance of a tall hungry Irishman in food and clothes to be only at 5*l.* a-head, here will be 30,000*l.* per annum saved clear to the nation; for they can find no other employment at home, besides begging, robbing, or stealing. But if 30,000, 40,000, or 50,000 (which we would gladly spare) were sent on the same errand, what an immense benefit it must be to us! and if the two princes, in whose service they were, should happen to be at war with each other, how soon would those recruits be destroyed! then what a number of friends would the pretender lose, and what a number of popish enemies all true protestants get rid of! Add to this that then, by such a practice, the lands of Ireland that want hands for tillage must be employed in grazing, which would sink the price of wool, raw hides, butter, and tallow, so that the English might have them at their own rates; and in return send us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horses, without any labour of our own.

Upon this occasion, I desire humbly to offer a scheme, which, in my opinion, would best answer the true interests of both kingdoms: for although I bear a most

* King George II., and queen Caroline his consort.
† A masterpiece, in the dean's ironical style.

tender filial affection for England, my dear native country, yet I cannot deny but this noble island has a great share in my love and esteem; nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in trade and opulence, even beyond its present happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, usually computed at 17,000,000 of acres, all of which I propose to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience that one grazier and his family can manage 2000 acres. Thus 16,800,000 acres may be managed by 8400 families; and the fraction of 200,000 acres will be more than sufficient for cabins, out-houses, and potato-gardens; because it is to be understood that corn of all sorts must be sent to us from England.

These 8400 families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houses in each province; and making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to 67,200 souls. To these we are to add a standing army of 20,000 English; which, together with their trulls, their bastards, and their horse-boys, will by a gross computation, very near double the count, and be very sufficient for the defence and grazing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the pretender. And, lest the army should be at a loss for business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the public taxes for paying themselves and the civil list.

I advise that all our owners of these lands should live constantly in England, in order to learn politeness, and qualify themselves for employments; but, for fear of increasing the natives in this island, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever place will bear the carriage, or transplanted to the English dominions on the American continent, as a screen between his majesty's English subjects and the savage Indians.

I advise likewise, that no commodity whatsoever of this nation's growth should be sent to any other country except England, under the penalty of high treason; and that all the said commodities shall be sent in their natural state; and the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the stub; excepting only fish, butter, tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the carriage. On the contrary, that no goods whatsoever shall be imported hither except from England, under the same penalty: that England should be forced, at their own rates, to send us over clothes ready made, as well as shirts and smocks to the soldiers and their trulls; all iron, wooden, and earthenware, and whatever furniture may be necessary for the cabins of graziers; with a sufficient quantity of gin and other spirits for those who can afford to get drunk on holidays.

As to the civil and ecclesiastical administration, which I have not yet fully considered, I can say little: only with regard to the latter, it is plain that the article of paying tithe for supporting speculative opinions in religion, which is so insupportable a burden to all true protestants and to most churchmen, will be very much lessened by this expedient; because dry cattle pay nothing to the spiritual hireling, any more than imported corn; so that the industrious shepherd and cowherd may sit every man under his own blackberry-bush and on his own potatoe-bed, whereby this happy island will become a new Arcadia.

I do likewise propose, that no money shall be used in Ireland except what is made of leather, which likewise shall be coined in England and imported; and that the taxes shall be levied out of the commodities we export for England, and there turned into money for his majesty's use; and the rents to landlords discharged in the same manner. This will be no manner of grievance, for we already see it very practicable to live without money and shall be more convinced of it every day. But whether paper shall continue to supply that defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the trade of bankers (which latter I am rather inclined to), must be left to the consideration of wiser politicians.

That which makes me more zealously bent upon this scheme is my desire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tried all other means without effect to that blessed end; and by the course of measures taken for some years past it should seem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon several accounts: for as to England, they have a just claim to the balance of trade on their side with the whole world: and therefore our ancestors and we who conquered this kingdom for them ought, in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conquest to themselves; especially when the conquest was amicably made without bloodshed, by stipulation between the Irish princes and Henry II.; by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of Germany do to the emperor, but very near the same that he did to the king of France for his French dominions.

In consequence of this claim from England, that kingdom may very reasonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a sufficient quantity of them for our use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

This, on the other side, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers; whose time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, shearing their sheep, and sending over their oxen fit for slaughter; to which employments they are turned by nature, as descended from the Scythians, whose diet they are still so fond of. So Virgil describes it:—

Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino;*

Which, in English, is bonnyclabber [buttermilk] mingled with the blood of horses, as they formerly did until about the beginning of the last century; when luxury under the form of politeness began to creep in, they changed the blood of horses for that of their black cattle, and by consequence became less warlike than their ancestors.

Although I proposed that the army should be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those taxes should be paid in gold or silver; but in kind, as all other rent: for the custom of tenants making their payments in money is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practised in any nation at present, except this island and the southern parts of Britain. But to my great satisfaction, I foresee better times; the ancient manner begins to be now practised in many parts of Connaught, as well as in the county of Cork, where the squires turn tenants to themselves, divide so many cattle to their slaves, who are to provide such a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, still keeping up their number of cattle; and carry the goods to Cork, or other port towns, and then sell them to merchants. By which invention there is no such thing as a ruined farmer to be seen, but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

* —— "For drink and food,
They mix their curdled milk with horses' blood.—Dryden.

A PROPOSAL

FOR AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT TO PAY OFF THE DEBT OF THE NATION WITHOUT TAXING THE SUBJECT:

By which the number of landed gentry and substantial farmers will be considerably increased, and no person will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge. 1732

The debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay absentees, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment; and either a poll or land-tax would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the lands which have been left for these ten or dozen years past were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay: and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a land-tax upon a racked estate would be a burden wholly insupportable.

The question would then be, how these national debts can be paid, and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal; which I shall now lay open to the public.

The revenues of their graces and lordships the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800*l.* per annum: I mean the rents which the bishops receive from their tenants. But the real value of those lands is, at a full rent, taking the several sees one with another, reckoned to be at least three-fourths more: so that multiplying 36,800*l.* by 4, the full rent of all the bishops' lands will amount to 147,200*l.* per annum; from which subtracting the present rent received by their lordships, that is 36,800*l.*, the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400*l.* per annum; which lands, if they were to be sold at 22 years' purchase, would raise a sum of 2,428,800*l.*, reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum I propose that out of the one-half, which amounts to 1,214,400*l.*, so much be applied as will entirely discharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury, to supply contingencies as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the present set of bishops would be greater losers by this scheme for want of their fines, which would be a hard treatment to such religious, loyal, and deserving personages; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years' purchase; but if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than seven years' purchase; so that the purchasers may very well afford 15 years' purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800*l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably, because the lands are to be sold only at 15 years' purchase; and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000*l.*, of which I propose 1,200,000*l.* to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 156,000*l.* I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public stock.

Although the bishops round do not in reality receive three fines a-piece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it to be so; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent, in recompense of giving them so large a term of life: and thus multiplying 36,800*l.* by 3, the product will be only 110,400*l.*, so that above three-fourths will remain to be applied to public use.

If I have made wrong computations I hope to be excused, as a stranger to the kingdom; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my days; but I took care to get the best informations I could and from the most proper persons. However, the mistakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my proposal, although they should cause a difference of 100,000*l.* more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same see. If he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant see lands are to come immediately into possession of the see he has left; and both the bishop who is removed and he who comes into his place are to have no more fines; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue, and the other see will find candidates enough. For the law maxim will here have place: *caveat emptor;* I mean the persons who succeed may choose whether they will accept or not.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the see, who are already in possession and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myself. If a person already a bishop be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues without any fines; and so must he who comes into a bishopric vacant by death: and this will bring the matter sooner to bear, which if the crown shall think fit to countenance will soon change the present set of bishops, and consequently encourage purchasers of their lands. For example: if a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole set of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got, and thereby save a great part of that sum which I have appropriated toward supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops' lands two years' purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the king and council in England and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands at the remotest distances and at rack rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it but in buying of land, which consequently makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry where the bishops' tenants are not able or willing to purchase; for the lands will afford a hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each; several persons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give 30 years' purchase at home, under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor as well as repairs, by which means much money may be brought among us; and probably some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of non-solvencies in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This proposal will also multiply farmers, when the

purchasers will have lands in their own power to give long and easy leases to industrious husbandmen.

I have allowed some bishoprics of equal income to be of more or less value to the purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For instance, the lands of the primacy and some other sees are let so low that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bishop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the sees of Meath and Clonfert consisting as I am told much of tithes, those tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the see of Dublin is said to have many fee-farms which pay no fines; and some leases for lives which pay very little, and not so soon nor so duly.

I cannot but be confident that their graces my lords the archbishops and my lords the bishops will heartily join in this proposal, out of gratitude to his late and present majesty, the best of kings who have bestowed on them such high and opulent stations: as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental toward paying the nation's debts without impoverishing themselves; enrich a hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordships, from considerable persons whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors than servile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bishops being some of them persons of quality and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of these very leases under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines at the pleasure of their landlords. Then the bulk of the tenants, especially the dissenters, who are our true loyal protestant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing that bishops should be owners of land at all (wherein I beg to differ from them), being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves, but had it laid at their feet to be distributed to poor proselytes.

I will add one word more; that by such a wholesome law all the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts; reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in Dublin, for applying 100 acres of profitable land that lies nearest his palace as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well that this scheme has been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom, yet since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people among whom I have been so well received. And if I can be any way instrumental toward contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law (which being not in the least injurious to England will I am confident meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

AN EXAMINATION
OF CERTAIN ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, AND ENORMITIES,
IN THE CITY OF DUBLIN. 1732.

Nothing is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the police; by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath, I cannot have a minute's ease or patience, to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities, abuses, and corruptions, spread almost through every part of Dublin, and proposing such remedies as I hope the legislature will approve of.

The narrow compass to which I have confined myself in this paper will allow me only to touch the most important defects, and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And first; perhaps there was never known a wiser institution than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes, in large and populous cities, to cry through the streets many necessaries of life. It would be endless to recount the conveniences which our city enjoys by this useful invention; and particularly strangers, forced hither by business, who reside here but a short time; for these, having usually but little money and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an easy price purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms that a plain christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new-comers to look out at their garret windows, and there see whether the thing that is cried be tripes or flummery, butter-milk or cow-heels. For as things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest countryman just arrived to find out what is meant, for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stunned twice a-day, "Mugs, jugs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in the cellar!" I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his curiosity draws him to the window or until his landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one instance among 100 much worse; I mean where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which gives so much disturbance and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of herrings is directly against all truth and probability; "Herrings alive, alive here!" The very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing bell rings, that he is dead as a herring? And pray how is it possible that a herring which, as philosophers observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be tossed into 20 hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours?

Nay, we have witnesses ready to produce that many thousands of these herrings, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches who dare in the face of the sun vouch the very same affirmative of their salmon, and cry, "Salmon alive, alive!" whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle and show you this individual salmon cut into a dozen pieces? I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling without the least appearance of remorse, and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish ministers, but all in vain; so that it must continue until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another cry which from the strictest observation I can make appears to be very modern, and it is that of sweethearts;[a] and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex, as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase sweethearts. Neither am I sure that this cry does not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in England, the ladies are forced to take up with parsons and attorneys; but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person who frequents the castle, our public walks, our balls, and assemblies; where the crowds of toupees[b] were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a cry peculiar to this city which I do not remember to have been used in London, or at least not in the same terms that it has been practised by both parties during each of their power, but very unjustly by the Tories. While these were at the helm they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true Whigs and Hanoverians out of employments: to effect which they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baskets on their shoulders, to call aloud at every house, "Dirt to carry out;" giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify that the kingdom could never be cleansed until we were swept from the earth like rubbish. But since that happy turn of times when we were so miraculously preserved, by just an inch, from popery, slavery, massacre, and the pretender, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same cry; which has ever since been so effectually observed, that the true political dirt is wholly removed and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities. Every person who walks the streets must needs observe an immense number of human excrements at the doors and steps of waste houses and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party has assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it that these heaps were laid there privately by British fundaments to make the world believe that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently that the clamour of poverty among us must be false, proceeding only from Jacobites and papists. They would confirm this by pretending to observe that a British anus being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements upon a strict view appearing copple crowned, with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician who is well versed in such profound speculations, and at my request was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the anus of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill-disposed people allege. On the contrary, he assured me that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention to show how ready the Jacobites are to lay hold of any handle to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add that my friend the physician could by smelling each finger distinguish the Hibernian excrement from the British, and was not above twice mistaken in a hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the butchers, but it is often continued by a succession of other people through many streets; it is called the COSSING of a dog; and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A strange dog happens to pass through a flesh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice and the proper tone, Coss, coss, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly understands the terms of the art, and consequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people and even his own brother animals pursue: the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight, and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill-wishers of the Jacobite kind are pleased to call a persecution; and affirm that it always falls upon dogs of the Tory principle. But we can defend ourselves by justly alleging that when they were uppermost they treated our dogs fully as inhumanly. As to my own part who have in former times often attended these processions, although I can very well distinguish between a Whig and a Tory dog, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a party principle, except it were against certain malicious dogs who most discover their enmity against us in the worst of times. And I remember too well that in the wicked ministry of the earl of Oxford a large mastiff of our party, being unmercifully cossed, ran without thinking between my legs as I was coming up Fishamble-street; and as I am of low stature, with very short legs, bore me riding backward down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and clung my legs as close to his sides as I could, yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel, where, after rolling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado amid the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious Jacobites. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other services and sufferings[a] I have been since more than overpaid.

This adventure may, perhaps, have put me out of love with the adventure of cossing, which I confess myself an enemy to unless we could always be sure of distinguishing Tory dogs; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent as entirely to change their principles and are justly esteemed the best worriers of their former friends.

I am assured and partly know that all the chimney-sweepers' boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by our enemies to skulk in the tops of chimneys, with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call co ch, coach, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days when any point

[a] A sort of sugar-cakes in the shape of hearts.

[b] A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, said for its owner, fashionable in the year 1733.

[a] See the apology for the Tale of a Tub.

of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government; and thus by the absence of a few members for a few minutes a question may be carried against the true interest of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye toward the pretender.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses where punch is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of punch; the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black lion, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear, or a cock, in the same posture.

Now I cannot find how any of these animals, either separate or in conjunction, are properly speaking fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of punch. Besides, it is agreed among naturalists, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he has been used to it from his infancy; and consequently it is against all the rules of hieroglyph to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that case we ought to suppose that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which however to my knowledge, is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a Christian, as to aiding and assisting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them at all handy enough to fill liquor to the company. I do therefore vehemently suspect a plot intended against the government by these devices. For although the spread eagle be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful protestant sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind that the pretender's wife is said to be of German birth; and that many popish princes in so vast an extent of land are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: besides, it is plain that the spread eagle exhibits to us the perfect figure of a cross, which is a badge of popery. Then as to the cock, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The swan, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The lion is, indeed, the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect Jacobitism and a manifest type of those who blacken the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl be a crow or a raven. It is true they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a crow to pick out the eyes of other creatures, and often even of Christians after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the Jacobites in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep, (which is an emblem of death), and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion: the least offensive picture in the whole set seems to be the bear, because he represents *ursa major* or the great bear, who presides over the north, where the reformation first began; and which next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the true protestant religion. But however in those signs where I observe the bear to be chained, I cannot help surmising a jacobite contrivance, by which these traitors hint an earnest desire of using all true Whigs as their predecessors did the primitive christians; I mean, to represent us as bears and then halloo their Tory dogs to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to punch. I own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understandings; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporeal eyes as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wish I may be found a false prophet; for these are not bare suspicions but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore away with these popish, jacobitish, and idolatrous gewgaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted under severe penalties against drinking punch at all; for nothing is easier than to prove it a disaffected liquor; the chief ingredients, which are brandy, oranges, and lemons, are all sent us from popish countries; and nothing remains of protestant growth but sugar and water. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly British, we find it entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt; I mean that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example and dangerous consequence to the public. It is well known that by the true original institution of making punch, left us by captain Ratcliffe, the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of lemons, and so continued until after the happy Revolution. Oranges, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner but of yesterday It was the politics of jacobites to introduce them gradually,—and to what intent? The thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to show their virulence against his sacred majesty, king William, of ever-glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to show how fast disloyalty increases) they came from one or two and then to three oranges; nay, at present we often find punch made all with oranges and not one single lemon. For the jacobites before the death of that immortal prince had by a superstition formed a private prayer that as they squeezed the orange so might that protestant king be squeezed to death; according to the known sorcery described by Virgil:

> Limus ut hic durescit, et hæc ut cera liquescit, &c.
> Ecl. viii. 80.

And thus the Romans when they sacrificed an ox used this kind of prayer: "As I knock down this ox so may thou, O Jupiter, knock down our enemies." In like manner, after king William's death, whenever a jacobite squeezed an orange, he had a mental curse upon the glorious memory and a hearty wish for power to squeeze all his majesty's friends to death as he squeezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confessed it to me under an oath of secrecy; which however I thought it my duty not to keep when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an infamous set of men, who never scruple to drink *confusion* to all true protestants under the name of Whigs? —a most unchristian and inhuman practice; which to our great honour and comfort was never charged upon us even by our most malicious detractors.

The sign of two angels hovering in the air, and with their right hands supporting a crown, is met with in several parts of this city and has often given me great offence; for whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reasons

to suspect the latter), those angels are usually drawn with such horrid or indeed rather diabolical countenances that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the jacobite, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now return to that great enormity of our city cries; most of which we have borrowed from London. I shall consider them only in a political view as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, by defeating the protestant succession and introducing the pretender, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy Revolution all persons who possessed any employment or office in church or state were obliged by an act of parliament to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary; and a great number of disaffected persons refusing to take the said oaths from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really from a spirit of popery and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud, shrill voices, under the pretence of selling fish, to go through the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry "Buy my soul, buy my soul;" plainly insinuating that all those who swore to king William were just ready to sell their souls for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen Anne, and I hear still continues in London with much offence to all true protestants, but to our great happiness seems to be almost dropped in Dublin.

But because I altogether contemn the displeasure and resentment of highfliers, Tories, and jacobites, whom I look upon to be worse even than professed papists, I do here declare that those evils which I am going to mention were all brought in upon us in the worst of times under the late earl of Oxford's administration during the four last years of queen Anne's reign. That wicked minister was universally known to be a papist in his heart. He was of a most avaricious nature; and is said to have died worth 4,000,000*l.* sterling,[a] beside his vast expense in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean, obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate that he could hardly read a paper at the council-table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life, because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead; and therefore I shall observe this wise maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt several London cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And whereas it was upon good grounds grievously suspected that all places at court were sold to the highest bidder, certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry fish in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, "Buy my fresh places!" I must indeed own that other women used the same cry who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold fish of that denomination to get an honest livelihood; but the rest, who were in the secret, although they carried fish in their sieves or baskets to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the freemasons, which the purchasers of places knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And I remember very well how oddly it looked when we observed many gentlemen finely dressed, about the court end of the town, and as far as York Buildings, where the lord-treasurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried "Buy my fresh places!" and talking to them in the corner of a street until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned the duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England for admitting his eldest son by the duchess of Orleans's daughter to succeed to the crown as next heir upon the pretender's being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn protestant. It was confidently reported that great numbers of people, disaffected to the then illustrious but now royal house of Hanover were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the jacobite leaders to cry through the whole town "Buy my Savoys, dainty Savoys, curious Savoys!" But I cannot directly charge the late earl of Oxford with this conspiracy because he was not then chief minister. However this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is in my humble opinion a very offensive sound to every true protestant who is old enough to remember those dangerous times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and jacobite earl above-mentioned the secret pernicious design of those in power was to sell Flanders to France; the consequence of which must have been the infallible ruin of the states-general, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must next after Holland have been compelled to submit, whereby the protestant religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after a long consultation among the jacobite grandees, with the earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former. It was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex; and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry of "FLOUNDERS!" But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word Flaunders and not flounders; for the country which we now by corruption call Flanders is in its true orthography spelt Flaunders, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from hence began that thundering cry which has ever since stunned the ears of all London, made so many children fall into fits and women miscarry: "Come, buy my fresh flaunders, curious flaunders, charming flaunders, alive, alive, ho!"—which last words can with no propriety of speech be applied to fish manifestly dead (as I observed before in herrings and salmon), but very justly to ten provinces containing many millions of living christians. But the application is still closer when we consider that all the people were to be taken like fishes in a net; and by assistance of the pope, who sets up to be the universal fisher of men, the whole innocent nation was according to our common expression to be laid as flat as a flounder.

I remember myself a particular crier of flounders in London who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning before he came within 50 doors of my lodging; and although I were not in those days so fully apprized of the designs which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was I could not forbear conceiving a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to myself, "This cry seems to be forged in the jesuit's school; alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken

[a] The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of lord Oxford.

if there be not some popish plot at the bottom." I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations; but it proved afterwards that I had conjectured right. And I have since reflected that if the wicked faction could have procured only 1000 men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been not only to these two kingdoms but over all Europe by selling Flanders to France. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in London and Dublin; although I confess not with equal vehemence or loudness, because the reason for contriving this desperate plot is to our great felicity wholly ceased.

It is well known that the majority of the British house of Commons in the last years of queen Anne's reign were in their hearts directly opposite to the earl of Oxford's pernicious measures, which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And accordingly his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation (as it was proved before justice Peyton*) to cry that vegetable commonly called celery through the town. These women differed from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of celery brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not at present the least occasion to suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article I am content that it may still be tolerated.

I shall mention but one cry more which has any reference to politics; but is indeed of all others the most insolent as well as treasonable under our present happy establishment, I mean that of turnups; not of turnips, according to the best orthography, but absolutely turnups. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities—for it began soon after the Revolution—yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height as during the earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself to profess their disapprobation of this cry on pretence that it began by the contrivance of certain old procuresses, who kept houses of ill fame where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by some words in the cry; because after the crier had bawled out "Turnups, ho! buy my dainty turnups," he would sometimes add the two following verses:—

> "Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
> And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid."

This, says some political sophists, plainly shows that there can be nothing further meant in so infamous a cry than an invitation to lewdness; which indeed ought to be severely punished in all well regulated governments, yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But I hope we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with such poor evasions. I could if it were proper demonstrate the very time when those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. Swan, so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a jacobite as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact when he was taxed for it in my presence by sir Henry Dutton Colt and colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-house on the 10th of June, 1701. Thus it appears to a demonstration that those verses were only a blind to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who, from the first years after the happy Revolution, used a cant way of talking in their clubs after this manner: "We hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king TURN UP trump:" and "When shall we meet over a dish of TURNUPS?" The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in ciphers, and deciphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light, because the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed that this cry was sung in a particular manner by fellows in disguise to give notice where those traitors were to meet in order to concert their villanous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article than an humble proposal that those who cry this root at present in our streets of Dublin may be compelled by the justices of the peace to pronounce turnip and not turnup; for I am afraid we have still too many snakes in our bosom, and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched when the owners least expected it; for I am not out of fear that *latet anguis in herbâ*.

Thus we are zealous in matters of small moment while we neglect those of the highest importance. I have already made it manifest that all these cries were contrived in the worst of times, under the ministry of that desperate statesman, Robert, late earl of Oxford; and for that very reason ought to be rejected with horror as begun in the reign of jacobites, and may well be numbered among the rags of popery and treason; or if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the hands of true protestants who have given security to the government.

Having already spoken of many abuses relating to sign-posts, I cannot here omit one more, because it plainly relates to politics and is perhaps of more dangerous consequence than any of the city cries, because it directly tends to destroy the succession. It is the sign of his present majesty king George II. to be met with in many streets; and yet I happen to be not only the first but the only discoverer of this audacious instance of jacobitism. And I am confident that, if the justices of the peace would please to make a strict inspection, they might find in all such houses, before which those signs are hung up in the manner I have observed, that the landlords were malignant papists or which is worse notorious jacobites. Whoever views those signs may read over his majesty's head the following letters and ciphers, G. R. II., which plainly signifies George, king II., and not king George II., or George II., king; but laying the point after the letter G, by which the owner of the house manifestly shows that he renounces his allegiance to king George II., and allows him to be only the second king, *inuendo*, that the pretender is the first king; and looking upon king George to be only a kind of second king or viceroy till the pretender shall come over and seize the kingdom. I appeal to all mankind whether this be a strained or forced interpretation of the inscription as it now stands in almost every street; whether any decipherer would make the least doubt or hesitation to explain it as I have done; whether any other protestant country would endure so public an instance of treason in the capital city from such vulgar conspirators; and lastly, whether papists and jacobites of great fortunes and quality may not probably stand behind the curtain in this dangerous, open, and avowed design against the government. But I have performed my duty; and leave the reforming of these abuses to the wisdom, the vigilance, the loyalty, and activity of my superiors.

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* A famous Whig justice in those times.

TO THE HONOURABLE

HOUSE OF COMMONS, &c.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE FOOTMEN IN AND ABOUT THE CITY OF DUBLIN, IN THE YEAR 1732.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners are a great and numerous society, endowed with several privileges time out of mind.

That certain lewd, idle, and disorderly persons for several months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the public walks of this city, habited sometimes in green coats and sometimes laced, with long oaken cudgels in their hands and without swords, in hopes to procure favour by that advantage with a great number of ladies who frequent those walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be the true genuine Irish footmen; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common toupees, as a judicious eye may soon discover by their awkward, clumsy, ungenteel gait and behaviour; by their unskilfulness in dress, even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances with an air of impudence and dulness peculiar to the rest of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent pitch of assurance, and although it may be justly apprehended that they will do so in time, if these counterfeits shall happen to succeed in their evil design of passing for real footmen, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the ladies.

Your petitioners do further allege that many of the said counterfeits, upon a strict examination, have been found in the act of strutting, staring, swearing, swaggering, in a manner that plainly showed their best endeavours to imitate us. Wherein although they did not succeed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmost indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole profession.

Your petitioners do therefore make it their humble request that this honourable house (to many of whom your petitioners are nearly allied) will please to take this grievance into your most serious consideration; humbly submitting whether it would not be proper that certain officers might, at the public charge, be employed to search for and discover all such counterfeit footmen; to carry them before the next justice of peace, by whose warrant, upon the first conviction, they shall be stripped of their coats and oaken ornaments and be set two hours in the stocks; upon the second conviction, beside stripping, be set six hours in the stocks with a paper pinned on their breasts signifying their crime in large capital letters, and in the following words:—"A. B., commonly called A. B., esq., a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman."

And for any other offence the said toupee shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have given sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your honours will please to observe with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our honourable calling that several well-meaning people have mistaken them to be of our fraternity, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did in the worst of times. And we further beg leave to remark that this was manifestly done with a seditious design to render us less capable of serving the public in any great employments, as several of our fraternity as well as our ancestors have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your honours to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency, and your petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

ADVICE TO THE FREEMEN OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN,

IN THE CHOICE OF A MEMBER TO REPRESENT THEM IN PARLIAMENT. 1733.

THOSE few writers who, since the death of alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they should proceed in electing a new representative for the next sessions, having laid aside their pens, I have reason to hope that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly those who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a second and a third time before they come to a final determination upon what person they resolve to fix their choice.

I am told there are only two persons who set up for candidates; one is the present lord mayor [Humphry French], and the other [John Macarall], a gentleman of good esteem, an alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and possessed of a considerable office under the crown. The question is which of these two persons it will be most for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, so that my inquiries will be very impartial and drawn only from the general character and situation of both.

In order to this I must offer my countrymen and fellow-citizens some reasons why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture upon whom they bestow their votes.

To perform this with more clearness it may be proper to give you a short state of our unfortunate country.

We consist of two parties: I do not mean popish and protestant, high and low church, episcopal and sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of those of English extraction who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whose ancestors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the English crown,) and the gentlemen sent from the other side to possess most of the chief employments here. This latter party is very much enlarged and strengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil administration deposited in their hands; although for political ends and to save appearances, some employments are still distributed (yet gradually in a small number) to persons born here: this proceeding fortified with good words and many promises is sufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might easily be convinced if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for several years past, with great prudence, made precarious and during pleasure; by which means the possessors are and must inevitably be for ever dependent; yet those very few of any consequence, which being dealt with so sparing a hand to persons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers who desire to mend their condition by the favour of those in power.

Now, my dear fellow-citizens, how is it possible you can conceive that any person who holds an office of some hundred pounds a-year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit, will if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing when he sits in the house that he knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him or continue him in that office? Believe me, these are not times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing stars are much more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find 10,000*l.* by digging in my garden than such a phœnix by searching among the present race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous as well

as modern maxim of politics in the English nation, to take every opportunity of depressing Ireland; whereof 100 instances may be produced in points of the highest importance, and within the memory of every middle-aged man; although many of the greatest persons among that party which now prevails have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their present successors.

But so the fact stands at present. It is plain that the court and country party here (I mean in the house of commons) very seldom agree in anything but their loyalty to his present majesty, their resolutions to make him and his viceroy easy in the government to the utmost of their power, under the present condition of the kingdom. But the persons sent from England, who (to a trifle) are possessed of the sole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in possession who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopers, and promisees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon an universal submission to whatever shall be demanded; wherein they act safely, because none of themselves, except the candidates, feel the least of our pressures.

I remember a person of distinction some days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our highest employments of all kinds, can never be possibly losers of one farthing by the greatest calamities that can befall this kingdom, except a plague that would sweep away a million of our hewers of wood and drawers of water, or an invasion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this person argued that, while there was a penny left in the treasury, the civil and the military list must be paid; and that the episcopal revenues, which are usually farmed out at six times below the real value, could hardly fail. He insisted further, that as money diminished, the price of all necessaries of life must of consequence do so too, which would be for the advantage of all persons in employment, as well as of my lords the bishops, and to the ruin of everybody else. Among the company there wanted not men in office, besides one or two expectants; yet I did not observe any of them disposed to return an answer; but the consequences drawn were these: That the great men in power, sent hither from the other side, were by no means upon the same foot with his majesty's other subjects of Ireland. They had no common ligament to bind them with us; they suffered not with our sufferings; and if it were possible for us to have any cause of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppose a person born in this kingdom shall happen, by his services for the English interest, to have an employment conferred upon him worth 400*l.* a-year, and that he has likewise an estate in land worth 400*l.* a-year more, suppose him to sit in parliament, then suppose a land-tax to be brought in of 5*s.* a-pound for ten years, I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He has 400*l.* a-year in land, the tax he must pay yearly is 100*l.*, by which, in ten years, he will pay only 1000*l.*: but if he gives his vote against this tax he will lose 4000*l.* by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he has by virtue and colour of his employment, and thus the balance will be against him 3000*l.*

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance who have so much virtue and self-denial as to lose 400*l.* a-year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches, and so it is indeed among us; but whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives, they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home, and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The house of commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of commons consists, I think, of about 300 members; if 100 of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers easy to be persuaded, such as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get something; if they be merry companions, without suspicion; of a natural bashfulness, not apt or able to look forward; if good words, smiles, and caresses, have any power over them, the larger part of a second hundred may be very easily brought in at a most reasonable rate.

There is an Englishman[a] of no long standing among us, but in an employment of great trust, power, and profit. This excellent person did lately publish at his own expense a pamphlet printed in England by authority, to justify the bill for a general excise or inland duty, in order to introduce that blessed scheme among us. What a tender care must such an English patriot for Ireland have of our interest, if he should condescend to sit in our parliament! I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to see that mortal, who would with pleasure blow us all up at a blast; but he duly receives his 1000*l.* a-year, makes his progress like a king, is received in pomp at every town[b] and village where he travels, and shines in the English newspapers.

I will now apply what I have said to you, my brethren and fellow-citizens. Count upon it as a truth next to your creed, that no one person in office, of which he is master for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honest gentleman, as the word honest is generally understood; but he loves his employment better than he does you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute to give him city security to pay him the value of his employment, if it should be taken from him during his life for voting on all occasions with the honest country party in the house? although I much question whether he would do it even upon that condition.

Wherefore, since there are but two candidates, I intreat you will fix on the present lord mayor. He has shown more virtue, more activity, more skill, in one year's government of the city, than a hundred years can equal. He has endeavoured with great success to banish frauds, corruptions, and all other abuses from among you.

A dozen such men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He has no employment under the crown, nor is likely to get or solicit for any, his education having not turned him that way. I will assure for no man's future conduct, but he who has hitherto practised the rules of virtue with so much difficulty in so great

[a] Edward Thompson, esq., member of parliament for York.
[b] Mr. Thompson was presented with the freedom of several corporations in Ireland.

and busy a station, deserves your thanks, and the best return you can make him, and you, my brethren, have no other to give him than that of representing you in parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another; your promises are sins of inconsideration at best, and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other side. He has 400*l.* a-year under the crown, which he is too wise to part with, by sacrificing so good an establishment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can assure you the DRAPIER is in the interest of the present lord mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare so in public company, and offer some of these very reasons in defence of his opinion, although he has a regard and esteem for the other gentleman, but would not hazard the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The lord mayor's severity to some unfair dealers should not turn the honest men among them against him. Whatever he did was for the advantage of those very trades, whose dishonest members he punished. He has hitherto been above temptation to act wrong, and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the most likely to act right as a representative of your city, as he constantly did in the government of it.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS

HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR, THE COURT OF ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCIL OF THE HONOURABLE CITY OF DUBLIN,

IN THE CHOICE OF A RECORDER.[a]

THE office of recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman, it is said that five or six persons are soliciting to succeed him in the employment. I am a stranger to all their persons, and to most of their characters, which latter I hope will at this time be canvassed with more decency than it sometimes happens upon the like occasions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts how the several persons and parties concerned ought to proceed in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

And first, as it is very natural, so I can by no means think it an unreasonable opinion that the sons or near relations of aldermen, and other deserving citizens, should be duly regarded as proper competitors for an employment in the city's disposal, provided they be equally qualified with other candidates, and provided that such employments require no more than common abilities and common honesty. But in the choice of a recorder the case is entirely different. He ought to be a person of good abilities in his calling, of an unspotted character, an able practitioner, one who has occasionally merited of this city before; he ought to be of some maturity in years, a member of parliament, and likely to continue so, regular in his life, firm in his loyalty to the Hanover succession, indulgent to tender consciences, but at the same time a firm adherer to the established church. If he be such a one who has already sat in parliament, it ought to be inquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occasions for the good of his country, and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city; whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious; and lastly, whether he be a man of courage, not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes. These and many other particulars are of infinitely more consequence than that single circumstance of being descended by a direct or collateral line from any alderman or distinguished citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or shopkeeper in this city of any substance whose thriving, less or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion in parliament that may the least affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, so they seemed to be most concerned in point of interest; and their interest ought to be most regarded, because it altogether depends upon the true interest of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lay under no awe or fear of disobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped that they will duly consider which of the candidates is most likely to advance the trade of themselves and their brother citizens; to defend their liberties both in and out of parliament against all attempts of encroachment or oppression. And so God direct them in the choice of a Recorder, who may for many years supply that important office with skill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people say, Amen.

[a] On the death of Mr Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, several gentlemen declared themselves candidates to succeed him, upon which the dean wrote the above paper E. Stannard, esq., was elected.

A NEW PROPOSAL,

FOR THE BETTER REGULATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF QUADRILLE. 1736.

——— Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius, &c.—HOR. 1 Sat. x. 14.

Mr. George Faulkner, a printer in Dublin, at the request of Dr. Swift, published "A new proposal for the better Regulation and Improvement of Quadrille," written by Dr. Josiah Horte, then bishop of Kilmore, afterwards archbishop of Tuam; Mr. serjeant Bettesworth, a member of the Irish parliament, made a complaint to the house of commons then sitting. They voted the printer into custody (who was confined closely in prison three days, when he was in a very bad state of health, and his life in much danger) for not disclosing the name of the author, at that time supposed to be Dr Swift, against whom some invectives were thrown out by Mr. Bettesworth and others; which occasioned the poem of The Legion Club, and others Dr Horte was made bishop of Kilmore, July 27, 1727; and translated to Tuam, Jan 27, 1741. He published a volume of Sermons, 8vo. 1738; and died in 1752. That he was the author, and Dr. Swift the editor, of this little treatise is plain from their respective letters, dated Feb 22, 1736-7, and May 12, 1737.

WHEREAS the noble game of Quadrille hath been found by experience to be of great use and benefit to the commonwealth, particularly as it helps to kill *time*, that lies heavy upon our hands, and to pass away life, which seems too long while we have it, and too short when we come to part with it; as it suppresses all wit in conversation which is apt to turn into scandal, all politics which are offensive to ministries and governments, and all reading which is injurious to the eyes, especially by candle-light; and it destroys pride effectually, by bringing the noble and ignoble, the learned and ignorant, the prude and the coquette, wives, widows, and maids, to one common level; giving preference of the best place and warmest corner, not according to the fantastical distinctions of birth, quality, and station, but by equal lot; as it is a sovereign cure for animosities, making people good friends for the time being, who heartily hate one another; as it prevents the squabbles, so frequent among other dealers, about the weight of gold, and gives the lightest the same value and currency

with the heaviest, which is no small advantage to the public at this juncture, when change is growing so scarce; and to name no more, as it enables the butler to go as fine as his master, without an increase of wages.

And whereas, for want of true taste and rélish of the said noble game, divers ladies are tardy, and come late to the rendezvous, being detained by the paltry cares of family, or a nap after dinner, or by hooking-in a few street-visits at doors where they expect to be denied, and are sometimes cruelly bit; while the true *professors* and *adepts*, who consider the shortness of human life and the value of precious time, are impatiently waiting for such loiterers, and curse innocent clocks and watches that are forced to *lie* in justification of their tardiness.

Now, in order to cut off those frivolous pretences, and prevent those ill-bred and injurious practices for the future, and to the intent that every lady may have due notice of the appointed hour, it is hereby proposed, that a subscription be set on foot for erecting a square tower in the middle of St. Stephen's Green, and that a bell be hung in the same, large enough to be heard distinctly over the parishes of St. Anne, St. Andrew, and St. Peter, and in calm evenings as far as the parish of St. Mary, for the benefit of the graduates dwelling there: that the said bell, for greater solemnity, shall be christened,[a] according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman church, and that the godfathers shall be K. C. and M. J., and the godmothers L. M. and R. E., who shall call it *The Great Tom of Quadrille;* that the said bell shall be tolled by the butlers of St. Stephen's Green and Dawson Street in their turns, beginning exactly a quarter before six in the evening, and ending precisely at six. In the mean time, all the little church bells shall cease their babblings, to the end Tom may be more distinctly heard.

And if, upon such legal notice, any lady of the party shall not be ready on the spot to draw for her place before the last stroke of Tom, she shall lay down 5*s.* on the table, by way of fine, for the use of the poor of the parish, being Protestants; or on failure thereof, she shall not handle a card that night, but *Dummy* shall be substituted in her room.

And that parties may not be disappointed, by excuses of a cold or other slight indispositions, when it is too late to beat up for a new recruit, it is proposed that no such excuse shall be admitted, unless the same be certified under the hand of some graduate physician, Dr. Richard T—— always excepted: and for want of such certificate, the defaultress to be amerced as foresaid at the next meeting. And it is further proposed, that the said great Tom shall be tolled a quarter before eleven precisely, after which no pool shall be made, to the intent that the ladies may have a quarter of an hour for adjusting their play-purses and saying their prayers; and in the absence of the butler, who is to be the bell hour for the night, it may be lawful for a footman to snuff the candles over the ladies' shoulders, provided he be a handsome, well-dressed young fellow, with a clean shirt and ruffles.

N. B. That Tom is not to toll on Sundays, without special license from the parish minister, and this not till divine service is over.

And whereas frequent disputes and altercations arise in play between ladies of distinction, insomuch that a bystander may plainly perceive that they pull coifs *in their hearts*, and part with such animosity, that nothing but the sovereign reconciler *Quadrille* could bring them to meet again in one house; it is humbly proposed, for the benefit of trade, that when a question cannot be decided by the company, the same shall be immediately set down in writing by the lady who can write the best English; and that the case being thereby stated, and attested by both parties, shall, together with the fee of one fish *ad valorem*, be laid before the renowned Mr. serjeant Buttesworth, who shall be appointed arbitrator-general in all disputes of this kind; and shall moreover have sufficient power and authority to give damages for all opprobrious language, and especially for all hints, squints, innuendoes, leers, and shrugs, or other muscular motions of evil signification, by which the reputation of a lady may be affected, on account of any slip or miscarriage that may have happened within twenty years last past.

And if any lady should find herself aggrieved by the decision of the said Mr. Bettesworth, it shall be lawful for her to remove her cause, by appeal, before the upright man in Essex-street, who, having never given a corrupt judgment, may be called, next after his holiness at Rome, the only *infallible judge* upon earth; and the said upright man's determination shall be final and conclusive to all parties.

And forasmuch as it appears by experience, that this beneficial branch of commerce cannot well be carried on without entries to be made in writing, which, by their great number, might occasion oversights and mistakes, without some prudent restrictions; it is humbly proposed that all appointments made for any longer time than three months to come shall be declared utterly null and void: and in case a lady should happen, upon the day prefixed within that term, to be in labour, or to be no longer than one week brought to bed; or if, for the unseasonable hours, her husband should withhold her pin-money, or chain her by the leg to the bed-post, she shall incur no penalty for her non appearance, there being no doubt of her good inclination.

But no plea of a husband newly buried, or of weeds delayed by a mantua maker, or any other matter of mere fashion or ceremony, shall be in anywise admitted.

And to the intent that no breach of faith may pass unpunished, it is proposed, that the lady making default shall at the next party meeting take the chair nearest the door, or against a cracked panel in the wainscot, and have no screen at her back, unless she shall give her honour that her memorandum paper was casually left in her folio Common Prayer-book at church, and that she only perused it there during the collect; in which case her punishment shall be respited till the next meeting, where she shall produce the same, and vouch it to be the true original.

And lastly, because it sometimes happens that a party is broken and a hand wanting by *misnomer*, and other blunders of servants carrying messages; it is proposed, that the servant so offending, if it be a *valet de chambre*, shall wait in a common livery for the space of one month; and if he be a footman, the booby shall be tossed in a blanket in the middle of Stephen's Green.

[a] The bells are christened by the Papists.

ADVERTISEMENT

FOR THE HONOUR OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

1738.

This is to inform the public, that a gentleman of long study, observation, and experience, hath employed himself for several years in making collections of facts relating to the conduct of divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, merchants, traders, and squires; containing an historical account of the most remarkable corruptions, frauds, oppressions, knaveries, and perjuries; wherein the names of the persons concerned shall be inserted at

full length, with some account of their families and stations.

But whereas the said gentleman cannot complete his history without some assistance from the public, he humbly desires that all persons, who have any memoirs, or accounts, relating to themselves, their families, their friends, or acquaintance, which are well attested, and fit to enrich the work, will please to send them to the printer of this advertisement: and if any of the said persons, who are disposed to send materials, happen to live in the country, it is desired their letters may be either franked, or the post paid.

This collection is to commence with the year 1700, and to be continued to the present year, 1738. The work is to be entitled, "The Author's Critical History of his Own Times."

It is intended to be printed by subscription, in a large octavo; each volume to contain 500 facts, and to be sold for a British crown. The author proposeth that the whole work (which shall take in the period of 38 years) shall be contained in 18 volumes.

Whoever shall send the author any accounts of persons who have performed any acts of justice, charity, public spirit, gratitude, fidelity, or the like, attested by indubitable witnesses within the same period, the said facts shall be printed by way of appendix at the end of each volume, and no addition to the price of the work demanded. But, lest any such persons may apprehend that the relating of these facts may be injurious to their reputations, their names shall not be set down without particular direction.

N B. There will be a small number printed on royal paper for the curious, at only two British crowns. There will also be the effigies of the most eminent persons mentioned in this work, prefixed to each volume, curiously engraved by Mr. Hogarth.

Subscriptions are taken in by the printer hereof, and by the booksellers of London and Dublin.

ON GIVING BADGES TO THE POOR.

Deanery-house, Sept. 26, 1726.

The continued concourse of beggars from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impossible for the several parishes to maintain their own poor according to the ancient laws of the land, several lord mayors did apply themselves to the lord archbishop of Dublin, that his grace would direct his clergy and his churchwardens of the said city to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the several parishes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c., and to be well sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His grace the lord archbishop did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of the said poor, several of them openly protesting "they will never submit to wear the said badges." And of those who received them, almost every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them in a string about their necks, or fasten them under their coats, not to be seen, by which means the whole design is eluded; so that a man may walk from one end of the town to another without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the public, most of them being foreigners.

It is therefore proposed, that his grace the lord archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put the affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his grace and they shall agree upon. And I think it would be highly necessary that some paper should be pasted up in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are in the precincts of their own parishes. And if something like this were delivered by the ministers in the reading-desk two or three Lord's-days successively, it would still be of further use to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT MAINTAINING THE POOR.

We have been amused, for at least thirty years past, with numberless schemes, in writing and discourse, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor and setting them to work, especially in this city: most of which were idle, indigested, or visionary; and all of them ineffectual, as it has plainly appeared by the consequences. Many of those projectors were so stupid, that they drew a parallel from Holland to England, to be settled in Ireland; that is to say, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the most beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of false and foolish reasoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, seems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much conversed with those folks who call themselves merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very first rudiments of trade; which, however, was not so much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy constitution of this kingdom, where pedlers are better qualified to thrive than the wisest merchants. I could fill a volume with only setting down a list of the public absurdities by which this kingdom has suffered within the compass of my own memory, such as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not established as a law. I cannot forbear instancing a few of these, because it may be of some use to those who shall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The first was, the building of the barracks; whereof I have seen above one-half, and have heard enough of the rest, to affirm that the public has been cheated of at least two-thirds of the money raised for that use, by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raised for the Palatines; when, instead of employing that great sum in purchasing lands in some remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting those people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is, the insurance office against fire, by which several thousand pounds are yearly remitted to England, (a trifle, it seems, we can easily spare,) and will gradually increase until it comes to a good national tax: for the society-marks upon our houses (under which might properly be written, "The Lord have mercy upon us!"[a]) spread faster and farther than the colony of frogs.[b] I have, for above twenty years past, given warn-

[a] This was the inscription placed on houses visited by the plague.

[b] This similitude, which is certainly the finest that could possibly have been used upon this occasion, seems to require a short explication. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dr. Gwythers, a physician, and fellow of the University

ing several thousand times to many substantial people, and to such who are acquainted with lords and squires, and the like great folks, to any of whom I have not the honour to be known: I mentioned my daily fears, lest our watchful friends in England might take this business out of our hands; and how easy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a society of persons who had good estates, such, for instance, as that noble knot of bankers, under the style of "Swift and Company." But now we are become tributary to England, not only for materials to light our own fires, but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in England as a grievance,) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of those merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both, when, upon occasion of the plague at Marseilles, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade of Spain; but the commodity was so bad, and held at so high a rate, that almost the whole cargo was returned, and the small remainder sold below the prime cost.

So many other particulars of the same nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to stop; and the rather because they are not very proper for my subject, to which I shall now return.

Among all the schemes for maintaining the poor of the city and setting them to work, the least weight has been laid upon that single point which is of the greatest importance; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from swarming hither out of every part of the country; for until this be brought to pass effectually, all our wise reasonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to so small a number of people, is owing to many reasons: to the laziness of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miserable cabins and potato plots; their early marriages, without the least prospect of establishment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby such vast numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchase it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade; and many other circumstances, too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the same causes we owe the perpetual concourse of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all assistance, except money and victuals, to drive from their estates those miserable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint against the poor-house, under its former governors, "That the number of poor in this city did not lessen by taking 300 into the house, and all of them recommended under the ministers' and churchwardens' hands of the several parishes:" and this complaint must still continue, although the poor-house should be enlarged to contain 3000, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-house, as it is now established, amount to about 2000*l.* a-year; whereof 200*l.* allowed for officers, and 100*l.* for repairs, the remaining 1700*l.*, at 4*l.* a-head, will support 425 persons. This is a favourable allowance, considering that I subtract nothing for the diet of those officers, and for wear and tear of furniture; and if every one of these collegiates should be set to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one-fourth part of their maintenance.

At the same time, the oratorial part of these gentlemen seldom vouchsafe to mention fewer than 1500 or 2000 people to be maintained in this hospital, without troubling their heads about the fund. * * *

of Dublin, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from England to Ireland, in order to propagate their species in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the University park; but they all perished. Whereupon he sent to England for some bottles of the frog-spawn, which he threw into those ditches, by which means the species of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was so small in the year 1720, that a frog was nowhere to be seen in Ireland, except in the neighbourhood of the University park: but within six or seven years after, they spread thirty, forty, or fifty miles over the country; and so at last, by degrees, over the whole nation.

A PROPOSAL

FOR GIVING BADGES TO THE BEGGARS IN ALL THE PARISHES OF DUBLIN.

April 22, 1737.

It has been a general complaint that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of parliament) has been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legislature, not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two deans, who are of course put into most commissions that relate to the city; and I have likewise the honour to have been left out of several commissions, upon the score of party, in which my predecessors time out of mind have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were the lord mayor, aldermen and sheriffs, and some few other citizens, the judges, the two archbishops, the two deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving of the old commission and establishing a new one of nearly three times the number have been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless but a grievance, instead of a benefit to the city. In the present commission all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of squires; not only those who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended since the new establishment, I observed very little was done except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared; and I have found the court of assistants usually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, and adjusting accounts of meal and small beer, which, however necessary, might sometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment,—I mean some schemes recommended to the general board for answering the chief ends in erecting and establishing such a poor-house and endowing it with so considerable a revenue; and the principal end I take to have been that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city where the parishes are not able to do it, and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poor-house than it was ever known to be since its first erection.

As the whole fund for supporting this hospital is raised only from the inhabitants of the city, so there can be hardly anything more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and bastards or orphans of farmers, whose country landlords never contributed one shilling toward their support. I would engage that half this revenue, if employed with common care and no very great degree of common honesty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a small number of original poor in every parish, who might, without being burdensome to the parishioners, find a tolerable support.

I have for some years past applied myself to several lord-mayors, and the late archbishop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain proposal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every parish who begged in the streets; that the said beggars should be confined to their own parishes; that they should wear their badges well sewn upon one of their shoulders, always visible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town, or whatever legal punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in some clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual disquiet, which they do not ill deserve: and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of less consequence, because the remedy is in their own power: but all street walkers and shopkeepers bear an equal share in its hourly vexation.

I never heard of more than one objection against this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their several parishes. The objection was this—What shall we do with the foreign beggars? must they be left to starve? I answered, No; but they must be driven and whipped out of the town; and let the next country parish do as they please, or rather, after the practice in England, send them from one parish to another until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England, still in force, every parish is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no such consequence in this point as some would make it, whether a country parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer parishes of the kingdom, all necessaries of life proper for poor people are comparatively cheaper; I mean buttermilk, oatmeal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himself a beggar, can spare sometimes a sup or a morsel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own parish, who is disabled from work. A beggar, native of the parish, is known to the squire, to the church-minister, to the popish priest, or the conventicle teacher, as well as to every farmer; he has generally some relations able to live, and contribute something to his maintenance: none of which advantages can be reasonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull and litter of brats (if he has any) may get half their support by doing some kind of work in their power, and thereby be less burdensome to the people. In short, all necessaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars should put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But when the spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuisance to the whole country; he and his females are thieves, and teach the trade of stealing to their brood of four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a single person unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one county to another, but still with a view to this town, where he arrives at last, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder that the country squires should be very willing to send up their colonies; but why the city should be content to receive them is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charters to maintain a thousand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty per cent. a hundred miles off, than in this town, or in any of its suburbs.

There is no village in Connaught that in proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing miseries of Ireland as its capital city; to which miseries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual swarms of foreign beggars, who might be banished in a month, without expense, and with very little trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great number of street-beggars, I find some weak attempts have been made in one or two parishes to promote the wearing of badges; and my first question to those who ask an alms is, "Where is your badge?" I have, in several years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their pockets, others from under their coats, and two or three on their shoulders, only covered with a sort of capes, which they could lift up or let down upon occasion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg; and yet are too proud to be seen with a badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon such an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people whether such wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must confess this absurd insolence has so affected me, that for several years past I have not disposed of one single farthing to a street-beggar, nor intend to do so, until I see a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my brother walkers to follow my example, which most of them assure me they will do. For if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deserve charity. However, as to persons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To say the truth, there is not a more undeserving, vicious race of human kind than the bulk of those who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For as a great part of our public miseries is originally owing to our own faults, (but what those faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention,) so I am confident that, among the meaner people, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving condition did not become so by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleness, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenness, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done from those who have asked me an alms, what was their former course of life, will find them to have been servants in good families, broken tradesmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed housekeepers; but (to use their own cant) reduced by losses and crosses, by which nothing can be understood but idleness and vice.

As this is the only Christian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; so the blessing of increase and multiply is by us converted into a curse; and as marriage has been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with Christianity. It is seldom known in England that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the servant or the cottager, thinks of marrying until he has saved up a stock of money sufficient to carry on his business, nor takes a wife without a suitable portion; and as seldom fails of making a yearly addition to that stock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the case is directly contrary; where many thousand couples are yearly married, whose whole united fortunes, being the rags on their backs, would not be sufficient to purchase a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-supper, nor have any prospect of supporting their honourable state, but by service, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their happiness is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to steal, a shilling to pay their popish priest, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no

miraculous portion of wisdom would be required to find some kind of remedy against this destructive evil, or at least not to draw the consequences of it upon our decaying city, the greatest part whereof must of course in a few years become desolate or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not absolutely barbarous, parents think themselves bound by the law of nature and reason to make some provision for their children; but the reason offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying is, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old and unable to work.

I am informed that we have been for some time past extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for it seems they are grown so gracious as to transmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profess to mean real English beggars, in the literal meaning of the word, as it is usually understood by Protestants. It seems the justices of the peace and parish-officers in the western coasts of England have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their supernumerary beggars, in order to advance the English Protestant interest among us; and these they are so kind as to send over *gratis*, and duty free. I have had the honour, more than once, to attend large cargoes of them from Chester to Dublin; and I was then so ignorant as to give my opinion that our city should receive them into Bridewell, and after a month's residence, having been well whipped twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they should be returned honestly back with thanks as cheap as they came: or if that were not approved of, I proposed that, whereas one Englishman is allowed to be of equal intrinsic value with twelve born in Ireland, we should in justice return them a dozen for one, to dispose of as they please.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their several parishes. For instance: a beggar of the parish of St. Warburgh's, or any other parish here, if he be an object of compassion, has an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand: because the inhabitants, one or other, walk through every street in town, and give their alms without considering the place, wherever they think it may be well disposed of; and these helps, added to what they get in eatables, by going from house to house among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burdensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true the poor of the suburb parishes will not have altogether the same advantage, because they are not equally in the road of business and passengers; but here it is to be considered, that the beggars there have not so good a title to public charity, because most of them are strollers from the country, and compose a principal part of that great nuisance which we ought to remove. I should be apt to think, that few things can be more irksome to a city-minister than a number of beggars which do not belong to his district; whom he has no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of those to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuse to any minister of a city parish, he usually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he says, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as those beadles often keep alehouses, they find their account in such customers. This evil might easily be remedied, if the parishes would make some small addition to the salaries of beadles, and be more careful in the choice of those officers. But I conceive there is one effectual method in the power of every minister to put in practice; I mean, by making it the interest of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for, if the parish beggars were absolutely forbidden by the minister and church-officers to suffer strollers to come into the parish, upon pain of themselves not being permitted to beg alms at the church doors, or at the houses and shops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiscretion of our city shopkeepers, who suffer their doors to be daily besieged by crowds of beggars, (as the gates of a lord are by duns,) to the great disgust and vexation of many customers, who I have frequently observed to go to other shops, rather than suffer such a persecution; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infest them.

Wherefore I do assert, that the shopkeepers, who are the greatest complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every customer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when an apprentice with a horsewhip is able to lash every beggar from the shop who is not one of the parish, and does not wear the badge of that parish on his shoulder, well fastened and fairly visible; and if this practice were universal in every house to all the sturdy vagrants, we should in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants except those who have a proper title to our charity; as for the aged and infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that first endowed this hospital; and those who afterward contributed, as they were such who generally inhabited here, so they intended what they gave to be for the use of the city's poor. The revenues which have since been raised by parliament are wholly paid by the city, without the least charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original design, than to misapply those revenues on strolling beggars or bastards from the country, which bears no share in the charges we are at.

If some of the out parishes be overburdened with poor, the reason must be, that the greatest part of those poor are strollers from the country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest lodgings, and from thence infest every part of the town; out of which they ought to be whipped as a most insufferable nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual tax upon the city, which shares too deep in the public miseries, brought on us by the oppressions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our fellow-protestants, and fellow-subjects.

Some time ago I was appointed one of a committee to inquire into the state of the workhouse; where we found that a charity was bestowed by a great person for a certain time, which in its consequences operated very much to the detriment of the house; for, when the time was elapsed, all those who were supported by that charity continued on the same foot with the rest of the foundation; and being generally a pack of profligate vagabond wretches from several parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the rest; so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itself.

I know it is complained of, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city is charged upon the *bellowers*, (as they are called,) who find their accounts best in suffering those vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better salaries were given

to those who execute that office in the several parishes, and would make it their interests to clear the town of those caterpillars, rather than hazard the loss of an employment that would give them an honest livelihood. But if that should fail, yet a general resolution of never giving charity to a street-beggar out of his own parish, or without a visible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond spirit in beggars which ought to be discouraged and severely punished. It is owing to the same causes that drove them into poverty; I mean idleness, drunkenness, and rash marriages, without the least prospect of supporting a family by honest endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving bread or other food; and they have in this town been frequently seen to pour out of their pitchers good broth that has been given them into the kennel; neither do they much regard clothes unless to sell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work; they want only ale, brandy, and other strong liquors, which cannot be had without money; and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had some other thoughts to offer upon this subject. But as I am a desponder in my nature, and have tolerably well discovered the disposition of our people, who never will move a step toward easing themselves from any one single grievance, it will be thought that I have already said too much, and to little or no purpose, which has often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

SERMONS.

THOUGH the dean's first and most laudable ambition was to excel as a preacher, he frequently declared that he had not talents for it, and therefore would not publish any sermons, though often pressed by his friends to do it. He was however well attended by a crowded audience every fifth Sunday at his cathedral, when the preaching came to his turn, which was well known in Dublin; and his sermons are certainly curious, for such reasons as would make other works despicable. They were written in a careless hurrying manner, the offspring of necessity, not of choice, so that we see the original force of his genius more in these compositions, that were the legitimate sons of duty, than in other pieces, that were the natural sons of love. They were held in such low esteem in his own thoughts, that, some years before he died, he gave away the whole collection to Dr. Sheridan, with the utmost indifference. "Here," says he, "are a bundle of my old sermons; you may have them, if you please, they may be of use to you, they have never been of any to me." The parcel given to Dr. Sheridan consisted of about five and thirty sermons. Twelve of these, having come to light at different periods of time, are here collected, and a perusal of any one of them must excite a wish for those which we have not been so happy as to recover.

*** The following form of prayer, which Dr. Swift constantly used in the pulpit before his sermon, is copied from his own hand writing.

"Almighty and most merciful God! forgive us all our sins. Give us grace heartily to repent them, and to lead new lives. Graft in our hearts a true love and veneration for thy holy name and word. Make thy pastors burning and shining lights, able to convince gainsayers, and to save others and themselves. Bless this congregation here met together in thy name; grant them to hear and receive thy holy word, to the salvation of their own souls. Lastly, we desire to return thee praise and thanksgiving for all thy mercies bestowed upon us, but chiefly for the fountain of them all, JESUS CHRIST our LORD, in whose name and words we further call upon thee, saying, *Our Father*, &c."

SERMON THE FIRST.

THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING ONE'S SELF.

2 KINGS viii. PART OF THE 13TH VERSE.

And Hazael said, But what! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?

WE have a very singular instance of the deceitfulness of the heart, represented to us in the person of Hazael, who was sent to the prophet Elisha to inquire of the Lord concerning his master the king of Syria's recovery. For the man of God, having told him that the king might recover from the disorder he was then labouring under, began to set and fasten his countenance upon him of a sudden, and to break out into the most violent expressions of sorrow, and a deep concern for it; whereupon, when Hazael, full of shame and confusion, asked, "Why weepeth my lord?" He answered, "Because I know all the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel; their strongholds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child." Thus much did the man of God say and know of him, by a light darted into his mind from heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himself so well as the other did, was startled and amazed at the relation, and would not believe it possible that a man of his temper could ever run out into such enormous instances of cruelty and inhumanity. "What!" says he, "is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?"

And yet for all this it is highly probable that he was then that man he could not imagine himself to be; for we find him, on the very next day after his return, in a very treacherous and disloyal manner, murdering his own master and usurping his kingdom; which was but a prologue to the sad tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the people of Israel.

And now the case is but very little better with most men than it was with Hazael; however it cometh to pass, they are wonderfully unacquainted with their own temper and disposition, and know very little of

* "When I first gave this sermon to be published, I had some doubts whether it were genuine, for though I found it in the same parcel with three others in the dean's own hand, and there was a great similitude in the writing, yet, as some of the letters were differently cut, and the hand in general much fairer than his, I gave it to the world as dubious. But as some manuscripts of his early poems have since fallen into my hands, transcribed by Stella, I found upon comparing them that the writing was exactly the same with that of the sermon, which was therefore copied by her. Swift, in his journal to that lady, takes notice that he had been her writing master, and that there was such a strong resemblance between their hands, as gave occasion to some of his friends to rally him, upon seeing some of her letters addressed to him at the bar of the coffee-house, by asking him how long he had taken up the custom of writing letters to himself? So that I can now fairly give it to the public as one of his, and not at all unworthy of the author." The admirers of Swift, it has been justly observed, may claim for his sermons a liberal share of the approbation due to his other productions. Twelve only have been recovered by the industry of Mr. Nichols and preceding editors.

what passeth within them; for of so many proud, ambitious, revengeful, envying, and ill-natured persons that are in the world, where is there one of them, who, although he hath all the symptoms of the vice appearing upon every occasion, can look with such an impartial eye upon himself as to believe that the imputation thrown upon him is not altogether groundless and unfair? Who, if he were told by men of a discerning spirit and a strong conjecture, of all the evil and absurd things which that false heart of his would at one time or other betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much as Hazael did before him? Thus, for instance; tell an angry person that he is weak and impotent, and of no consistency of mind; tell him that such or such a little accident, which he may then despise and think much below a passion, shall hereafter make him say and do several absurd, indiscreet, and misbecoming things; he may perhaps own that he hath a spirit of resentment within him that will not let him be imposed upon, but he fondly imagines that he can lay a becoming restraint upon it when he pleaseth, although it is ever running away with him into some indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring the words of my text to our present occasion, I shall endeavour, in a further prosecution of them, to evince the great necessity of a nice and curious inspection into the several recesses of the heart, being the surest and the shortest method that a wicked man can take to reform himself; for let us but stop the fountain, and the streams will spend and waste themselves away in a very little time; but if we go about, like children, to raise a bank, and to stop the current, not taking notice all the while of the spring which continually feedeth it, when the next flood of temptation riseth and breaketh in upon it, then we shall find that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty, and that we are very little more the better for it, than if we had sat still and made no advances at all.

But in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I shall speak to these following particulars:—

First, By endeavouring to prove, from particular instances, that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself.

Secondly, By inquiring into the grounds and reasons of his ignorance.

Thirdly and *lastly*, By proposing several advantages that do most assuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves.

First, then, to prove that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself.

To pursue the heart of man through all the instances of life, in all its several windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of shapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almost impossible undertaking; so that I shall confine myself to such as have a nearer reference to the present occasion, and do upon a closer view show themselves through the whole business of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent, but whether he repenteth him truly of his sins or not, who can know it?

Now the great duty of repentance is chiefly made up of these two parts, a hearty sorrow for the follies and miscarriages of the time past, and a full purpose and resolution of amendment for the time to come. And now to show the falseness of the heart in both these parts of repentance; and,

First, As to a hearty sorrow for the sins and miscarriages of the time past. Is there a more usual thing than for a man to impose upon himself by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by casting a serere look into his past conduct, and making some few pious and devout reflections upon it; and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpose, without ever letting it step forth into practice, and show itself in a holy conversation? Nay, some persons do carry the deceit a little higher; who, if they can but bring themselves to weep for their sins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and security; never considering that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dress of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether millstone, may as well put on. For tears and sighs, however in some persons they may be decent and commendable expressions of a godly sorrow, are neither necessary nor infallible signs of a true and unfeigned repentance. Not necessary, because sometimes, and in some persons, the inward grief and anguish of the mind may be too big to be expressed by so little a thing as a tear, and then it turneth its edge inward upon the mind; and like those wounds of the body which bleed inwardly generally proves the most fatal and dangerous to the whole body of sin; not infallible, because a very small portion of sorrow may make some tender dispositions melt and break out into tears; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his sins as he would bid the last farewell to an old friend.

But there is still a more pleasant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadness and a strange kind of unaptness and indisposition to all impressions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly sorry for our sins as we should be, we then pretend to be sorry that we are not more sorry for them; which is not more absurd and irrational than that a man should pretend to be very angry at a thing because he did not know how to be angry at all.

But after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance we expect to make up in the next; and to that purpose we put on a resolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a house built upon a rock; so that let the floods arise, and the winds blow, and the streams beat vehemently upon it, nothing shall shake it into ruin or disorder. We doubt not upon the strength of this resolve to stand fast and unmoved amid the storm of a temptation; and do firmly believe at the time we make it that nothing in the world will ever be able to make us commit those sins over again which we have so firmly resolved against.

Thus many a time have we come to the sacrament of the Lord's supper with a full purpose of amendment, and with as full a persuasion of putting that same purpose into practice; and yet have we not all as often broke that purpose, and falsified that same persuasion, by starting aside like a broken bow into those very sins, which we then so solemnly and so confidently declared against?

Whereas had but any other person entered with us into a vow so solemn that he had taken the holy sacrament upon it; I believe, had he but once deceived us by breaking in upon the vow, we should hardly ever after be prevailed upon to trust that man again, although we still continue to trust our own fears against reason and against experience.

This indeed is a dangerous deceit enough, and will of course betray all those well-meaning persons into sin and folly who are apt to take religion for a much easier thing than it is. But this is not the only mistake we are apt to run into; we do not only think sometimes that we can do more than we can do, but sometimes that we are incapable of doing so much: an error of another kind indeed, but not less dangerous, arising from a diffidence and false humility. For how much a wicked man can do in the business of religion, if he would but do his best, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus nothing is more common than to see a wicked man running headlong into sin and folly, against his reason, against his religion, and against his God. Tell him that what he is going to do will be an infinite dis-

paragement to his understanding, which at another time he setteth no small value upon; tell him that it will blacken his reputation, which he had rather die for than lose; tell him that the pleasure of sin is short and transient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of sting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him that this is one of those things for which God will most surely bring him to judgment, which he pretendeth to believe with a full assurance and persuasion: and yet for all this he shutteth his eyes against all conviction, and rusheth into the sin like a horse into battle; as if he had nothing left to do but like a silly child to wink hard, and to think to escape a certain and infinite mischief only by endeavouring not to see it.

And now, to show that the heart hath given in a false report of the temptation, we may learn from this that the same weak man would resist and master the same powerful temptation upon considerations of infinitely less value than those which religion offereth, nay, such vile considerations, that the grace of God cannot without blasphemy be supposed to add any manner of force and efficacy to them. Thus for instance, it would be a hard matter to dress up a sin in such soft and tempting circumstances that a truly covetous man would not resist for a considerable sum of money; when neither the hopes of heaven nor the fears of hell could make an impression upon him before. But can anything be a surer indication of the deceitfulness of the heart than thus to show more courage, resolution, and activity in an ill cause than it doth in a good one? and to exert itself to better purpose when it is to serve its own pride, or lust, or revenge, or any other passion, than when it is to serve God upon motives of the gospel, and upon all the arguments that have ever been made use of to bring men over to religion and a good life? And thus having shown that man is wonderfully apt to deceive and impose upon himself in passing through the several stages of that great duty, repentance, I proceed now, in the

Second place, To inquire into the grounds and reasons of this ignorance, and to show whence it comes to pass that man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, should know so little of what passeth within him, and be so very much unacquainted even with the standing dispositions and complexion of his own heart. The prime reason of it is, because we so very seldom converse with ourselves, and take so little notice of what passeth within us; for a man can no more know his own heart than he can know his own face any other way than by reflection; he may as well tell over every feature of the smaller portions of his face without the help of a looking-glass, as he can tell all the inward bents and tendencies of his soul, those standing features and lineaments of the inward man, and know all the various changes that this is liable to from custom, from passion, and from opinion, without a very frequent use of looking within himself.

For our passions and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving toward their respective objects, but retire now and then into the more dark and hidden recesses of the heart, where they lie concealed for awhile until a fresh occasion calls them forth again; so that not every transient oblique glance upon the mind can bring a man into a thorough knowledge of all its strength and weaknesses; for a man may sometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itself, as he may behold his natural face in a glass, and go away, "and straight forget what manner of man he was." But a man must rather sit down and unravel every action of the past day into all its circumstances and particularities, and observe how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impression it made upon his heart; this, done with that frequency and carefulness which the importance of the duty doth require, would in a short time bring him into a nearer and more intimate acquaintance with himself.

But when men instead of this do pass away months and years in a perfect slumber of the mind, without once awaking it, it is no wonder they should be so very ignorant of themselves, and know very little more of what passeth within them than the very beasts which perish. But here it may not be amiss to inquire into the reasons why most men have so little conversation with themselves.

And, *first*, Because this reflection is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed without some pain and difficulty; for before a man can reflect upon himself, and look into his heart with a steady eye, he must contract his sight, and collect all his scattering and roving thoughts into some order and compass, that he may be able to take a clear and distinct view of them; he must retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impressions of sense; and how hard and painful a thing must it needs be to a man of passion and infirmity, amid such a crowd of objects that are continually striking upon the sense and soliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them! But,

Secondly, Another reason why we so seldom converse with ourselves is, because the business of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to spend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus 12 or 14 years pass away before we can well discern good from evil; and of the rest, so much goes away in sleep, so much in the proper business of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more serious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect sort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day; he hath a set of thoughts, desires, and inclinations, which return upon him in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aside to make room for anything new and uncommon; so that call upon him when you please, to set about the study of his own heart, and you are sure to find him pre-engaged; either he has some business to do, or some diversion to take, some acquaintance that he must visit, or some company that he must entertain, or some cross accident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for such a grave employment. And thus it cometh to pass that a man can never find leisure to look into himself, because he doth not set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose, but foolishly deferreth from one day to another, until his glass is almost run out, and he is called upon to give a miserable account of himself in the other world. But,

Thirdly, Another reason why a man doth not more frequently converse with himself is, because such conversation with his own heart may discover some vice or some infirmity lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himself guilty of. For can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man than to find that, upon a nearer view, he is not that person he took himself to be? that he had neither the courage, nor the honesty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for instance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleasure softeneth and disarmeth him into ease and wantonness? that he hath been at more pains, and labour, and cost, to be revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the best friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himself to say his prayers, without a great deal of reluctancy; and when he doth say them, the spirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very short time, and he can scarcely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a

number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked, thoughts coming into his head? These are very unwelcome discoveries that a man may make of himself; so that it is no wonder that every one who is already flushed with a good opinion of himself, should rather study how to run away from it, than how to converse with his own heart.

But further, if a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose; yet he is still disabled from passing a fair and impartial judgment upon himself, by several difficulties, arising partly from prejudice and prepossession, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations. And,

First, That the business of prepossession may lead and betray a man into a false judgment of his own heart. For we may observe, that the first opinion we take up of anything or any person doth generally stick close to us; the nature of the mind being such that it cannot but desire, and consequently endeavour, to have some certain principles to go upon, something fixed and unmovable, whereon it may rest and support itself. And hence it cometh to pass that some persons are with so much difficulty brought to think well of a man they have once entertained an ill opinion of; and, perhaps, that too for a very absurd and unwarrantable reason. But how much more difficult then must it be for a man, who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart long before he hath either years or sense enough to understand it, either to be persuaded out of it by himself, whom he loveth so well, or by another, whose interest or diversion it may be to make him ashamed of himself! Then,

Secondly, As to the difficulties arising from the inferior appetites and inclinations; let any man look into his own heart, and observe in how different a light and under what different complexions any two sins of equal turpitude and malignity do appear to him, if he hath but a strong inclination to the one and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to is always dressed up in all the false beauty that a fond and busy imagination can give it; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumstances of folly and dishonour. Thus, stealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to; and they justly think it below the dignity of a man to stoop to so base and low a sin; but no principle of honour, no workings of the mind and conscience, not the still voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any considerations whatever, can put a stop to that violence and oppression, that pride and ambition, that revelling and wantonness, which we every day meet with in the world. Nay, it is easy to observe very different thoughts in a man of the sin that he is most fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For as soon as the appetite is alarmed, and seizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and spreadeth a kind of darkness over the face of the soul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and distinct view of things; but no sooner is the appetite tired and satiated, but the same cloud passeth away like a shadow, and a new light springing up in the mind of a sudden, the man seeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of sin, than he did before.

And thus having done with the several reasons why man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, is so very ignorant of what passeth within him, and so much unacquainted with the standing dispositions and complexions of his own heart: I proceed now, in the

Third and last place, to lay down several advantages, that do most assuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves. And,

First, One great advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a man into a modest and low opinion of himself. For let a man take a nice and curious inspection into all the several regions of the heart, and observe everything irregular and amiss within him: for instance, how narrow and short-sighted a thing is the understanding! upon how little reason do we take up an opinion, and upon how much less sometimes do we lay it down again! how weak and false ground do we often walk upon, with the biggest confidence and assurance! and how tremulous and doubtful are we very often where no doubt is to be made! Again, how wild and impertinent, how busy and incoherent a thing is the imagination, even in the best and wisest men; insomuch, that every man may be said to be mad, but every man doth not show it. Then as to the passions, how noisy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous are they! how easy they are stirred and set a-going, how eager and hot in the pursuit, and what strange disorder and confusion do they throw a man into; so that he can neither think, nor speak, nor act as he should do, while he is under the dominion of any one of them.

Thus, let every man look with a severe and impartial eye into all the distinct regions of the heart, and no doubt several deformities and irregularities that he never thought of will open and disclose themselves upon so near a view, and rather make the man ashamed of himself than proud.

Secondly, A due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves doth certainly secure us from the sly and insinuating assaults of flattery. There is not in the world a baser and more hateful thing than flattery: it proceedeth from so much falseness and insincerity in the man that giveth it, and often discovereth so much weakness and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is most to be blamed. Every man of common sense can demonstrate in speculation, and may be fully convinced that all the praises and commendations of the whole world can add no more to the real and intrinsic value of a man, than they can add to his stature. And yet for all this, men of the best sense and piety, when they come down to the practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themselves, when they have the good fortune to be spoken well of by other persons.

But the meaning of this absurd proceeding seemeth to be no other than this: there are few men that have so intimate an acquaintance with their own hearts as to know their own real worth, and how to set a just rate upon themselves, and therefore they do not know but that he who praises them most may be most in the right of it. For no doubt, if a man were ignorant of the true value of a thing he loved as well as himself, he would measure the worth of it according to the esteem of him who biddeth most for it, rather than of him that biddeth less.

Therefore, the most infallible way to disentangle a man from the snares of flattery is, to consult and study his own heart; for whoever does that well, will hardly be so absurd as to take another man's word before his own sense and experience.

Thirdly, Another advantage from this kind of study is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave himself patiently when he has the ill fortune to be censured and abused by other people. For a man who is thoroughly acquainted with his own heart, doth already know more evil of himself than anybody else can tell him; and when any one speaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God that he can say no worse; for could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden recesses of the heart, he considereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there see brooding and hovering like a dark cloud upon the face of the soul; that there he might take a prospect of the fancy, and view it

acting over the several scenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of lust, and revenge; that there he might tell how often a vicious inclination hath been restrained, for no other reason, but just to save the man's credit or interest in the world; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the composition of his best actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear so severe a test? to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open and exposed to the views of his enemies? But,

Fourthly, and lastly, Another advantage of this kind is, that it maketh men less severe upon other people's faults, and less busy and industrious in spreading them. For a man employed at home inspecting into his own failings, hath no leisure to take notice of every little spot and blemish that lieth scattered upon others; or, if he cannot escape the sight of them, he always passes the most easy and favourable construction upon them. Thus for instance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and constitution of body? he then considereth with himself how hard a thing it is, not to be borne down with the current of the blood and spirits; and accordingly layeth some part of the blame upon the weakness of human nature, for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breast; although perhaps, in another instance, he remembereth how it rageth and swelleth by opposition; and although it may be restrained or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally subdued.

Or, has the man sinned out of custom? he then from his own experience, traceth a habit into the very first rise and imperfect beginnings of it; and can tell by how slow and insensible advances it creepeth upon the heart; how it worketh itself by degrees into the very frame and texture of it, and so passeth into a second nature; and consequently he hath a just sense of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accustomed to do evil.

Or, lastly, hath a false opinion betrayed him into a sin? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehensions he hath made of some things himself, how many opinions that he once made no doubt of, he hath upon a stricter examination found to be doubtful and uncertain; how many more to be unreasonable and absurd. He knoweth further, that there are a great many more opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he still believeth, for no other reason but because he hath believed them so long already without a reason.

Thus, upon every occasion, a man intimately acquainted with himself consulteth his own heart, and maketh every man's case to be his own, and so puts the most favourable interpretation upon it. Let every man therefore look into his own heart before he beginneth to abuse the reputation of another; and then he will hardly be so absurd as to throw a dart that will so certainly rebound and wound himself. And thus, through the whole course of his conversation, let him keep an eye upon that one great comprehensive rule of Christian duty, on which hangeth, not only the law and the prophets, but the very life and spirit of the gospel too: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Which rule that we may all duly observe, by throwing aside all scandal and detraction, all spite and rancour, all rudeness and contempt, all rage and violence, and whatever tendeth to make conversation and commerce either uneasy or troublesome, may the God of peace grant, for Jesus Christ his sake, &c.

Consider what hath been said; and the Lord give you a right understanding in all things. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

SERMON THE SECOND.

ON THE TRINITY.*

FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF JOHN, V. 7.

For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these Three are One.

This day being set apart to acknowledge our belief in the eternal Trinity, I thought it might be proper to employ my present discourse entirely upon that subject; and I hope to handle it in such a manner, that the most ignorant among you may return home better informed of your duty in this great point, than probably you are at present.

It must be confessed that, by the weakness and indiscretion of busy, or at best, of well-meaning people, as well as by the malice of those who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to possess their own infidelity in silence, without communicating it, to the disturbance of mankind; I say, by these means, it must be confessed that the doctrine of the Trinity hath suffered very much, and made Christianity suffer along with it. For these two things must be granted: first, that men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Christianity at all; and, secondly, if they can pick out any one single article in the Christian religion, which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reason, or to the arguments of those bad people who follow the trade of seducing others, they presently conclude that the truth of the whole gospel must sink along with that one article. Which is just as wise as if a man should say, because he dislikes one law of his country, he will therefore observe no law at all; and yet that one law may be very reasonable in itself, although he does not allow it, or does not know the reason of the lawgivers.

Thus it hath happened with the great doctrine of the Trinity; which word is indeed not in the Scripture, but was a term of art invented in the earlier times to express the doctrine by a single word, for the sake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine then, as delivered in holy Scripture, though not exactly in the same words, is very short, and amounts only to this: that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are each of them God, and yet there is but one God. For as to the word person, when we say there are three persons; and as to those other explanations in the Athanasian Creed, this day read to you, (whether compiled by Athanasius or not,) they were taken up three hundred years after Christ to expound this doctrine; and I will tell you upon what occasion. About that time there sprang up a heresy of people called Arians, from one Arius, the leader of them. These denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the rest of the gospel; wherein they were more sincere than their followers among us. Thus the Christian world was divided into two parts; till at length, by the zeal and courage of St. Athanasius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true

* Of this discourse Lord Orrery writes thus: "It is indeed a sermon, and one of the best of its kind. The mysterious parts of our religion are apt to have dreadful effects upon weak minds. The general comments upon the sacred writings, and the several sermons upon the most abstruse points of Scripture, are too often composed to the gloomy style. Damnation, eternal damnation, is placed with all its horror before our eyes: and we are so terrified at the prospect, that fear makes us imagine we can comprehend mysteries, which, on this side of the grave, must be for ever denied to limited understandings. Swift has taken the safest and properest method of expounding these *arcana*. He advances every position that can be established upon so incomprehensible a subject. He sustains the belief, avows the doctrine, and adapts the matter of faith, as well as possible, to the human capacity. His manner of reasoning is masterly, and his arguments are nervous."

faith, as St. Athanasius hath settled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches, which, although it is useful for edification to those who understand it, yet, since it contains some nice and philosophical points which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the Scripture doctrine, as I have already delivered it; because that creed was intended only as an answer to the Arians, in their own way, who were very subtle disputers.

But this heresy having revived in the world about a hundred years ago, and continued ever since; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a loose to wickedness by throwing off all religion; several divines, in order to answer the cavils of those adversaries to truth and morality, began to find out further explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity by rules of philosophy; which have multiplied controversies to such a degree, as to beget scruples that have perplexed the minds of many sober Christians, who otherwise could never have entertained them.

I must therefore be bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of those learned men to defend the doctrine of the Trinity hath been founded upon a mistake.

It must be allowed that every man is bound to follow the rules and directions of that measure of reason which God hath given him; and indeed he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere, or act like a man. For instance: if I should be commanded by an angel from heaven to believe it is midnight at noonday, yet I could not believe him. So if I were directly told in Scripture that three are one, and one is three, I could not conceive or believe it in the natural common sense of that expression, but must suppose that something dark or mystical was meant, which it pleased God to conceal from me and from all the world. Thus in the text, "There are Three that bear record, &c." Am I capable of knowing and defining what union and what distinction there may be in the divine nature, which possibly may be hid from the angels themselves? Again, I see it plainly declared in Scripture, that there is but one God; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God in knowing men's thoughts, in saying, "He and his Father are one;" and "before Abraham was, I am." I read that the disciples worshipped him; that Thomas said to him, "My Lord and my God;" and St. John, chap. i., "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." I read likewise, that the Holy Ghost bestowed the power of working miracles and the gift of tongues, which, if rightly considered, is as great a miracle as any,—that a number of illiterate men should of a sudden be qualified to speak all the languages then known in the world—such as could be done by the inspiration of God alone. From these several texts, it is plain that God commands us to believe that there is a union, and there is a distinction; but what that union or what that distinction is, all mankind are equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the day of judgment, without some new revelation.

But because I cannot conceive the nature of this union and distinction in the divine nature, am I therefore to reject them as absurd and impossible, as I would if any one told me that three men are one, and one man is three? We are told that a man and his wife are one flesh; this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet literally taken it is a thing impossible. But the apostle tells us, "We see but in part, and we know but in part;" and yet we would comprehend all the secret ways and workings of God.

Therefore I shall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity as it is positively affirmed in Scripture: that God is there expressed in three different names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghost: that each of these is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and distinction are a mystery utterly unknown to mankind.

This is enough for any good Christian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any further. And this can be contrary to no man's reason, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty of great importance among those who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with several other articles of Christianity, which is, that our religion abounds in mysteries; and these they are so bold as to revile as cant, imposture, and priestcraft. It is impossible for us to determine for what reasons God thought fit to communicate some things to us in part, and leave some part a mystery: but so it is in fact, and so the holy Scriptures tell us in several places. For instance: the resurrection and change of our bodies are called mysteries by St. Paul; and our Saviour's incarnation is another: the kingdom of God is called a mystery by our Saviour to be only known to his disciples; so is faith, and the word of God, by St. Paul. I omit many others. So that to declare against all mysteries, without distinction or exception, is to declare against the whole tenour of the New Testament.

There are two conditions that may bring a mystery under suspicion. First, when it is not taught and commanded in holy writ; or secondly, when the mystery turns to the advantage of those who preach it to others. Now, as to the first, it can never be said that we preach mysteries without warrant from holy Scripture, although I confess this of the Trinity may have sometimes been explained by human invention, which might perhaps better have been spared. As to the second, it will not be possible to charge the protestant priesthood with proposing any temporal advantage to themselves by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of mysteries. Does this mystery of the Trinity, for instance, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, bring the least profit or power to the preachers? No, it is as great a mystery to themselves as it is to the meanest of their hearers; and may be rather a cause of humiliation, by putting their understanding in that point upon a level with the most ignorant of their flock. It is true, indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herself by trading in mysteries, for which they have not the least authority from Scripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur; such as transubstantiation, the worshipping of images, indulgences for sins, purgatory, and masses for the dead, with many more. But it is the perpetual talent of those who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedness of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of popery, which all protestants have thrown off near two hundred years: whereas those mysteries held by us have no prospect of power, pomp, or wealth, but have been ever maintained by the universal body of true believers from the days of the apostles, and will be so to the resurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail against them.

It may be thought perhaps a strange thing that God should require us to believe mysteries, while the reason or manner of what we are to believe is above our comprehension and wholly concealed from us: neither doth it appear at first sight, that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodness or wickedness of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous mistake. We see what a mighty weight is laid upon faith, both in the Old and New Testament. In the former, we read how the faith of Abraham is praised, who could believe

that God would raise from him a great nation, at the very time that he was commanded to sacrifice his only son, and despaired of any other issue: and this was to him a great mystery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his disciples, or reproaching them with the want of it: and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reasonable: for faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the justice, and the mercy of God; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith consists in the consequence it hath upon our actions: as, if we depend upon the truth and wisdom of a man, we shall certainly be more disposed to follow his advice. Therefore let no man think that he can lead as good a moral life without faith as with it; for this reason, because he who hath no faith cannot, by the strength of his own reason or endeavours, so easily resist temptations as the other, who depends upon God's assistance in the overcoming of his frailties, and is sure to be rewarded for ever in heaven for his victory over them. "Faith," says the apostle, "is the evidence of things not seen:" he means, that faith is a virtue by which anything commanded us by God to believe appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see, nor can conceive it; because by faith we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true distinction, that things may be above our reason, without being contrary to it. Of this kind are the power, the nature, and the universal presence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do those who quarrel with mysteries know of the commonest actions of nature! The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the smallest seed, is a mystery to the wisest among men. If an ignorant person were told that a loadstone would draw iron at a distance, he might say it was a thing contrary to his reason, and could not believe before he saw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the soul and body are united, and how they are distinguished, is wholly unaccountable to us. We see but one part, and yet we know we consist of two; and this is a mystery we cannot comprehend any more than that of the Trinity.

From what hath been said, it is manifest that God did never command us to believe, nor his ministers to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reason he hath pleased to endow us with, but, for his own wise ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he commands; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increase our dependence upon him.

It is highly probable that if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the Trinity, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would, at the same time, think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal. "For now," as the apostle says, "we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face."

Thus, we see, the matter is brought to this issue: we must either believe what God directly commands us in holy Scripture, or we must wholly reject the Scripture, and the Christian religion, which we pretend to profess. But this, I profess, is too desperate a step for any of us to make.

I have already observed, that those who preach up the belief of the Trinity, or of any other mystery, cannot propose any temporal advantage to themselves by so doing. But this is not the case of those who oppose these doctrines. Do they lead better moral lives than a good Christian? are they more just in their dealings? more chaste, or temperate, or charitable? Nothing at all of this; but, on the contrary, their intent is to overthrow all religion, that they may gratify their vices without any reproach from the world or their own conscience, and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own opinions; because it is some kind of imaginary comfort to have a multitude on their side.

There is no miracle mentioned in holy writ which, if it were strictly examined, is not as much contrary to common reason, and as much a mystery as this doctrine of the Trinity; and therefore we may with equal justice deny the truth of them all. For instance: it is against the laws of nature that a human body should be able to walk upon the water, as St. Peter is recorded to have done; or that a dead carcase should be raised from the grave after three days, when it began to corrupt; which those who understand anatomy will pronounce to be impossible by the common rules of nature and reason. Yet these miracles, and many others, are positively affirmed in the gospel; and these we must believe, or give up our holy religion to atheists and infidels.

I shall now make a few inferences and observations upon what has been said.

First, It would be well if people would not lay so much weight on their own reason, in matters of religion, as to think everything impossible and absurd which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reason in the whole course of our lives! Reason itself is true and just, but the reason of every particular man is weak and wavering, perpetually swayed and turned by his interests, his passions, and his vices. Let any man but consider when he hath a controversy with another, though his cause be ever so unjust, though the whole world be against him, how blinded he is by the love of himself, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right use of his reason, which he so much boasts of, and which he would blasphemously set up to control the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the mysteries of religion, let them examine and search into their own hearts, whether they have not some favourite sin, which is of their party in this dispute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the gospel. For why do men love darkness rather than light? The Scripture tells us, "because their deeds are evil;" and there can be no other reason assigned. Therefore, when men are curious and inquisitive to discover some weak sides in Christianity, and inclined to favour everything that is offered to its disadvantage, it is plain they wish it were not true; and those wishes can proceed from nothing but an evil conscience; because, if there be truth in our religion, their condition must be miserable.

And therefore, *thirdly*, Men should consider that raising difficulties concerning the mysteries in religion cannot make them more wise, learned, or virtuous; better neighbours or friends, or more serviceable to their country; but, whatever they pretend, will destroy their inward peace of mind by perpetual doubts and fears arising in their breasts. And God forbid we should ever see the times so bad, when dangerous opinions in religion will be a means to get favour and preferment; although, even in such a case, it would be an ill traffic to gain the world and lose our own souls. So that, upon the whole, it will be impossible to find any real use toward a virtuous or happy life by denying the mysteries of the gospel.

Fourthly, Those strong unbelievers, who expect that all mysteries should be squared and fitted to their own reason, might have somewhat to say for themselves, if they could satisfy the general reason of mankind in their opinions; but herein they are miserably defective, absurd, and ridiculous; they strain at a gnat and

swallow a camel; they can believe that the world was made by chance; that God doth not concern himself with things below; will neither punish vice nor reward virtue; that religion was invented by cunning men to keep the world in awe; with many other opinions, equally false and detestable, against the common light of nature as well as reason; against the universal sentiments of all civilized nations, and offensive to the ears even of a sober heathen.

Lastly, Since the world abounds with pestilent books particularly written against this doctrine of the Trinity, it is fit to inform you, that the authors of them proceed wholly upon a mistake: they would show how impossible it is that three can be one, and one can be three; whereas the Scripture saith no such thing, at least in that manner they would make it; but only that there is some kind of unity and distinction in the divine nature which mankind cannot possibly comprehend; thus the whole doctrine is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy: since God himself hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner. And therefore many divines, who thought fit to answer those wicked books, have been mistaken too by answering fools in their folly, and endeavouring to explain a mystery which God intended to keep secret from us. And as I would exhort all men to avoid reading those wicked books written against this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious; so I think they may omit the answers, as unnecessary. This, I confess, will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themselves with books, at least of this kind. However, many who do not read themselves are seduced by others that do, and thus become unbelievers upon trust and at secondhand; and this is too frequent a case: for which reason, I have endeavoured to put this doctrine upon a short and sure foot, levelled to the meanest understanding; by which we may, as the apostle directs, be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear.

And thus I have done with my subject, which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the occasion of this season, appointed on purpose to celebrate the mysteries of the Trinity and the descent of the Holy Ghost, wherein we pray to be kept stedfast in this faith; and what this faith is, I have shown you in the plainest manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this: God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not understand. And this is no more than what we do every day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith we can do no works acceptable to God; for if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our salvation; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire without giving up our senses, or contradicting our reason. May God of his infinite mercy inspire us with true faith in every article and mystery of our holy religion, so as to dispose us to do what is pleasing in his sight; and this we pray through Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the mysterious, incomprehensible ONE GOD, be all honour and glory now and for evermore! *Amen.*

SERMON THE THIRD

ON MUTUAL SUBJECTION.

I PETER, v. 5. *Yea, all of you, be subject one to another.*

THE apostle having, in many parts of this epistle, given directions to Christians concerning the duty of subjection or obedience to superiors; in the several instances of the subject to the prince, the child to his parent, the servant to his master, the wife to her husband, and the younger to the elder; doth here, in the words of my text, sum up the whole, by advancing a point of doctrine, which at first may appear a little extraordinary; "Yea, all of you," saith he, "be subject one to another." For it should seem that two persons cannot properly be said to be subject to each other, and that subjection is only due from inferiors to those above them: yet St. Paul hath several passages to the same purpose. For he exhorts the Romans, "in honour to prefer one another;" and the Philippians, "that in lowliness of mind they should each esteem other better than themselves;" and the Ephesians, "that they should submit themselves one to another in the fear of the Lord." Here we find these two great apostles recommending to all Christians this duty of mutual subjection. For we may observe, by St. Peter, that having mentioned the several relations which men bear to each other, as governor and subject, master and servant, and the rest which I have already repeated, he makes no exception, but sums up the whole with commanding "all to be subject one to another." Whence we may conclude, that this subjection, due from all men to all men, is something more than the compliment of course, when our betters are pleased to tell us they are our humble servants, but understand us to be their slaves.

I know very well that some of those who explain this text apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities; and it is probable the apostle may have had a regard to all these. But however many learned men agree, that there is something more understood, and so the words in their plain natural meaning must import; as you will observe yourselves, if you read them with the beginning of the verse, which is thus: "Likewise, ye younger submit yourselves unto the elder; yea, all of you be subject one to another." So that, upon the whole, there must be some kind of subjection due from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatsoever. Now what sort of subjection this is, and how it ought to be paid, shall be the subject of my present discourse.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be useful, and in some manner a support to each other, by which the whole frame of the world under his providence is preserved and kept up; so among mankind our particular stations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our power reacheth, toward the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform that part assigned him toward advancing the benefit of the whole in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only a useless, but a very mischievous member of the public; because he takes the share of the profit and yet leaves his share of the burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal cause of most miseries and misfortunes in life. For a wise man who does not assist with his counsels; a great man with his protection; a rich man with his bounty and charity; and a poor man with his labour; are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a respecter of persons, which he assures us he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are

[a] "A clearer style, or a discourse more properly adapted to a public audience, can scarce be framed. Every paragraph is simple, nervous, and intelligible."—*Orrery.*

usually more defective in both than thousands of their subjects. They depend for every necessary of life upon the meanest of their people: besides, obedience and subjection were never enjoined by God to humour the passions, lusts, and vanities of those who demand them from us; but we are commanded to obey our governors, because disobedience would breed seditions in the state. Thus servants are directed to obey their masters, children their parents, and wives their husbands; not from any respect of persons in God, but because otherwise there would be nothing but confusion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained by considering the comparison which St. Paul makes between the church of Christ and the body of man: for the same resemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. "The eye," saith he, "cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the hand to the foot, I have no need of thee. Nay much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary: and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it." The case is directly the same among mankind. The prince cannot say to the merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay much more, those members which seem to be more feeble are necessary; for the poor are generally more necessary members of the commonwealth than the rich: which clearly shows, that God never intended such possessions for the sake and service of those to whom he lends them; but because he hath assigned every man his particular station to be useful in life, and this for the reason given by the apostle, "that there may be no schism in the body."

From hence may partly be gathered the nature of that subjection which we all owe to one another. God Almighty hath been pleased to put us into an imperfect state, where we have perpetual occasion of each other's assistance. There is none so low, as not to be in a capacity of assisting the highest; nor so high, as not to want the assistance of the lowest.

It plainly appears, from what hath been said, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the sight of God, further than according to the goodness or holiness of their lives; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages are so far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring those on whom they are bestowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleased to suffer them to be almost engrossed by those who have least title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himself, you will observe that, in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot subsist without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without subjects, nor a master without servants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the doctrine of the text: for where there is a mutual dependence there must be a mutual duty, and consequently a mutual subjection. For instance, the subject must only obey the prince, because God commands it, human laws require it, and the safety of the public makes it necessary; for the same reasons we must obey all that are in authority, and submit ourselves not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward, whether they rule according to our liking or no. On the other side, in those countries that pretend to freedom, princes are subject to those laws which their people have chosen; they are bound to protect their subjects in liberty, property, and religion, to receive their petitions, and redress their grievances; so that the best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation; not only a servant to the public in general, but in some sort to every man in it. In the like manner, a servant owes obedience, and diligence, and faithfulness to his master; from whom at the same time he hath a just demand for protection, and maintenance, and gentle treatment. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a just demand of an alms from the rich man, who is guilty of fraud, injustice, and oppression, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

But this subjection we all owe one to another is nowhere more necessary than in the common conversations of life; for without it there could be no society among men. If the learned would not sometimes submit to the ignorant, the wise to the simple, the gentle to the froward, the old to the weaknesses of the young, there would be nothing but everlasting variance in the world. This our Saviour himself confirmed by his own example; for he appeared in the form of a servant, and washed his disciples' feet, adding those memorable words: "Ye call me Lord and Master, and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, wash your feet, how much more ought ye to wash one another's feet?" Under which expression of washing the feet is included all that subjection, assistance, love, and duty, which every good Christian ought to pay his brother, in whatever station God hath placed him. For the greatest prince and the meanest slave are not, by infinite degrees, so distant as our Saviour and those disciples whose feet he vouchsafed to wash.

And although this doctrine of subjecting ourselves to one another may seem to grate upon the pride and vanity of mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digested by those who value themselves upon their greatness or their wealth, yet it is really no more than what most men practise upon other occasions. For, if our neighbour, who is our inferior, comes to see us, we rise to receive him, we place him above us, and respect him, as if he were better than ourselves: and this is thought both decent and necessary, and is usually called good manners. Now, the duty required by the apostle is only that we should enlarge our minds, and that what we thus practise in the common course of life we should imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatsoever; since our Saviour tells us that every man is our neighbour, and since we are so ready, in the point of civility, to yield to others in our own houses, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus shown you what sort of subjection it is which all men owe one to another, and in what manner it ought to be paid, I shall now draw some observations from what hath been said.

And, *first*, A thorough practice of this duty of subjecting ourselves to the wants and infirmities of each other would utterly extinguish in us the vice of pride.

For, if God has pleased to entrust me with a talent, not for my own sake, but for the service of others, and at the same time hath left me full of wants and necessities which others must supply, I can then have no cause to set any extraordinary value upon myself, or to despise my brother, because he hath not the same talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as useful to the public as mine; and therefore, by the rules of right reason, I am in no sort preferable to him.

Secondly, It is very manifest from what has been said that no man ought to look upon the advantages of life, such as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a trust which God hath deposited with him to be employed for the use of his brethren; and God will certainly punish the breach of that trust, though the laws of man will not, or rather, indeed, cannot, because the trust was conferred only by God, who has not left it to any power on earth to decide infallibly whether a man makes a good use of

his talents or no, or to punish him where he fails. And therefore God seems to have more particularly taken this matter into his own hands, and will most certainly reward or punish us, in proportion to our good or ill performance in it. Now, although the advantages which one possesseth more than another may, in some sense, be called his property with respect to other men, yet, with respect to God, they are, as I said, only a trust, which will plainly appear from hence: if a man does not use those advantages to the good of the public, or the benefit of his neighbour, it is certain he doth not deserve them, and, consequently, that God never intended them for a blessing to him; and, on the other side, whoever does employ his talents as he ought, will find, by his own experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the service of others; for to the service of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly, If we could all be brought to practise this duty of subjecting ourselves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general happiness of mankind; for this would root out envy and malice from the heart of man; because you cannot envy your neighbour's strength, if he make use of it to defend your life, or carry your burden; you cannot envy his wisdom, if he give you good counsel; nor his riches, if he supply you in your wants; nor his greatness, if he employ it to your protection. The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things; but God Almighty, the great King of Heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, although perhaps intending well themselves, have often most abominable ministers and stewards; and those generally the vilest, to whom they entrust the most talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world see by other men's eyes, but God sees all things; and, therefore, whenever he permits his blessings to be dealt among those who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude that he intends them only as a punishment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well if those would consider this whose riches serve them only as a spur to avarice, or as an instrument to their lusts; whose wisdom is only of this world, to put false colours upon things, to call good evil and evil good, against the conviction of their own consciences; and, lastly, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppression or injustice, in misrepresenting persons and things, or in countenancing the wicked, to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, The practice of this duty of being subject to one another, would make us rest contented in the several stations of life wherein God hath thought fit to place us; because it would, in the best and easiest manner, bring us back as it were to that early state of the gospel when Christians had all things in common. For if the poor found the rich disposed to supply their wants; if the ignorant found the wise ready to instruct and direct them; or if the weak might always find protection from the mighty; they could none of them, with the least pretence of justice, lament their own condition.

From all that hath been hitherto said, it appears that great abilities of any sort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful servants to their neighbour and the public: however, we are by no means to conclude from hence that they are not really blessings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, first, what can be a greater honour than to be chosen one of the stewards and dispensers of God's bounty to mankind? What is there that can give a generous spirit more pleasure and complacency of mind, than to consider that he is an instrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him, under God, their subsistence, their safety, their health, and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedest man upon earth takes a pleasure in doing good to those he loves; and therefore, surely, a good Christian, who obeys our Saviour's command of having all men, cannot but take delight in doing good even to his enemies. God, who gives all things to all men, can receive nothing from any; and those among men who do the most good, and receive the fewest returns, do most resemble their Creator: for which reason St. Paul delivers it as a saying of our Saviour, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." By this rule, what must become of those things which the world values as the greatest blessings—riches, power, and the like—when our Saviour plainly determines that the best way to make them blessings is to part with them? Therefore, although the advantages which one man hath over another may be called blessings, yet they are by no means so in the sense the world usually understands. Thus, for example, great riches are no blessing in themselves; because the poor man with the common necessaries of life enjoys more health, and has fewer cares, without them. How, then, do they become blessings? No otherwise than by being employed in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, rewarding worthy men, and, in short, doing acts of charity and generosity. Thus, likewise, power is no blessing in itself, because private men bear less envy, and trouble, and anguish without it. But when it is employed to protect the innocent, to relieve the oppressed, and to punish the oppressor, then it becomes a great blessing.

And so, lastly, even great wisdom is, in the opinion of Solomon, not a blessing in itself; for "in much wisdom is much sorrow;" and men of common understanding, if they serve God and mind their callings, make fewer mistakes in the conduct of life than those who have better heads. And yet wisdom is a mighty blessing when it is applied to good purposes, to instruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counsellor either in public or private, to be a director to youth, and to many other ends needless here to mention.

To conclude: God sent us into the world to obey his commands, by doing as much good as our abilities will reach, and as little evil as our many infirmities will permit. Some he hath only trusted with one talent, some with five, and some with ten. No man is without his talent; and he that is faithful or negligent in a little shall be rewarded or punished, as well as he that hath been so in a great deal.

Consider what has been said; and the Lord give you a right understanding in all things. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

SERMON THE FOURTH,

ON THE TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE.

2 CORINTHIANS i. 12.

For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience.

THERE is no word more frequently in the mouths of men than that of conscience, and the meaning of it is, in some measure, generally understood: however, because it is likewise a word extremely abused by many people, who apply other meanings to it which God Almighty never intended, I shall explain it to you in the clearest manner I am able. The word conscience properly signifies that knowledge which a man hath within himself of his own thoughts and actions. And because if a man judgeth fairly of his own actions by comparing them with the law of God, his mind will either approve or condemn him, according as he has

done good or evil; therefore this knowledge, or conscience, may properly be called both an accuser and a judge. So that, whenever our conscience accuseth us, we are certainly guilty; but we are not always innocent when it doth not accuse us: for very often, through the hardness of our hearts, or the fondness and favour we bear to ourselves, or through ignorance or neglect, we do not suffer our conscience to take any cognizance of several sins we commit. There is another office likewise belonging to conscience, which is that of being our director and guide; and the wrong use of this hath been the occasion of more evils under the sun than almost all other causes put together. For, as conscience is nothing else but the knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing, so it can guide us no further than that knowledge reacheth: and, therefore, God hath placed conscience in us to be our director only in those actions which Scripture and reason plainly tell us to be good or evil. But in cases too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there conscience is not concerned; because it cannot advise in what it doth not understand, nor decide where it is itself in doubt: but, by God's great mercy, those difficult points are never of absolute necessity to our salvation. There is likewise another evil, that men often say a thing is against their conscience when really it is not. For instance: ask any of those who differ from the worship established, why they do not come to church? they will say they dislike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like; and therefore it goes against their conscience. But they are mistaken, their teacher hath put those words into their mouths; for a man's conscience can go no higher than his knowledge; and therefore, till he has thoroughly examined by Scripture, and the practice of the ancient church, whether those points are blamable or no, his conscience cannot possibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewise arisen those mistakes about what is usually called liberty of conscience; which, properly speaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts, which liberty no one can take from us. But those words have obtained quite different meanings: liberty of conscience is now-a-days not only understood to be the liberty of believing what men please, but also of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already established, and to be rewarded by the public for those wicked endeavours: and this is the liberty of conscience which the fanatics are now openly, in the face of the world, endeavouring at with their utmost application. At the same time, it cannot but be observed, that those very persons, who, under pretence of a public spirit and tenderness toward their Christian brethren, are so zealous for such a liberty of conscience as this, are, of all others, the least tender to those who differ from them in the smallest point relating to government; and I wish I could not say that the majesty of the living God may be offended with more security than the memory of a dead prince. But the wisdom of the world, at present, seems to agree with that of the heathen emperor, who said, if the gods were offended, it was their own concern, and they were able to vindicate themselves.

But although conscience hath been abused to those wicked purposes which I have already related, yet a due regard to the directions it plainly gives us, as well as to its accusations, reproaches, and advices, would be of the greatest use to mankind, both for their present welfare and future happiness.

Therefore my discourse at this time shall be directed to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation for virtue but on a conscience which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I shall first show you the weakness and uncertainty of two false principles, which many people set up in the place of conscience for a guide to their actions.

The first of these principles is, what the world usually calls moral honesty. There are some people who appear very indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being just and fair in their dealings; and these are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of such a man's actions, you shall find them to be no other than his own ease and interest. For example: you trust a moral man with your money in the way of trade, you trust another with the defence of your cause at law, and perhaps they both deal justly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for justice, but because their fortune depends upon their credit, and a stain of open public dishonesty must be to their disadvantage. But let it consist with such a man's interest and safety to wrong you, and then it will be impossible you can have any hold upon him; because there is nothing left to give him a check, or put in the balance against his profit. For if he hath nothing to govern himself by but the opinion of the world, as long as he can conceal his injustice from the world he thinks he is safe.

Besides, it is found by experience that those men who set up for morality without regard to religion are generally virtuous but in part: they will be just in their dealings between man and man; but if they find themselves disposed to pride, lust, intemperance, or avarice, they do not think their morality concerned to check them in any of these vices; because it is the great rule of such men that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, wherever their safety, health, and fortune are not injured. So that upon the whole, there is hardly one vice, which a mere moral man may not, upon some occasions, allow himself to practise.

The other false principle, which some men set up in the place of conscience to be their director in life, is what those who pretend to it call honour.

This word is often made the sanction of an oath; it is reckoned a great commendation to be a man of strict honour; and it is commonly understood that a man of honour can never be guilty of a base action. This is usually the style of military men, of persons with titles, and of others who pretend to birth and quality. It is true indeed that in ancient times it was universally understood that honour was the reward of virtue; but if such honour as is now-a-days going will not permit a man to do a base action, it must be allowed there are few such things as base actions in nature. No man of honour, as that word is usually understood, did ever pretend that his honour obliged him to be chaste or temperate, to pay his creditors, to be useful to his country, to do good to mankind, to endeavour to be wise or learned, to regard his word, his promise, or his oath: or if he hath any of these virtues, they were never learned in the catechism of honour; which contains but two precepts, the punctual payment of debts contracted at play, and the right understanding the several degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary.

But suppose this principle of honour, which some men so much boast of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to; yet, since the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example: suppose a man from a principle of honour should resolve to be just, or chaste, or temperate, and yet the censuring world should take a humour of refusing him those characters, he would then think the

obligation at an end. Or, on the other side, if he thought he could gain honour by the falsest and vilest action, (which is a case that very often happens,) he would then make no scruple to perform it. And God knows it would be an unhappy state to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people lodged in such hands: which, however, hath been too often the case.

What I have said upon this principle of honour may perhaps be thought of small concernment to most of you who are my hearers: however, a caution was not altogether unnecessary; since there is nothing by which not only the vulgar, but the honest tradesman, has been so much deceived, as this infamous pretence to honour in too many of their betters.

Having thus shown you the weakness and uncertainty of those principles which some men set up in the place of conscience to direct them in their actions; I shall now endeavour to prove to you that there is no solid, firm foundation of virtue but in a conscience directed by the principles of religion.

There is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the actions of men otherwise than by knowing the motives, and grounds, and causes of them; and if the motives of our actions be not resolved and determined into the law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual changes. I will show you what I mean by an example: suppose a man thinks it his duty to obey his parents, because reason tells him so, because he is obliged by gratitude, and because the laws of his country command him to do so; if he stops here, his parents can have no lasting security; for an occasion may happen wherein it may be extremely his interest to be disobedient, and where the laws of the land can lay no hold upon him; therefore, before such a man can safely be trusted, he must proceed further, and consider that his reason is the gift of God; that God commanded him to be obedient to the laws, and did, moreover, in a particular manner, enjoin him to be dutiful to his parents; after which, if he lays due weight upon those considerations, he will probably continue in his duty to the end of his life: because no earthly interest can ever come in competition to balance the danger of offending his Creator, or the happiness of pleasing him. And of all this his conscience will certainly inform him, if he hath any regard to religion.

Secondly, Fear and hope are the two greatest natural motives of all men's actions: but neither of these passions will ever put us in the way of virtue, unless they be directed by conscience. For, although virtuous men do sometimes accidentally make their way to preferment, yet the world is so corrupted, that no man can reasonably hope to be rewarded in it merely upon account of his virtue. And consequently the fear of punishment in this life will preserve men from very few vices, since some of the blackest and basest do often prove the surest steps to favour: such as ingratitude, hypocrisy, treachery, malice, subornation, atheism, and many more, which human laws do little concern themselves about. But when conscience places before us the hopes of everlasting happiness, and the fears of everlasting misery, as the reward and punishment of our good or evil actions, our reason can find no way to avoid the force of such an argument, otherwise than by running into infidelity.

Lastly, Conscience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole trust and confidence in him. Our love of God will inspire us with a detestation for sin, as what is of all things most contrary to his divine nature: and if we have an entire confidence in him, that will enable us to subdue and despise all the allurements of the world.

It may here be objected, if conscience be so sure a director to us Christians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to pass that the ancient heathens, who had no other lights but those of nature and reason, should so far exceed us in all manner of virtue, as plainly appears by many examples they have left on record?

To which it may be answered; first, those heathens were extremely strict and exact in the education of their children; whereas among us this care is so much laid aside, that the more God has blessed any man with estate or quality, just so much the less in proportion is the care he takes in the education of his children, and particularly of that child which is to inherit his fortune: of which the effects are visible enough among the great ones of the world. Again, those heathens did in a particular manner instil the principle into their children of loving their country; which is so far otherwise now-a-days, that, of the several parties among us, there is none of them that seem to have so much as heard whether there be such a virtue in the world, as plainly appears by their practices; and especially when they are placed in those stations where they can only have opportunity of showing it. Lastly, the most considerable among the heathens did generally believe rewards and punishments in a life to come, which is the great principle for conscience to work upon: whereas too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us do, both by their practices and their discourses, plainly affirm that they believe nothing at all of the matter.

Wherefore, since it hath manifestly appeared that a religious conscience is the only true solid foundation upon which virtue can be built, give me leave before I conclude to let you see how necessary such a conscience is to conduct us in every station and condition of our lives.

That a religious conscience is necessary in any station is confessed even by those who tell us that all religion was invented by cunning men in order to keep the world in awe. For if religion, by the confession of its adversaries, be necessary toward the well-governing of mankind, then every wise man in power will be sure not only to choose out for every station under him such persons as are most likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewise to carry some appearance of it himself, or else he is a very weak politician. And accordingly, in any country where great persons affect to be open despisers of religion, their counsels will be found at last to be fully as destructive to the state as to the church.

It was the advice of Jethro to his son-in-law Moses, to "provide able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness," and to place such over the people; and Moses, who was as wise a statesman at least as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abilities, without the fear of God, are most dangerous instruments when they are trusted with power. The laws of man have thought fit that those who are called to any office of trust should be bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of it; but an oath is an appeal to God, and therefore can have no influence, except upon those who believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those that seek him, and a punisher of those who disobey him: and therefore, we see, the laws themselves are forced to have recourse to conscience in these cases, because their penalties cannot reach the arts of cunning men, who can find ways to be guilty of a thousand injustices without being discovered, or at least without being punished. And the reason why we find so many frauds, abuses, and corruptions, where any trust is conferred, can be no other than that there is so little conscience and religion left in the world; or at least that men, in their choice of instruments, have private ends in view, which are very different from the service

of the public. Besides, it is certain that men who profess to have no religion are full as zealous to bring over proselytes as any papist or fanatic can be. And therefore, if those who are in station high enough to be of influence or example to others; if those (I say) openly profess a contempt or disbelief of religion, they will be sure to make all their dependents of their own principles; and what security can the public expect from such persons, whenever their interests or their lusts come into competition with their duty? It is very possible for a man who hath the appearance of religion, and is a great pretender to conscience, to be wicked and a hypocrite; but it is impossible for a man, who openly declares against religion, to give any reasonable security that he will not be false, and cruel and corrupt, whenever a temptation offers which he values more than he does the power wherewith he was trusted. And if such a man doth not betray his cause and his master, it is only because the temptation was not properly offered, or the profit was too small, or the danger was too great. And hence it is that we find so little truth or justice among us: because there are so very few who, either in the service of the public, or in common dealings with each other, do ever look further than their own advantage, and how to guard themselves against the laws of the country; which a man may do by favour, by secrecy, or by cunning, though he breaks almost every law of God. Therefore to conclude: It plainly appears, that unless men are guided by the advice and judgment of conscience founded on religion, they can give no security that they will be either good subjects, faithful servants of the public, or honest in their mutual dealings; since there is no other tie through which the pride, or lust, or avarice, or ambition of mankind will not certainly break one time or other.

Consider what has been said; and the Lord give you a right understanding in all things. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

SERMON THE FIFTH.

ON BROTHERLY LOVE.

HEB. xiii. 1.

Let brotherly love continue.

In the early times of the gospel, the Christians were very much distinguished from all other bodies of men by the great and constant love they bore to each other; which, although it was done in obedience to the frequent injunctions of our Saviour and his apostles, yet, I confess, there seemeth to have been likewise a natural reason that very much promoted it. For the Christians then were few and scattered, living under persecution by the heathens round about them, in whose hands was all the civil and military power; and there is nothing so apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderness, as a general distress. The first dissensions between Christians took their beginning from the errors and heresies that arose among them; many of those heresies, sometimes extinguished and sometimes reviving, or succeeded by others, remain to this day; and having been made instruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition of ill-designing men, by extinguishing brotherly love, have been the cause of infinite calamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Christian world.

The last legacy of Christ was peace and mutual love; but then he foretold that he came to send a sword upon the earth. The primitive Christians accepted the legacy, and their successors down to the present age have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been or still continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon those who profess the gospel, than that of brotherly love; which, whoever could restore in any degree among men, would be an instrument of more good to human society than ever was or will be done by all the statesmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this subject of brotherly love that I intend to discourse at present; and the method I observe shall be as follows:—

First, I will inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

Secondly, I will lay open the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

Lastly, I will use some motives and exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it.

First, I shall inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

This nation of ours hath for a hundred years past been infested by two enemies, the papists and fanatics who each in their turns filled it with blood and slaughter, and for a time destroyed both the church and government. The memory of these events hath put all true protestants equally upon their guard against both these adversaries, who by consequence do equally hate us. The fanatics revile us as too nearly approaching to popery, and the papists condemn us, as bordering too much on fanaticism. The papists, God be praised, are by the wisdom of our laws put out of all visible possibility of hurting us; besides, their religion is so generally abhorred that they have no advocates or abettors among protestants to assist them. But the fanatics are to be considered in another light; they have had of late years the power, the luck, or the cunning to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their errors and designs under the character of persons disaffected to the government; and they have so far succeeded that, now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence against the sin and danger of schism, there will not want too many in his congregation, ready enough to censure him as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of men's minds, an enemy to moderation, and disloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and settled division between those who profess the same doctrine and discipline; while they who call themselves moderate are forced to widen their bottom, by sacrificing their principles and their brethren to the encroachments and insolence of dissenters; who are therefore answerable as a principal cause of all that hatred and animosity now reigning among us.

Another cause of the great want of brotherly love is, the weakness and folly of too many among you of the lower sort, who are made the tools and instruments of your betters to work their designs, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of use, and cunning men take the advantage, by putting words into your mouths which you do not understand; then they fix good or ill characters to those words, as it best serves their purposes; and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why; you often suspect your best friends and nearest neighbours, even your teacher himself, without any reason, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name which they tell you signifieth some very bad thing.

A third cause of our great want of brotherly love seemeth to be, that this duty is not so often insisted on from the pulpit as it ought to be in such times as these; on the contrary, it is to be doubted whether doctrines are not sometimes delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a desire to be distinguished, or a view of interest, which

produce quite different effects; when upon occasions set apart to return thanks to God for some public blessing, the time is employed in stirring up one part of the congregation against the other, by representations of things and persons, which God in his mercy forgive those who are guilty of.

The last cause I shall mention of the want of brotherly love is, that unhappy disposition towards politics among the trading people which hath been so industriously instilled into them. In former times the middle and lower sorts of mankind seldom gained or lost by the factions of the kingdom, and therefore were little concerned in them further than as matter of talk and amusement; but now the meanest dealer will expect to turn the penny by the merits of his party. He can represent his neighbour as a man of dangerous principles, can bring a railing accusation against him, perhaps a criminal one, and so rob him of his livelihood, and find his own account by that, much more than if he had disparaged his neighbour's goods or defamed him as a cheat. For so it happens, that instead of inquiring into the skill or honesty of those kind of people, the manner is now to inquire into their party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly: which proceeding hath made our people in general such able politicians, that all the artifice, flattery, dissimulation, diligence, and dexterity in undermining each other, which the satirical wit of men hath charged upon courts, together with all the rage and violence, cruelty and injustice, which have been ever imputed to public assemblies, are with us (so polite are we grown) to be seen among our meanest traders and artificers in the greatest perfection. All which, as it may be matter of some humiliation to the wise and mighty of this world, so the effects thereof may perhaps in time prove very different from what I hope, in charity, were ever foreseen or intended.

I will therefore now, in the second place, lay open some of the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the first ill consequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almost driven out all sense of religion from among us, which cannot well be otherwise: for since our Saviour laid so much weight upon his disciples loving one another, that he gave it among his last instructions, and since the primitive Christians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith by their strict observance of that instruction, it must follow that in proportion as brotherly love declineth Christianity will do so too. The little religion there is in the world hath been observed to reside chiefly among the middle and lower sorts of people, who are neither tempted to pride nor luxury by great riches, nor to desperate courses by extreme poverty; and truly I upon that account have thought it a happiness that those who are under my immediate care are generally of that condition: but where party hath once made entrance, with all its consequences of hatred, envy, partiality and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any state or degree of life whatsoever. For if the great men of the world have been censured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politics, what a havoc of principles must they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads, of which indeed the effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the kingdom.

Another ill consequence from our want of brotherly love is, that it increaseth the insolence of the fanatics; and this partly ariseth from a mistaken meaning of the word moderation; a word which hath been much abused and bandied about for several years past. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion; there are many others who dislike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence: both these sorts are much commended by the fanatics for moderate men, ready to put an end to our divisions and to make a general union among protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by these appearances, strengthened with great pretences to loyalty; and these occasions the fanatics lay hold on to revile the doctrine and discipline of the church, and even insult and oppress the clergy wherever their numbers or favourers will bear them out; insomuch, that one wilful refractory fanatic hath been able to disturb a whole parish for many years together. But the most moderate and favoured divines dare not own that the word moderation with respect to the dissenters can be at all applied to their religion, but is purely personal or prudential. No good man repineth at the liberty of conscience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate divine may think better of their loyalty than others do, or, to speak after the manner of men, may think it necessary that all protestants should be united against the common enemy, or, out of discretion or other reasons best known to himself, be tender of mentioning them at all. But still the errors of the dissenters are all fixed and determined, and must upon demand be acknowledged by all the divines of our church, whether they be called, in party phrase, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate divines who, if their opinion were asked whether dissenters should be trusted with power, could according to their consciences answer in the affirmative; from whence it is plain, that all the stir which the fanatics have made with this word moderation was only meant to increase our divisions, and widen them so far as to make room for themselves to get in between. And this is the only scheme they ever had (except that of destroying root and branch) for the uniting of protestants they so much talk of.

I shall mention but one ill consequence more, which attends our want of brotherly love—that it hath put an end to all hospitality and friendship, all good correspondence and commerce between mankind. There are indeed such things as leagues and confederacies among those of the same party; but surely God never intended that men should be so limited in the choice of their friends; however, so it is in town and country, in every parish and street; the pastor is divided from his flock, the father from his son, and the house often divided against itself. Men's very natures are soured and their passions inflamed, when they meet in party clubs, and spend their time in nothing else but railing at the opposite side: thus every man alive among us is encompassed with a million of enemies of his own country, among which his oldest acquaintance and friends, and kindred themselves, are often of the number; neither can people of different parties mix together without constraint, suspicion, or jealousy, watching every word they speak for fear of giving offence; or else falling into rudeness and reproaches, and so leaving themselves open to the malice and corruption of informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their trade. And as a further addition to this evil, those very few who, by the goodness and generosity of their nature, do in their own hearts despise this narrow principle of confining their friendship and esteem, their charity and good offices, to those of their own party, yet dare not discover their good inclinations for fear of losing their favour and interest. And others again, whom God had formed with mild and gentle dispositions, think it necessary to put a force upon their own tempers, by acting a noisy, violent, malicious part, as a means to be distinguished. Thus hath party got the better of the very genius and constitution of our people; so that whoever reads the character of the English in former ages will hardly believe their present posterity to be of the same nation or climate.

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I shall now, in the last place, make use of some motives and exhortations that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love and continue in it. Let me apply myself to you of the lower sort, and desire you will consider, when any of you make use of fair and enticing words to draw in customers, whether you do it for their sakes or your own. And then, for whose sakes do you think it is that your leaders are so industrious to put into your heads all that party rage and virulence? Is it not to make you the tools and instruments by which they work out their own designs? Has this spirit of faction been useful to any of you in your worldly concerns, except to those who have traded in whispering, backbiting, or informing, wanting skill or honesty to thrive by fairer methods? It is no business of yours to inquire who is at the head of armies or of councils, unless you had power and skill to choose, neither of which is ever likely to be your case; and therefore to fill your heads with fears, and hatred of persons and things, of which it is impossible you can ever make a right judgment, or to set you at variance with your neighbour, because his thoughts are not the same as yours, is not only in a very gross manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, but likewise to endanger your souls.

Secondly, In order to restore brotherly love, let me earnestly exhort you to stand firm in your religion; I mean, the true religion hitherto established among us, without varying in the least either to popery on the one side, or to fanaticism on the other; and in a particular manner beware of that word moderation; and believe it, that your neighbour is not immediately a villain, a papist, and a traitor, because the fanatics and their adherents will not allow him to be a moderate man. Nay, it is very probable that your teacher himself may be a loyal, pious, and able divine, without the least grain of moderation, as the word is too frequently understood. Therefore, to set you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the description of such a one as falsely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate is steady in the doctrine and discipline of the church, but with a due Christian charity to all who dissent from it out of a principle of conscience; the freedom of which he thinketh ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abused, but never trusted with power. He is ready to defend with his life and fortune the protestant succession, and the protestant established faith, against all invaders whatsoever. He is for giving the crown its just prerogative, and the people their just liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, that virtue should always attend upon favour, and vice upon disgrace. These are some few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man; let us now compare it with the description of one who usually passeth under that title.

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one to whom all religion is indifferent; who, although he denominates himself of the church, regardeth it no more than a conventicle. He perpetually raileth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who, he hopeth, and probably upon false grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and properties as himself. He thinketh the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet this very notion he publisheth, as his best argument, to prove him a most loyal subject. Every opinion in government that differeth in the least from his tendeth directly to popery, slavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power can, in his judgment, neither have common sense, common honesty, nor religion. Lastly, his devotion consisteth in drinking gibbets, confusion, and damnation; in profanely idolizing the memory of one dead prince, and ungratefully trampling upon the ashes of another. [William and Anne.]

By these marks you will easily distinguish a truly moderate man from those who are commonly, but very falsely, so called; and while persons thus qualified are so numerous and so noisy, so full of zeal and industry to gain proselytes, and spread their opinions among the people, it cannot be wondered at that there should be so little brotherly love left among us.

Lastly, It would probably contribute to restore some degree of brotherly love, if we would but consider that the matter of those disputes which inflame us to this degree doth not, in its own nature, at all concern the generality of mankind. Indeed, as to those who have been great gainers or losers by the changes of the world the case is different: and to preach moderation to the first, and patience to the last, would perhaps be to little purpose: but what is that to the bulk of the people, who are not properly concerned in the quarrel, although evil instruments have drawn them into it? for if the reasonable men on both sides were to confer opinions, they would find neither religion, loyalty, nor interest, are at all affected in this dispute. Not religion, because the members of the church, on both sides, profess to agree in every article: not loyalty to our prince, which is pretended to by one party as much as the other, and therefore can be no subject for debate: nor interest, for trade and industry lie open to all; and, what is further, concerns only those who have expectations from the public; so that the body of the people, if they knew their own good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their betters to quarrel among themselves; who might also probably soon come to a better temper, if they were less seconded and supported by the poor deluded multitude.

I have now done with my text, which I confess to have treated in a manner more suited to the present times than to the nature of the subject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the several parts and properties of this great duty of brotherly love, the apostle to the Thessalonians will plead my excuse. "Touching brotherly love," saith he, "ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another." So that nothing remains to add, but our prayers to God that he would please to restore and continue this duty of brotherly love or charity among us, the very bond of peace and of all virtues.

Nov. 29, 1717.

SERMON THE SIXTH.

ON THE MARTYRDOM OF KING CHARLES I.

PREACHED AT ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN, ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 30, 1725-26.

GENESIS, xlix. 5, 6, 7.

Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.

O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.

Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

I know very well that the church hath been often censured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent king and blessed martyr Charles I., who rather chose to die on a scaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith God and the laws had entrusted him. But at the

same time it is manifest that those who make such censures are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that prince, and have not yet shown the world that their opinions are changed. It is alleged that the observation of this day hath served to continue and increase the animosity and enmity among our countrymen, and to disunite protestants; that a law was made upon the restoration of the martyr's son for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations.

Now because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it, I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And *lastly*, I will show you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the first: in the reign of this prince, Charles the martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least seven hundred years before; and the best princes we ever had carried their power much further than the blessed martyr offered to do, in the most blamable part of his reign. But the lands of the crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites in the preceding reigns, the succeeding kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by parliament, which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies; and the crown lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beside the possessions of which the church had been robbed by king Henry VIII., power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the crown were often disputed.

But further, upon the cruel persecution raised against the protestants under queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by Calvin, is without the order of bishops. When the protestant faith was restored by queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva returned among the rest home to England, and were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the same time continually preaching and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy, taxing whatever they disliked as a remnant of popery; and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state under that great queen, as well as her successor king James I. These people called themselves puritans, as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established. And these were the founders of our dissenters. They did not think it sufficient to leave all the errors of popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying institutions of the primitive church, and at last, even the government of bishops; which, having been ordained by the apostles themselves, had continued without interruption in all Christian churches for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not because those things were evil, but because they were kept by the papists. From thence they proceeded by degrees to quarrel with the kingly government; because, as I have already said, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

These puritans, about the middle of the martyr's reign, were grown to a considerable faction in the kingdom, and in the lower house of parliament. They filled the public with the most false and bitter libels against the bishops and the clergy, accusing chiefly the very best among them of popery; and at the same time the house of commons grew so insolent and uneasy to the king, that they refused to furnish him with necessary supplies for the support of his family, unless upon such conditions as he could not submit to without forfeiting his conscience and honour, and even his coronation oath. And in such an extremity he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, of raising money; for which however he had the opinion of the judges on his side; for wicked judges there were in those times as well as in ours. There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly made, against the proceedings of a certain court, called the star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity; but it had suffered some corruptions, for which however the king was nowise answerable. I cannot recollect any more subjects of complaint with the least ground of reason; nor is it needful to recollect them, because this gracious king did, upon the first application, redress all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardships for the future. But that wicked factious in the house of commons, not content with all those marks of his justice and condescension, urged still for more; and joining with a factious party from Scotland, who had the same fancies in religion, forced him to pass an act for cutting off the head of his best and chief minister; and at the same time compelled him, by tumults and threatenings of a packed rabble poisoned with the same doctrines, to pass another law, by which it should not be in his power to dissolve that parliament without their own consent.—Thus, by the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit, this prince did in effect sign his own destruction. For the house of commons having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiously, sent him every day some unreasonable demand; and when he refused to grant it, made use of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both houses, without the king's consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his parliament refused to assist him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These and a thousand other barbarities forced the king to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Meanwhile the English parliament, instead of helping the poor protestants here, seized on the very army that his majesty was sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own sovereign. The rebellion in England continued for four or five years: at last the king was forced to fly in disguise to the Scots, who sold him to the rebels. And these puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut off his head; which he might have saved, if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding, Simeon and Levi were brethren; the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the house every member of parliament whom they apprehended to bear the least inclination toward an agreement with the king, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood; and this is the very account given by their own writers. Whence it is clear that this prince was in all respects a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of the people. That odious parliament had first turned the bishops out of the house of lords; in a few years after they murdered their king; then immediately abolished the whole house of

lords; and so, at last, obtained their wishes of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a king, a bishop, or a nobleman; and this they blasphemously called "the kingdom of Christ and his saints."

This is enough for your information on the first head: I shall therefore proceed to the second, wherein I will show you the miserable consequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in these nations.

First, The Irish rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked English parliament. For the leaders in the Irish popish massacre would never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious spirit in the English house of commons, which they very well knew must disable the king from sending any supplies to his protestant subjects here; and therefore, we may truly say, that the English parliament held the king's hands, while the Irish papists here were cutting our grandfathers' throats.

Secondly, That murderous puritan parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religion or civil government; but changed every day from schism to schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another; whence arose that wild confusion, still continuing, in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the rise and progress of atheism among us. For men, observing what numberless villanies of all kinds were committing during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were easily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere imposture: and the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue, and loyalty, and generous spirit of the English nation were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example of those wicked people. Many of the ancient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice. Some of the worst among them favoured or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new set, created when the martyr's son was restored, were such who had drunk too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered prince were forced to fly for the safety of their lives to foreign countries; where one of them at least, I mean king James II., was seduced to popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late king, and therefore we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his interests and ours were the same: and God gave him greater success than our sins deserved. But as a house thrown down by a storm is seldom rebuilt without some change in the foundation; so it hath happened that, since the late revolution, men have sat much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever; men running naturally from one extreme into another, and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions professed by the leaders in that rebellion which carried the blessed martyr to the scaffold.

Sixthly. Another consequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the destroying or defacing of such vast number of God's houses. "In their self-will they digged down a wall." If a stranger should now travel in England and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of Turks or heathens had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints nor ancient prelates, nor kings, nor benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations; seized the vessels of silver set apart for the holiest use; tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without; made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of puritan zeal and devotion for Christ; and this was what themselves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom, those ravages were not so easily seen; for the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally destroyed.

Upon the whole it is certain that, although God might have found out many other ways to have punished a sinful people without permitting this rebellion and murder, yet, as the course of the world hath run ever since, we need seek for no other causes of all the public evils we have hitherto suffered, or may suffer for the future, by the misconduct of princes or wickedness of the people.

I go on now, upon the third head, to show you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

First, It may be an instruction to princes themselves to be careful in the choice of those who are their advisers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, advised the king that he might legally raise money upon the subjects for building of ships, without consent of parliament, which, as it was the greatest oversight of his reign, so it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewise learn from hence, not to sacrifice a faithful servant to the rage of a faction, nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposit it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb in season all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state. Those wicked puritans began in queen Elizabeth's time to quarrel only with surplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance; and at last they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first by depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament; then they abolished the whole order; and at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church-lands, and divided the spoil among themselves; and like Jeroboam made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it, upon the murder of their king, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to show what a Babel they had built, after twelve years' trial, and twenty several sorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers had sacrificed. And thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob, and scattered in Israel.

Thirdly, Although the successors of these puritans, I mean our present dissenters, do not think fit to observe this day of humiliation; yet it would be very

proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce in a public manner those principles upon which their predecessors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do so, because those very puritans, of whom ours are followers, found by experience that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their king, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion and murder of the king, ought to consider how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of its true professors for above a hundred years. Of late times indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature; although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of kings in cold blood, and for a time destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people!

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please; but it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very secure of let it be what it will,) he ought to be fully satisfied, and give no offence by writing or discourse to the worship established, as the dissenting preachers are too apt to do. But if he hath new visions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and possess them in silence, without disturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proselytes. This was the folly and madness of those ancient puritan fanatics: they must needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

To conclude this head. In answer to that objection of keeping up animosity and hatred between protestants by the observation of this day; if there be any sect or sort of people among us, who profess the same principles in religion and government which those puritan rebels put in practice, I think it is the interest of all those who love the church and king to keep up as strong a party against them as possible, until they shall in a body renounce all those wicked opinions upon which their predecessors acted, to the disgrace of Christianity and the perpetual infamy of the English nation.

When we accuse the papists of the horrid doctrine, "that no faith ought to be kept with heretics," they deny it to a man; and yet we justly think it dangerous to trust them, because we know their actions have been sometimes suitable to that opinion. But the followers of those who beheaded the martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and till they do they may be justly suspected. Neither will the bare name of protestants set them right; for surely Christ requires more from us than a profession of hating popery, which a Turk or an atheist may do as well as a protestant.

If an enslaved people should recover their liberty from a tyrannical power of any sort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty of a wicked race of soldiers and preachers, and other sons of Belial, equally require a solemn time of humiliation? especially since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shown, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true all power is from God; and as the apostle says, "the powers that be are ordained of God;" but this is in the same sense that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possessions we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those, or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apostles. And so St. Paul concludes, "The powers that be are ordained of God:" for what? why, "for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward of them that do well." There is no more inward value in the greatest emperor than in the meanest of his subjects: his body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same or greater infirmities; his education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness, and luxury, and those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense that his private personal interest or pleasure should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is entrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man; and if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His personal failings we have nothing to do with; and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But if a private person reasonably expects pardon upon his amendment for all faults that are not capital, it would be a hard condition indeed not to give the same allowance to a prince, who must see with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the martyr; and is so in some degree of all other princes. Yet this we may justly say in defence of the common people in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed where the body of the subjects will not rather choose to live in peace and obedience than take up arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unless where the vulgar are deluded by false preachers to grow fond of new visions and fancies in religion; which, managed by dexterous men for sinister ends of malice, envy, or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the case in the whole progress of that great rebellion, and the murder of king Charles I. But the late revolution under the prince of Orange

was occasioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne: for that unhappy prince, king James II., did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on. But under the blessed martyr the deluded people would have forced many false religions, not only on their fellow-subjects, but even upon their sovereign himself, and at the same time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, because he would not comply, raised a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permission of God, they prevailed, and put their sovereign to death like a common criminal in the face of the world.

Therefore, those who seem to think they cannot otherwise justify the late revolution and the change of the succession, than by lessening the guilt of the puritans, do certainly put the greatest affront imaginable upon the present powers, by supposing any relation or resemblance between that rebellion and the late revolution; and consequently, that the present establishment is to be defended by the same arguments which those usurpers made use of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws of both God and man.

The great design of our discourse was, to give you warning against running into either extreme of two bad opinions with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, so some would allow them an equal power with God over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the subject depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however I hope was never meant by those who pleaded for passive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was first charged with it, but hath sometimes gone over to the other, to serve many an evil turn of interest or ambition; who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as highest maintainers of it.

On the other side, some look upon kings as answerable for every mistake or omission in government, and bound to comply with the most unreasonable demands of an unquiet faction; which was the case of those who persecuted the blessed martyr of this day from his throne to the scaffold.

Between these two extremes it is easy, from what hath been said, to choose a middle; to be good and loyal subjects, yet, according to your power, faithful assertors of your religion and liberties; to avoid all broachers and preachers of newfangled doctrines in the church; to be strict observers of the laws, which cannot be justly taken from you without your own consent: in short, "to obey God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change."

Which that you may all do, &c.

SERMON THE SEVENTH.

ON FALSE WITNESS.

EXODUS XX. 16.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

In those great changes that are made in a country by the prevailing of one party over another, it is very convenient that the prince and those who are in authority under him should use all just and proper methods for preventing any mischief to the public from seditious men. And governors do well when they encourage any good subject to discover (as his duty obligeth him) whatever plots or conspiracies may be any way dangerous to the state; neither are they to be blamed even when they receive informations from bad men in order to find out the truth, when it concerns the public welfare. Every one indeed is naturally inclined to have an ill opinion of an informer, although it is not impossible but an honest man may be called by that name; for whoever knoweth anything, the telling of which would prevent some great evil to his prince, his country, or his neighbour, is bound in conscience to reveal it. But the mischief is that, when parties are violently inflamed, which seemeth unfortunately to be our case at present, there is never wanting a set of evil instruments who, either out of mad zeal, private hatred, or filthy lucre, are always ready to offer their services to the prevailing side, and become accusers of their brethren without any regard to truth or charity. Holy David numbers this among the chief of his sufferings: "False witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breathe out cruelty." Ps. xxvii. 12. Our Saviour and his apostles did likewise undergo the same distress, as we read both in the Gospels and the Acts.

Now because the sin of false witnessing is so horrible and dangerous in itself, and so odious to God and man, and because the bitterness of too many among us is risen to such a height that it is not easy to know where it will stop, or how far some weak and wicked minds may be carried by a mistaken zeal, a malicious temper, or hope of reward, to break this great commandment delivered in the text; therefore, in order to prevent this evil and the consequences of it, at least among you who are my hearers, I shall,

First, Show you several ways by which a man may be called a false witness against his neighbour.

Secondly, I shall give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

And, *lastly*, I shall conclude with showing you very briefly how far it is your duty as good subjects and good neighbours to bear faithful witness when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

As to the first, there are several ways by which a man may be justly called a false witness against his neighbour.

First, According to the direct meaning of the word, when a man accuseth his neighbour without the least ground of truth. So we read, "that Jezebel hired two sons of Belial to accuse Naboth for blaspheming God and the king, for which, although he was entirely innocent, he was stoned to death." And in our age it is not easy to tell how many men have lost their lives, been ruined in their fortunes, and put to ignominious punishment, by the downright perjury of false witnesses, the law itself in such cases being not able to protect the innocent. But this is so horrible a crime that it doth not need to be aggravated by words.

A second way by which a man becometh a false witness is when he mixeth falsehood and truth together, or concealeth some circumstances which, if they were told, would destroy the falsehoods he uttereth. So the two false witnesses who accused our Saviour before the chief priests, by a very little perverting of his words, would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for so it was among the Jews to prophesy any evil against the temple: "This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days;" whereas the words, as our Saviour spoke them, were to another end, and differently expressed; for when the Jews asked him to show them a sign, he said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." In such cases as these an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, since he neither can deny his words nor perhaps readily strip them from the malicious additions of a false witness.

Thirdly, A man is a false witness when, in accusing his neighbour, he endeavours to aggravate by his ges

tures and tone of his voice, or when he chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from somebody else. As if any one should tell me that he heard another speak certain dangerous and seditious speeches, and I should immediately accuse him for speaking them himself, and so drop the only circumstance that made him innocent. This was the case of St. Stephen. The false witness said, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law." Whereas St. Stephen said no such words, but only repeated some prophecies of Jeremiah or Malachi, which threatened Jerusalem with destruction if it did not repent; however, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy person was stoned to death for words he never spoke.

Fourthly, The blackest kind of false witnesses are those who do the office of the devil, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any instances of this kind mentioned in holy Scripture. But I am afraid this vile practice hath been too much followed in the world. When a man's temper hath been so soured by misfortunes and hard usage, that perhaps he hath reason enough to complain, then one of these seducers, under the pretence of friendship, will seem to lament his case, urge the hardships he hath suffered, and endeavour to raise his passions, until he hath said something that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate against him in a court of justice.

Fifthly, Whoever beareth witness against his neighbour out of a principle of malice and revenge from any old grudge or hatred to his person, such a man is a false witness in the sight of God, although what he says be true, because the motive or cause is evil, not to serve his prince or country, but to gratify his own resentments. And therefore, although a man thus accused may be very justly punished by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuser, who, instead of regarding the public service, intended only to glut his private rage and spite.

Sixthly, I number among false witnesses all those who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour or reward, and to this end employ their time either by listening in public places to catch up an accidental word, or in corrupting men's servants to discover any unwary expression of their master, or thrusting themselves into company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous language, fastening a thousand falsehoods and scandals upon a whole party, on purpose to provoke such an answer as they may turn to an accusation. And truly this ungodly race is said to be grown so numerous that men of different parties can hardly converse together with any security. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the misrepresentation of these informers, of whom the clergy have not wanted occasions to complain with holy David: "They daily mistake my words, all they imagine is to do me evil." Nor is it any wonder at all that this trade of informing should be now in a flourishing condition, since our case is manifestly thus: We are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper toward each other; the prevailing side may talk of past things as they please with security, and generally do it in the most provoking words they can invent, while those who are down are sometimes tempted to speak in favour of a lost cause, and therefore, without great caution, must needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furnish plenty of materials for witnesses and informers.

Lastly, Those may be well reckoned among false witnesses against their neighbour who bring him into trouble and punishment by such accusations as are of no consequence at all to the public, nor can be of any other use but to create vexation. Such witnesses are those who cannot hear an idle intemperate expression but they must immediately run to the magistrate to inform, or, perhaps wrangling in their cups over night, when they were not able to speak or apprehend three words of common sense, will pretend to remember everything the next morning, and think themselves very properly qualified to be accusers of their brethren God be thanked the throne of our king is too firmly settled to be shaken by the folly and rashness of every sottish companion. And I do not in the least doubt that when those in power begin to observe the falsehood, the prevarication, the aggravating manner, the treachery and seducing, the malice and revenge, the love of lucre, and, lastly, the trifling accusations in too many wicked people, they will be as ready to discourage every sort of those whom I have numbered among false witnesses, as they will be to countenance honest men, who, out of a true zeal to their prince and country, do in the innocence of their hearts freely discover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good Christian will think it sufficient to reprove his brother for a rash unguarded word where there is neither danger nor evil example to be apprehended, or, if he will not amend by reproof, avoid his conversation.

And thus much may serve to show the several ways whereby a man may be said to be a false witness against his neighbour. I might have added one kind more, and it is of those who inform against their neighbour out of fear of punishment to themselves; which, although it be more excusable, and hath less of malice than any of the rest, cannot however be justified. I go on therefore, upon the second head, to give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

It is readily agreed that innocence is the best protection in the world; yet that it is not always sufficient without some degree of prudence, our Saviour himself intimateth to us, by instructing his disciples "to be wise as serpents, as well as innocent as doves." But if ever innocence be too weak a defence, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious times, when factions are arrived to a high pitch of animosity, and the minds of men, instead of being warmed by a true zeal for religion, are inflamed only by party fury. Neither is virtue itself a sufficient security in such times, because it is not allowed to be virtue otherwise than as it hath a mixture of party.

However, although virtue and innocence are no infallible defence against perjury, malice, and subornation, yet they are great supports for enabling us to bear those evils with temper and resignation; and it is an unspeakable comfort to a good man, under the malignity of evil mercenary tongues, that a few years will carry his appeal to a higher tribunal, where false witnesses, instead of daring to bring accusations before an all-seeing Judge, will call for mountains to cover them. As for earthly judges, they seldom have it in their power, and God knows whether they have it in their will, to mingle mercy with justice; they are so far from knowing the hearts of the accuser or the accused that they cannot know their own; and their understanding is frequently biassed, although their intentions be just. They are often prejudiced to causes, parties, and persons, through the infirmity of human nature, without being sensible themselves that they are so; and therefore, although God may pardon their errors here, he certainly will not ratify their sentences hereafter.

However, since, as we have before observed, our Saviour prescribeth to us to be not only harmless as doves but wise as serpents, give me leave to prescribe to you some rules which the most ignorant person may

follow for the conduct of his life with safety in perilous times against false accusers.

1st, Let me advise you to have nothing at all to do with that which is commonly called politics, or the government of the world, in the nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant; and when your opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from ignorance, it shall be an accusation against you. Besides, opinions in government are right or wrong, just according to the humour and disposition of the times; and unless you have judgment to distinguish, you may be punished at one time for what you would be rewarded in another.

2ndly, Be ready at all times, in your words and actions, to show your loyalty to the king that reigns over you. This is the plain manifest doctrine of holy Scripture: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme," &c. And another apostle telleth us, "The powers that be are ordained of God." Kings are the ordinances of man by the permission of God, and they are ordained of God by his instrument, man. The powers that be, the present powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in some sense are the ordinances of man, are what you must obey, without presuming to examine into rights and titles; neither can it be reasonably expected that the powers in being, or in possession, should suffer their title to be publicly disputed by subjects without severe punishment. And to say the truth, there is no duty in religion more easy to the generality of mankind than obedience to government; I say to the generality of mankind; because, while their law, and property, and religion are preserved, it is of no great consequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no temptation to desire a change.

3rdly, In order to prevent any charge from the malice of false witnesses, be sure to avoid intemperance. If it be often so hard for men to govern their tongues when they are in their right senses, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with drink? In those cases most men regard not what they say, and too many not what they swear; neither will a man's memory, disordered with drunkenness, serve to defend himself, or satisfy him whether he were guilty or not.

4thly, Avoid as much as possible the conversation of those people who are given to talk of public persons and affairs, especially of those whose opinions in such matters are different from yours. I never once knew any disputes of this kind managed with tolerable temper; but on both sides they only agree as much as possible to provoke the passions of each other; indeed, with this disadvantage, that he who argueth on the side of power may speak securely the utmost his malice can invent; while the other lieth every moment at the mercy of an informer; and the law in these cases will give no allowance at all for passion, inadvertency, or the highest provocation.

I come now, in the last place, to show you how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

In what I have hitherto said, you easily find that I do not talk of bearing witness in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thousand accounts in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many scandalous corruptions almost peculiar to this country which would require to be handled by themselves. But I have confined my discourse only to that branch of bearing false witness whereby the public is injured in the safety or honour of the prince, or those in authority under him.

In order, therefore, to be a faithful witness, it is first necessary that a man doth not undertake it from the least prospect of any private advantage to himself. The smallest mixture of that leaven will sour the whole lump. Interest will infallibly bias his judgment, although he be ever so firmly resolved to say nothing but truth. He cannot serve God and Mammon; but, as interest is the chief end, he will use the most effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumstances to make his testimony valuable; he will be sorry if the person he accuseth should be able to clear himself; in short, he is labouring a point which he thinks necessary to his own good; and it would be a disappointment to him that his neighbour should prove innocent.

2ndly, Every good subject is obliged to bear witness against his neighbour for any action or words, the telling of which would be of disadvantage to the public, and the concealment dangerous or of ill example. Of this nature are all plots and conspiracies against the peace of a nation; all disgraceful words against a prince, such as clearly discover a disloyal and rebellious heart. But where our prince and country can possibly receive no damage or disgrace; where no scandal or ill example is given; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a rash or indiscreet word, which in strictness of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no further than warning and reproof.

In describing to you the several kinds of false witnesses, I have made it less necessary to dwell much longer upon this head; because a faithful witness, like everything else, is known by his contrary. Therefore, it would be only a repetition of what I have already said to tell you that the strictest truth is required in a witness; that he should be wholly free from malice against the person he accuses; that he should not aggravate the smallest circumstance against the criminal, nor conceal the smallest in his favour; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only cause or motive of his undertaking an office, so subject to censure, and so difficult to perform, should be the safety and service of his prince and country.

Under these conditions and limitations, (but not otherwise,) there is no manner of doubt but a good man may lawfully and justly become a witness in behalf of the public, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very desirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is positive, as well as negative; that is to say, as we are directed not to bear false witness against our neighbour, so we are to bear true. Next to the word of God and the advice of teachers, every man's conscience, strictly examined, will be his best director in this weighty point: and to that I shall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by way of advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and sin of bearing false witness; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a sort of people that seldom frequent these holy places, where they can hardly pick up any materials to serve their turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the words of the preacher. And whoever is that way disposed, I doubt, cannot be in a very good condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in his mercy preserve us from all the guilt of this grievous sin forbidden in my text, and from the snares of those who are guilty of it!

I shall conclude with one or two precepts given by Moses from God to the children of Israel in Exod. xxiii. 1, 2.

"Thou shalt not raise a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked to be an unrighteous witness.

"Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many, to wrest judgment."

Now to God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, be praises for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON THE EIGHTH.

ON THE POOR MAN'S CONTENTMENT.

PHILIPPIANS, IV. 11.

I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.

THE holy Scripture is full of expressions to set forth the miserable condition of man during the whole progress of his life; his weakness, pride, and vanity; his unmeasurable desires and perpetual disappointments, the prevalency of his passions, and the corruptions of his reason; his deluding hopes, and his real as well as imaginary fears, his natural and artificial wants, his cares and anxieties, the diseases of his body and the diseases of his mind; the shortness of his life, his dread of a future state, with his carelessness to prepare for it: and the wise men of all ages have made the same reflections.

But all these are general calamities from which none are excepted, and, being without remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great question, long debated in the world, is, whether the rich or the poor are the least miserable of the two? It is certain that no rich man ever desired to be poor, and that most, if not all poor men, desire to be rich; whence it may be argued that, in all appearance, the advantage lieth on the side of wealth, because both parties agree in preferring it before poverty. But this reasoning will be found to be false; for I lay it down as a certain truth that God Almighty hath placed all men upon an equal foot with respect to their happiness in this world, and the capacity of attaining their salvation in the next; or at least, if there be any difference, it is not to the advantage of the rich and the mighty. Now, since a great part of those who usually make up our congregations are not of considerable station, and many among them of the lower sort, and since the meaner people are generally and justly charged with the sin of repining and murmuring at their own condition, to which however their betters are sufficiently subject, (although, perhaps for shame, not always so loud in their complaints,) I thought it might be useful to reason upon this point in as plain a manner as I can. I shall therefore show, first, that the poor enjoy many temporal blessings which are not common to the rich and the great; and likewise, that the rich and the great are subject to many temporal evils which are not common to the poor.

But here I would not be misunderstood: perhaps there is not a word more abused than that of the poor; or wherein the world is more generally mistaken. Among the number of those who beg in our streets, or are half-starved at home, or languish in prison for debt, there is hardly one in a hundred who doth not owe his misfortunes to his own laziness, or drunkenness, or worse vices.

To these he owes those very diseases which often disable him from getting his bread. Such wretches are deservedly unhappy: they can only blame themselves; and when we are commanded to have pity on the poor, these are not understood to be of the number.

It is true indeed that sometimes honest endeavouring men are reduced to extreme want, even to the begging of alms, by losses, by accidents, by diseases, and old age, without any fault of their own: but these are very few in comparison of the other; nor would their support be any sensible burden to the public, if the charity of well-disposed persons were not intercepted by those common strollers, who are most importunate, and who least deserve it. These indeed are properly and justly called the poor, whom it should be our study to find out and distinguish, by making them partake of our superfluity and abundance.

But neither have these anything to do with my present subject; for by the poor I only intend the honest industrious artificer, the meaner sort of tradesmen, and the labouring man, who getteth his bread by the sweat of his brow in town or country, and who make the bulk of mankind among us.

First, I shall therefore show, that the poor (in the sense I understand the word) do enjoy many temporal blessings which are not common to the rich and great; and likewise, that the rich and great are subject to many temporal evils which are not common to the poor.

Secondly, From the arguments offered to prove the foregoing head, I shall draw some observations that may be useful for your practice.

As to the first: Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the best of all earthly possessions, because it is that without which we can have no satisfaction in any of the rest. For riches are of no use, if sickness taketh from us the ability of enjoying them; and power and greatness are then only a burden. Now, if we would look for health, it must be in the humble habitation of the labouring man or industrious artificer, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, and usually live to a good old age, with a great degree of strength and vigour.

The refreshment of the body by sleep is another great happiness of the meaner sort. Their rest is not disturbed by the fear of thieves and robbers, nor is it interrupted by surfeits of intemperance. Labour and plain food supply the want of quieting draughts, and the wise man telleth us, that the sleep of the labouring man is sweet. As to children, which are certainly accounted of as a blessing, even to the poor, where industry is not wanting; they are an assistance to honest parents, instead of being a burden; they are healthy and strong, and fit for labour; neither is the father in fear, lest his heir should be ruined by an unequal match, nor is he solicitous about his rising in the world, further than to be able to get his bread.

The poorer sort are not the objects of general hatred or envy; they have no twinges of ambition, nor trouble themselves with party quarrels, or state divisions. The idle rabble, who follow their ambitious leaders in such cases, do not fall within my description of the poorer sort; for it is plain I mean only the honest industrious poor in town or country, who are safest in times of public disturbance, in perilous seasons, and public revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their business; for artificers and husbandmen are necessary in all governments, but in such seasons the rich are the public mark, because they are oftentimes of no use but to be plundered; like some sort of birds who are good for nothing but their feathers, and so fall a prey to the strongest side.

Let us proceed on the other side to examine the disadvantages which the rich and the great lie under with respect to the happiness of the present life.

First, then; While health, as we have said, is the general portion of the lower sort, the gout, the dropsy, the stone, the cholic, and all other diseases, are continually haunting the palaces of the rich and the great, as the natural attendants upon laziness and luxury. Neither does the rich man eat his sumptuous fare with half the appetite and relish that even the beggars do the crumbs which fall from his table, but, on the contrary, he is full of loathing and disgust, or at best of indifference, in the midst of plenty. Thus their in-

temperance shortens their lives, without pleasing their appetites.

Business, fear, guilt, design, anguish, and vexation are continually buzzing about the curtains of the rich and the powerful, and will hardly suffer them to close their eyes, unless when they are dosed with the fumes of strong liquors.

It is a great mistake to imagine that the rich want but few things; their wants are more numerous, more craving and urgent, than those of poorer men; for these endeavour only at the necessaries of life, which make them happy, and they think no further; but the desire of power and wealth is endless, and therefore impossible to be satisfied with any acquisitions.

If riches were so great a blessing as they are commonly thought, they would at least have this advantage to give their owners cheerful hearts and countenances; they would often stir them up to express their thankfulness to God, and discover their satisfaction to the world. But in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or more ingratitude to their great benefactor, than among those who abound in wealth? And indeed it is natural that it should be so, because those men who covet things that are hard to be got must be hard to please; and whereas a small thing maketh a poor man happy, and great losses cannot befall him.

It is likewise worth considering how few among the rich have procured their wealth by just measures. How many owe their fortunes to the sins of their parents, how many more to their own! If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conscience, where false swearing and a thousand vile artifices (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human courts of justice) would avail nothing, how many would be ejected with infamy and disgrace! How many grow considerable by breach of trust, by bribery and corruption! how many have sold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themselves and others, for power and employments!

And it is a mistake to think that the most hardened sinner, who oweth his possessions or titles to any such wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conscience, and amid the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor except the power of doing good to others; but this is an advantage which God hath not given wicked men the grace to make use of. The wealth acquired by evil means was never employed to good ends; for that would be to divide the kingdom of Satan against itself. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppression, and the like, must be preserved and increased by the same methods.

I shall add but one thing more upon this head, which I hope will convince you that God (whose thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be necessary for the happiness of mankind in this life; because it is certain that there is not one single good quality of the mind absolutely necessary to obtain them, where men are resolved to be rich at any rate; neither honour, justice, temperance, wisdom, religion, truth, nor learning: for a slight acquaintance of the world will inform us, that there have been many instances of men in all ages who have arrived at great possessions and great dignities by cunning, fraud, or flattery, without any of these or any other virtues that can be named. Now if riches and greatness were such blessings that good men without them could not have their share of happiness in this life, how cometh it to pass that God should suffer them to be often dealt to the worst and most profligate of mankind; that they should be generally procured by the most abominable means, and applied to the basest and most wicked uses? This ought not to be conceived of a just, a merciful, a wise, and Almighty Being. We must therefore conclude that wealth and power are in their own nature at best but things indifferent, and that a good man may be equally happy without them, provided that he hath a sufficiency of the common blessings of human life to answer all the reasonable and virtuous demands of nature, which his industry will provide, and sobriety will prevent his wanting.—Agur's prayer, with the reasons of his wish, are full to this purpose: "Give me neither poverty nor riches. Feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, 'Who is the Lord?' or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."

From what hath been said I shall, in the second place, offer some considerations that may be useful for your practice.

And here I shall apply myself chiefly to those of the lower sort, for whose comfort and satisfaction this discourse is principally intended. For having observed the great sin of those who do not abound in wealth to be that of murmuring and repining, that God hath dealt his blessings unequally to the sons of men, I thought it would be of great use to remove out of your minds so false and wicked an opinion, by showing that your condition is really happier than most of you imagine.

First, Therefore it hath been always agreed in the world that the present happiness of mankind consisted in the ease of our body, and the quiet of our mind; but, from what has been already said, it plainly appears that neither wealth nor power do in any sort contribute to either of these two blessings. If, on the contrary, by multiplying our desires they increase our discontents; if they destroy our health, gall us with painful diseases, and shorten our life; if they expose us to hatred, to envy, to censure, to a thousand temptations, it is not easy to see why a wise man should make them his choice for their own sake, although it were in his power. Would any of you who are in health and strength of body, with moderate food and raiment earned by your own labour, rather choose to be in the rich man's bed under the torture of the gout, unable to take your natural rest or natural nourishment, with the additional load of a guilty conscience reproaching you for injustice, oppressions, covetousness, and fraud? No; but you would take the riches and power, and leave behind the inconveniences that attend them; and so would every man living. But that is more than our share, and God never intended this world for such a place of rest as we would make it; for the Scripture assureth us that it was only designed as a place of trial. Nothing is more frequent than a man to wish himself in another's condition, yet he seldom doth it without some reserve; he would not be so old, he would not be so sickly, he would not be so cruel, he would not be so insolent, he would not be so vicious, he would not be so oppressive, so griping, and so on. Whence it is plain that, in their own judgment, men are not so unequally dealt with as they would at first sight imagine; for if I would not change my condition with another man without any exception or reservation at all, I am in reality more happy than he.

Secondly, You of the meaner sort are subject to fewer temptations than the rich, and therefore your vices are more unpardonable. Labour subdueth your appetites to be satisfied with common things; the business of your several callings filleth up your whole time; so that idleness, which is the bane and destruction of virtue, doth not lead you into the neighbourhood of sin: your passions are cooler by not being inflamed with excess, and therefore the gate and the way that lead to life are not so strait and so narrow to you as to those who live among all the allurements to wickedness. To serve God with the best of your care

and understanding, and to be just and true in your dealings, is the short sum of your duty, and will be the more strictly required of you because nothing lieth in the way to divert you from it.

Thirdly, It is plain from what I have said that you of the lower rank have no just reason to complain of your condition; because, as you plainly see, it affordeth you so many advantages, and freeth you from so many vexations, so many distempers, both of body and mind, which pursue and torment the rich and powerful.

Fourthly, You are to remember and apply, that the poorest person is not excused from doing good to others, and even relieving the wants of his distressed neighbour, according to his abilities; and if you perform your duty in this point, you far outdo the greatest liberalities of the rich, and will accordingly be accepted of by God and get your reward: for it is our Saviour's own doctrine when the widow gave her two mites. The rich give out of their abundance; that is to say, what they give they do not feel it in their way of living; but the poor man who giveth out of his little stock, must spare it from the necessary food and raiment of himself and his family. And therefore our Saviour adds, "That the widow gave more than all who went before her, for she gave all she had, even all her living," and so went home utterly unprovided to supply her necessities.

Lastly, As it appeareth from what hath been said, that you in the lower rank have in reality a greater share of happiness, your work of salvation is easier by your being liable to fewer temptations; and as your reward in heaven is much more certain than it is to the rich if you seriously perform your duty, for yours is the kingdom of heaven: so your neglect of it will be less excusable, will meet with fewer allowances from God, and will be punished with double stripes; for the most unknowing among you cannot plead ignorance of what you have been so early taught, I hope so often instructed in, and which is so easy to be understood, I mean the art of leading a life agreeable to the plain and positive laws of God. Perhaps you may think you lie under one disadvantage which the great and rich have not, that idleness will certainly reduce you to beggary; whereas those who abound in wealth lie under no necessity either of labour or temperance to keep enough to live on. But this is indeed one part of your happiness, that the lowness of your condition in a manner forceth you to what is pleasing to God and necessary for your daily support. Thus your duty and interest are always the same.

To conclude: Since our blessed Lord, instead of a rich and honourable station in this world, was pleased to choose his lot among men of the lower condition, let not those on whom the bounty of Providence hath bestowed wealth and honours despise the men who are placed in a humble and inferior station; but rather with their utmost power, by their countenance, by their protection, by just payment of their honest labour, encourage their daily endeavours for the virtuous support of themselves and their families. On the other hand, let the poor labour to provide things honest in the sight of all men; and so, with diligence in their several employments, live soberly, righteously, and godlily in this present world, that they may obtain that glorious reward promised in the gospel to the poor, I mean the kingdom of heaven.

Now to God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, be praises for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON THE NINTH.

ON THE CAUSES OF THE WRETCHED CONDITION OF IRELAND.[a]

PSALM CXLIV. 13, 14.

That there be no complaining in our streets. Happy is the people that is in such a case.

It is a very melancholy reflection that such a country as ours, which is capable of producing all things necessary and most things convenient for life, sufficient for the support of four times the number of its inhabitants should yet lie under the heaviest load of misery and want; our streets crowded with beggars, so many of our lower sort of tradesmen, labourers, and artificers not able to find clothes and food for their families.

I think it may therefore be of some use to lay before you the chief causes of this wretched condition we are in, and then it will be easier to assign what remedies are in our power toward removing at least some part of these evils.

For it is ever to be lamented that we lie under many disadvantages, not by our own faults, which are peculiar to ourselves, and of which no other nation under heaven hath any reason to complain.

I shall therefore first mention some causes of our miseries, which I doubt are not to be remedied, until God shall put it into the hearts of those who are the stronger to allow us the common rights and privileges of brethren, fellow-subjects, and even of mankind.

The first cause of our misery is the intolerable hardships we lie under in every branch of trade, by which we are become as hewers of wood and drawers of water to our rigorous neighbours.

The second cause of our miserable state is the folly, the vanity, and ingratitude of those vast numbers who think themselves too good to live in the country which gave them birth, and still gives them bread; and rather choose to pass their days and consume their wealth, and draw out the very vitals of their mother kingdom, among those who heartily despise them.

These I have but lightly touched on, because I fear they are not to be redressed; and besides, I am very sensible how ready some people are to take offence at the honest truth; and for that reason I shall omit several other grievances under which we are long likely to groan.

I shall therefore go on to relate some other causes of this nation's poverty, by which, if they continue much longer, it must infallibly sink to utter ruin.

The first is, that monstrous pride and vanity in both sexes, especially the weaker sex, who in the midst of poverty are suffered to run into all kind of expense and extravagance in dress; and particularly priding themselves to wear nothing but what cometh from abroad, disdaining the growth or manufacture of their own country, in those articles with which they can be better served at home at half the expense; and this is grown to such a height, that they will carry the whole yearly rent of a good estate at once on their body. And as there is in that sex a spirit of envy, by which they cannot endure to see others in a better habit than themselves, so those whose fortunes can hardly support their families in the necessaries of life will needs vie with the richest and greatest among us, to the ruin of themselves and their posterity.

Neither are the men less guilty of this pernicious folly, who, in imitation of a gaudiness and foppery of dress introduced of late years into our neighbouring kingdom, (as fools are apt to imitate only the defects of their betters,) cannot find materials in their own country worthy to adorn their bodies of clay, while their minds are naked of every valuable quality.

[a] This is not properly a sermon, but a political dissertation, and it is worthy of the subject and the author.

Thus our tradesmen and shopkeepers who deal in home goods are left in a starving condition, and only those encouraged who ruin the kingdom by importing among us foreign vanities.

Another cause of our low condition is our great luxury; the chief support of which is the materials of it brought to the nation in exchange for the few valuable things left us, whereby so many thousand families want the very necessaries of life.

Thirdly, In most parts of this kingdom the natives are from their infancy so given up to idleness and sloth that they often choose to beg or steal, rather than support themselves with their own labour; they marry without the least view or thought of being able to make any provision for their families; and whereas, in all industrious nations, children are looked on as a help to their parents, with us, for want of being early trained to work, they are an intolerable burden at home, and a grievous charge upon the public; as appeareth from the vast number of ragged and naked children in town and country, led about by strolling women, trained up in ignorance, and all manner of vice.

Lastly, A great cause of this nation's misery is, that Egyptian bondage of cruel, oppressing, covetous landlords; expecting that all who live under them should make bricks without straw; who grieve and envy when they see a tenant of their own in a whole coat, or able to afford one comfortable meal in a month; by which the spirits of the people are broken and made fit for slavery: the farmers and cottagers almost through the whole kingdom being, to all intents and purposes, as real beggars as any of those to whom we give our charity in the streets. And these cruel landlords are every day unpeopling the kingdom, by forbidding their miserable tenants to till the earth, against common reason and justice, and contrary to the practice and prudence of all other nations; by which numberless families have been forced either to leave the kingdom, or stroll about and increase the number of our thieves and beggars.

Such and much worse is our condition at present, if I had leisure or liberty to lay it before you; and therefore, the next thing which might be considered is, whether there may be any probable remedy found, at least against some part of these evils, for most of them are wholly desperate.

But this being too large a subject to be now handled, and the intent of my discourse confining me to give some directions concerning the poor of the city, I shall keep myself within those limits. It is indeed in the power of the lawgivers to found a school in every parish of the kingdom for teaching the meaner and poorer sort of children to speak and to read the English tongue, and to provide a reasonable maintenance for the teachers. This would in time abolish that part of barbarity and ignorance for which our natives are so despised by all foreigners; this would bring them to think and act according to the rules of reason, by which a spirit of industry, and thrift, and honesty would be introduced among them. And indeed, considering how small a tax would suffice for such a work, it is a public scandal that such a thing should never have been endeavoured, or perhaps so much as thought on.

To supply the want of such a law, several pious persons in many parts of this kingdom have been prevailed on, by the great endeavours and good example set them by the clergy, to erect charity-schools in several parishes, to which very often the richest parishioners contribute the least. In those schools children are, or ought to be, trained up to read and write and cast accounts; and these children should, if possible, be of honest parents, gone to decay through age, sickness, or other unavoidable calamity, by the hand of God; not the brood of wicked strollers; for it is by no means reasonable that the charity of well-inclined people should be applied to encourage the lewdness of those profligate, abandoned women, who crowd our streets with their borrowed or spurious issue.

In those hospitals which have good foundations and rents to support them, whereof, to the scandal of Christianity, there are very few in this kingdom; I say, in such hospitals, the children maintained ought to be only of decayed citizens and freemen, and be bred up to good trades. But in these small parish charity-schools, which have no support but the casual good-will of charitable people, I do altogether disapprove the custom of putting the children apprentice except to the very meanest trades; otherwise the poor honest citizen, who is just able to bring up his child, and pay a small sum of money with him to a good master, is wholly defeated, and the bastard issue, perhaps of some beggar, preferred before him. And hence we come to be so overstocked with apprentices and journeymen, more than our discouraged country can employ; and I fear the greatest part of our thieves, pickpockets, and other vagabonds are of this number.

Therefore, in order to make these parish charity-schools of great and universal use, I agree with the opinion of many wise persons, that a new turn should be given to this whole matter.

I think there is no complaint more just than what we find in almost every family, of the folly and ignorance, the fraud and knavery, the idleness and viciousness, the wasteful squandering temper of servants, who are, indeed, become one of the many public grievances of the kingdom; whereof, I believe, there are few masters that now hear me who are not convinced by their own experience. And I am very confident that more families, of all degrees, have been ruined by the corruption of servants, than by all other causes put together. Neither is this to be wondered at, when we consider from what nurseries so many of them are received into our houses. The first is the tribe of wicked boys, wherewith most corners of this town are pestered, who haunt public doors. These, having been born of beggars, and bred to pilfer as soon as they can go or speak, as years come on, are employed in the lowest offices to get themselves bread, are practised in all manner of villany, and when they are grown up, if they are not entertained in a gang of thieves, are forced to seek for a service. The other nursery is the barbarous and desert part of the country from whence such lads come up hither to seek their fortunes, who are bred up from the dunghill in idleness, ignorance, lying, and thieving. From these two nurseries, I say, a great number of our servants come to us, sufficient to corrupt all the rest. Thus the whole race of servants in this kingdom have gotten so ill a reputation, that some persons from England, come over hither into great stations, are said to have absolutely refused admitting any servant born among us into their families. Neither can they be justly blamed; for, although it is not impossible to find an honest native fit for a good service, yet the inquiry is too troublesome, and the hazard too great, for a stranger to attempt.

If we consider the many misfortunes that befall private families, it will be found that servants are the causes and instruments of them all. Are our goods embezzled, wasted, and destroyed? is our house burnt to the ground? it is by the sloth, the drunkenness, or the villany of servants. Are we robbed and murdered in our beds? it is by confederacy with our servants. Are we engaged in quarrels and misunderstandings with our neighbours? these were all begun and inflamed by the false, malicious tongues of our servants. Are the secrets of our families betrayed, and evil repute spread of us? our servants were the authors. Do

false accusers rise up against us? (an evil too frequent in this country)—they have been tampering with our servants. Do our children discover folly, malice, pride, cruelty, revenge, undutifulness in their words and actions? are they seduced to lewdness or scandalous marriages? it is all by our servants. Nay, the very mistakes, follies, blunders, and absurdities of those in our service are able to ruffle and discompose the mildest nature, and are often of such consequence as to put whole families into confusion.

Since, therefore, not only our domestic peace and quiet, and the welfare of our children, but even the very safety of our lives, reputations, and fortunes, have so great a dependence upon the choice of our servants, I think it would well become the wisdom of the nation to make some provision in so important an affair. But in the mean time, and perhaps to better purpose, it were to be wished that the children of both sexes, entertained in the parish charity-schools, were bred up in such a manner as would give them a teachable disposition, and qualify them to learn whatever is required in any sort of service. For instance, they should be taught to read and write, to know somewhat in casting accounts, to understand the principles of religion, to practise cleanliness, to get a spirit of honesty, industry, and thrift, and be severely punished for every neglect in any of these particulars. For it is the misfortune of mankind that, if they are not used to be taught in their early childhood whereby to acquire what I call a teachable disposition, they cannot, without great difficulty, learn the easiest thing in the course of their lives, but are always awkward and unhandy; their minds, as well as bodies, for want of early practice, growing stiff and unmanageable; as we observe in the sort of gentlemen who, kept from school by the indulgence of their parents but a few years, are never able to recover the time they have lost, and grow up in ignorance and all manner of vice, whereof we have too many examples all over the nation. But to return to what I was saying: if these charity children were trained up in the manner I mentioned, and then bound apprentices in the families of gentlemen and citizens, (for which a late law giveth great encouragement,) being accustomed from their first entrance to be always learning some useful thing, they would learn in a month more than another, without those advantages, can do in a year; and in the mean time, be very useful in a family, as far as their age and strength would allow. And when such children come to years of discretion, they will probably be a useful example to their fellow-servants; at least they will prove a strong check upon the rest; for I suppose everybody will allow that one good, honest, diligent servant in a house may prevent abundance of mischief in the family.

These are the reasons for which I urge this matter so strongly and I hope those who listen to me will consider them.

I shall now say something about that great number of poor who, under the name of common beggars, infest our streets, and fill our ears with their continual cries and craving importunity. This I shall venture to call an unnecessary evil, brought upon us from the gross neglect and want of proper management in those whose duty it is to prevent it. But before I proceed further, let me humbly presume to vindicate the justice and mercy of God, and his dealings with mankind. Upon this particular he hath not dealt so hardly with his creatures as some would imagine, when they see so many miserable objects ready to perish for want; for it would infallibly be found, upon strict inquiry, that there is hardly one in twenty of those miserable objects who do not owe their present poverty to their own faults, to their present sloth and negligence, to their indiscreet marriage without the least prospect of supporting a family, to their foolish expensiveness, to their drunkenness and other vices, by which they have squandered their gettings, and contracted diseases in their old age. And to speak freely, is it any way reasonable or just that those who have denied themselves many lawful satisfactions and conveniences of life, from a principle of conscience as well as prudence, that they might not be a burden to the public, should be charged with supporting others, who have brought themselves to less than a morsel of bread by their idleness, extravagance, and vice? Yet such, and no other, are far the greatest number not only of those who beg in our streets, but even of what we call poor decayed housekeepers, whom we are apt to pity as real objects of charity, and distinguish them from common beggars, although, in truth, they both owe their undoing to the same causes; only the former are too nicely bred to endure walking half naked in the streets, or too proud to own their wants. For the artificer or other tradesman, who pleadeth he is grown too old to work or look after business, and therefore expecteth assistance as a decayed housekeeper; may we not ask him why he did not take care, in his youth and strength of days, to make some provision against old age, when he saw so many examples before him of people undone by their idleness and vicious extravagance? And to go a little higher, whence cometh it that so many citizens and shopkeepers, of the most creditable trade, who once made a good figure, go to decay by their expensive pride and vanity, affecting to educate and dress their children above their abilities, or the state of life they ought to expect?

However, since the best of us have too many infirmities to answer for, we ought not to be severe upon those of others; and therefore, if our brother, through grief, or sickness, or other incapacity, is not in a condition to preserve his being, we ought to support him to the best of our power, without reflecting over seriously on the causes that brought him to his misery. But in order to this, and to turn our charity into its proper channel, we ought to consider who and where those objects are whom it is chiefly incumbent upon us to support.

By the ancient law of this realm, still in force, every parish is obliged to maintain its own poor; which, although some may think to be not very equal, because many parishes are very rich, and have few poor among them, and others the contrary; yet I think may be justly defended: for as to remote country parishes, in the desert part of the kingdom, the necessaries of life are there so cheap, that the infirm poor may be provided for with little burden to the inhabitants. But in what I am going to say, I shall confine myself only to this city; where we are overrun not only with our own poor, but with a far greater number from every part of the nation. Now I say, this evil of being encumbered with so many foreign beggars, who have not the least title to our charity, and whom it is impossible for us to support, may be easily remedied, if the government of this city, in conjunction with the clergy and parish officers, would think it worth their care; and I am sure few things deserve it better. For if every parish would take a list of those begging poor which properly belong to it, and compel each of them to wear a badge, marked and numbered, so as to be seen and known by all they meet, and confine them to beg within the limits of their own parish, severely punishing them when they offend, and driving out all interlopers from other parishes, we could then make a computation of their numbers; and the strollers from the country being driven away, the remainder would not be too many for the charity of those who pass by to maintain; neither would any beggar,

although confined to his own parish, be hindered from receiving the charity of the whole town: because in this case, those well-disposed persons who walk the streets will give their charity to such whom they think proper objects, wherever they meet them, provided they are found in their own parishes, and wearing their badges of distinction. And as to those parishes which border upon the skirts and suburbs of the town, where country strollers are used to harbour themselves, they must be forced to go back to their homes, when they find nobody to relieve them, because they want that mark which only gives them license to beg. Upon this point it were to be wished that inferior parish officers had better encouragement given them to perform their duty in driving away all beggars who do not belong to the parish, instead of conniving at them, as it is said they do for some small contribution: for the whole city would save much more by ridding themselves of many hundred beggars than they would lose by giving parish officers a reasonable support.

It should seem a strange, unaccountable thing, that those who have probably been reduced to want by riot, lewdness, and idleness, although they have assurance enough to beg alms publicly from all they meet, should yet be too proud to wear the parish badge, which would turn so much to their own advantage, by ridding them of such great numbers who now intercept the greatest part of what belongeth to them; yet it is certain that there are very many who publicly declare they will never wear those badges, and many others who either hide or throw them away; but the remedy for this is very short, easy, and just, by trying them like vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and forcibly driving them out of the town.

Therefore, as soon as this expedient of wearing badges shall be put in practice, I do earnestly exhort all those who hear me, never to give their alms to any public beggar who doth not fully comply with this order; by which our number of poor will be so reduced, that it will be much easier to provide for the rest. Our shop-doors will be no longer crowded with so many thieves and pickpockets in beggars' habits, nor our streets so dangerous to those who are forced to walk in the night.

Thus I have, with great freedom, delivered my thoughts upon this subject, which so nearly concerneth us. It is certainly a bad scheme, to any Christian country which God hath blessed with fruitfulness, and where the people enjoy the just rights and privileges of mankind, that there should be any beggars at all. But, alas! among us, where the whole nation itself is almost reduced to beggary, by the disadvantages we lie under, and the hardships we are forced to bear; the laziness, ignorance, thoughtlessness, squandering temper, slavish nature, and uncleanly manner of living in the poor popish natives, together with the cruel oppressions of their landlords, who delight to see their vassals in the dust: I say that in such a nation, how can we otherwise expect than to be overrun with objects of misery and want? Therefore there can be no other method to free this city from so intolerable a grievance than by endeavouring, as far as in us lies, that the burden may be more equally divided, by contributing to maintain our own poor, and forcing the strollers and vagabonds to return to their several homes in the country, there to smite the conscience of those oppressors who first stripped them of all their substance.

I might here, if the time would permit, offer many arguments to persuade to works of charity; but you hear them so often from the pulpit, that I am willing to hope you may not now want them. Besides, my present design was only to show where your alms would be best bestowed, to the honour of God, your own ease and advantage, the service of your country, and the benefit of the poor. I desire you will all weigh and consider what I have spoken, and according to your several stations and abilities endeavour to put it in practice; and God give you good success. To whom, with the Son and Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON THE TENTH.

ON SLEEPING IN CHURCH.

ACTS, XX. 9.

And there sat in the window a certain young man, named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep; and while Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.

I HAVE chosen these words with design, if possible, to disturb some part in this audience of half an hour's sleep, for the convenience and exercise whereof this place, at this season of the day, is very much celebrated.

There is, indeed, one mortal disadvantage to which all preaching is subject; that those who by the wickedness of their lives stand in greatest need have usually the smallest share; for either they are absent upon the account of idleness or spleen, or hatred to religion, or in order to doze away the intemperance of the week: or, if they do come, they are sure to employ their minds rather any other way than regarding or attending to the business of the place.

The accident which happened to this young man in the text, hath not been sufficient to discourage his successors; but, because the preachers now in the world, however they may exceed St. Paul in the art of setting men to sleep, do extremely fall short of him in the working of miracles; therefore men are become so cautious, as to choose more safe and convenient stations and postures for taking their repose, without hazard of their persons; and upon the whole matter, choose rather to trust their destruction to a miracle, than their safety. However, this being not the only way by which the lukewarm Christians and scorners of the age discover their neglect and contempt of preaching, I shall enter expressly into consideration of this matter, and order my discourse in the following method:—

First, I shall produce several instances to show the great neglect of preaching now among us.

Secondly, I shall reckon up some of the usual quarrels men have against preaching.

Thirdly, I shall set forth the great evil of this neglect and contempt of preaching, and discover the real causes whence it proceedeth.

Lastly, I shall offer some remedies against this great and spreading evil.

First, I shall produce certain instances to show the great neglect of preaching now among us.

These may be reduced under two heads. First, men's absence from the service of the church; and secondly, their misbehaviour when they are here.

The first instance of men's neglect is in their frequent absence from the church.

There is no excuse so trivial that will not pass upon some men's consciences to excuse their attendance at the public worship of God. Some are so unfortunate as to be always indisposed on the Lord's-day, and think nothing so unwholesome as the air of a church. Others have their affairs so oddly contrived, as to be always unluckily prevented by business. With some it is a great mark of wit and deep understanding to stay at home on Sundays. Others again discover strange fits of laziness, that seize them particularly on that day, and confine them to their beds. Others are absent out

of more contempt of religion. And, lastly, there are not a few who look upon it as a day of rest, and therefore claim the privilege of their cattle, to keep the Sabbath by eating, drinking, and sleeping, after the toil and labour of the week. Now in all this the worst circumstance is, that these persons are such whose companies are most required, and who stand most in need of a physician.

Secondly, Men's great neglect and contempt of preaching appear by their misbehaviour when at church.

If the audience were to be ranked under several heads, according to their behaviour when the word of God is delivered, how small a number would appear of those who receive it as they ought! How much of the seed then sown would be found to fall by the wayside upon stony ground, or among thorns; and how little good ground there would be to take it! A preacher cannot look round from the pulpit without observing that some are in a perpetual whisper, and by their air and gesture give occasion to suspect that they are in those very minutes defaming their neighbour. Others have their eyes and imagination constantly engaged in such a circle of objects, perhaps to gratify the most unwarrantable desires, that they never once attend to the business of the place; the sound of the preacher's words does not so much as once interrupt them. Some have their minds wandering among idle, worldly, or vicious thoughts. Some lie at catch to ridicule whatever they hear, and with much wit and humour provide a stock of laughter by furnishing themselves from the pulpit. But of all misbehaviour, none is comparable to that of those who come here to sleep. Opium is not so stupifying to many persons as an afternoon sermon. Perpetual custom hath so brought it about that the words of whatever preacher become only a sort of uniform sound at a distance, than which nothing is more effectual to lull the senses. For that it is the very sound of the sermon which hindeth up their faculties is manifest from hence, because they all awake so very regularly as soon as it ceaseth, and with much devotion receive the blessing, dozed and besotted with indecencies I am ashamed to repeat.

I proceed, secondly, to reckon up some of the usual quarrels men have against preaching, and to show the unreasonableness of them.

Such unwarrantable demeanour as I have described among Christians in the house of God in a solemn assembly, while their faith and duty are explained and delivered, have put those who are guilty upon inventing some excuses to extenuate their fault: this they do by turning the blame either upon the particular preacher, or upon preaching in general. First, they object against the particular preacher; his manner, his delivery, his voice are disagreeable; his style and expression are flat and slow, sometimes improper and absurd; the matter is heavy, trivial, and insipid, sometimes despicable and perfectly ridiculous; or else, on the other side, he runs up into unintelligible speculation, empty notions, and abstracted flights, all clad in words above usual understandings.

Secondly, They object against preaching in general; it is a perfect road of talk, they know already whatever can be said, they have heard the same a hundred times over. They quarrel that preachers do not relieve an old beaten subject with wit and invention, and that now the art is lost of moving men's passions, so common among the ancient orators of Greece and Rome. These and the like objections are frequently in the mouths of men who despise the foolishness of preaching. But let us examine the reasonableness of them.

The doctrine delivered by all preachers is the same: "So we preach, and so ye believe:" but the manner of delivering is suited to the skill and abilities of each, which differ in preachers just as in the rest of mankind. However, in personal dislikes of a particular preacher, are these men sure they are always in the right? Do they consider how mixed a thing is every audience whose taste and judgment differ perhaps every day, not only from each other but themselves? and how to calculate a discourse that shall exactly suit them all is beyond the force and reach of human reason, knowledge, or invention. Wit and eloquence are shining qualities that God hath imparted in great degrees to very few; nor any more to be expected in the generality of any rank among men than riches and honour. But further, if preaching in general be all old and beaten, and that they are already so well acquainted with it, more shame and guilt to them who so little edify by it. But these men, whose ears are so delicate as not to endure a plain discourse of religion, who expect a constant supply of wit and eloquence on a subject handled so many thousand times; what will they say when we turn the objection upon themselves, who, with all the rude and profane liberty of discourse they take upon so many thousand subjects, are so dull as to furnish nothing but tedious repetitions, and little, paltry, nauseous commonplaces, so vulgar, so worn, or so obvious, as, upon any other occasion but that of advancing vice, would be hooted off the stage? Nor, lastly, are preachers justly blamed for neglecting human oratory to move the passions, which is not the business of a Christian orator, whose office it is only to work upon faith and reason. All other eloquence hath been a perfect cheat to stir up men's passions against truth and justice for the service of a faction; to put false colours upon things, and, by an amusement of agreeable words, make the worst reason appear to be the better. This is certainly not to be allowed in Christian eloquence, and therefore St. Paul took quite the other course; he "came not with the excellency of words or enticing speech of men's wisdom, but in plain evidence of the spirit and power." And perhaps it was for that reason the young man Eutychus, used to the Grecian eloquence, grew tired and fell so fast asleep.

I go on, *thirdly*, to set forth the great evil of this neglect and scorn of preaching, and to discover the real causes whence it proceedeth.

I think it is obvious that this neglect of preaching hath very much occasioned the great decay of religion among us. To this may be imputed no small part of that contempt some men bestow on the clergy; for whoever talketh without being regarded, is sure to be despised. To this we owe in a great measure the spreading of atheism and infidelity among us, for religion, like all other things, is soonest put out of countenance by being ridiculed. The scorn of preaching might perhaps have been at first introduced by men of nice ears and refined taste; but it is now become a spreading evil through all degrees and both sexes; for since sleeping, talking, and laughing are qualities sufficient to furnish out a critic, the meanest and most ignorant have set up a title, and succeeded in it as well as their betters. Thus are the last efforts of reforming mankind rendered wholly useless. "How shall they hear," saith the Apostle, "without a preacher?" But if they have a preacher, and make it a point of wit or breeding not to hear him, what remedy is left? To this neglect of preaching we may also entirely impute that gross ignorance among us in the very principles of religion, which it is amazing to find in persons who very much value their own knowledge and understanding in other things: yet it is a visible, inexcusable ignorance even in the meanest among us, considering the many advantages they have of learning their duty. And it hath been the great encouragement to all manner of vice: for in vain we preach down sin to a

people "whose hearts are waxed gross, whose ears are dull of hearing, and whose eyes are closed." Therefore Christ himself, in his discourses, frequently roueth up the attention of the multitude and of his disciples themselves with this expression, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." But among all neglects of preaching, none is so fatal as that of sleeping in the house of God. A scorner may listen to truth and reason and in time grow serious; an unbeliever may feel the pangs of a guilty conscience; one whose thoughts or eyes wander among other objects may, by a lucky word, be called back to attention; but the sleeper shuts up all avenues to his soul; he is "like the deaf adder that hearkeneth not to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." And we may preach with as good success to the grave that is under his feet.

But the great evil of this neglect will further yet appear, from considering the real causes whence it proceedeth; whereof the first I take to be an evil conscience. Many men come to church to save or gain a reputation, or because they will not be singular, but comply with an established custom; yet all the while they are loaded with the guilt of old rooted sins. These men can expect to hear of nothing but terrors and threatenings, their sins laid open in true colours, and eternal misery the reward of them; therefore no wonder they stop their ears, and divert their thoughts, and seek any amusement rather than stir the hell within them.

Another cause of this neglect is a heart set upon worldly things. Men, whose minds are much enslaved to earthly affairs all the week, cannot disengage or break the chain of their thoughts so suddenly as to apply to a discourse that is wholly foreign to what they have most at heart. Tell a usurer of charity and mercy, and restitution, you talk to the deaf: his heart and soul, with all his senses, are got among his bags, or he is gravely asleep and dreaming of a mortgage. Tell a man of business that the cares of the world choke the good seed; that we must not encumber ourselves with much serving; that the salvation of his soul is the one thing necessary: you see indeed the shape of a man before you, but his faculties are all gone off among clients and papers, thinking how to defend a bad cause or find flaws in a good one; or he weareth out the time in drowsy nods.

A third cause of the great neglect and scorn of preaching ariseth from the practice of men who set up to decry and disparage religion; these, being zealous to promote infidelity and vice, learn a rote of buffoonery that serveth all occasions, and refutes the strongest arguments for piety and good manners. These have a set of ridicule calculated for all sermons and all preachers, and can be extremely witty as often as they please upon the same fund.

Let me now, in the last place, offer some remedies against this great evil.

It will be one remedy against the contempt of preaching rightly to consider the end for which it was designed. There are many who place abundance of merit in going to church, although it be with no other prospect but that of being well entertained, wherein if they happen to fail, they return wholly disappointed. Hence it is become an impertinent vein among people of all sorts to hunt after what they call a good sermon, as if it were a matter of pastime and diversion. Our business, alas! is quite another thing; either to learn, or at least be reminded of our duty, to apply the doctrines delivered, compare the rules we hear with our lives and actions, and find wherein we have transgressed. These are the dispositions men should bring into the house of God, and then they will be little concerned about the preacher's wit or eloquence, nor be curious to inquire out his faults and infirmities, but consider how to correct their own.

Another remedy against the contempt of preaching is that men would consider whether it be not reasonable to give more allowance for the different abilities of preachers than they usually do. Refinements of style and flights of wit, as they are not properly the business of any preacher, so they cannot possibly be the talents of all. In most other discourses men are satisfied with sober sense and plain reason, and, as understandings usually go, even that is not over frequent. Then why they should be so over nice in expectation of eloquence, where it is neither necessary nor convenient, is hard to imagine.

Lastly, The scorners of preaching would do well to consider that this talent of ridicule they value so much is a perfection very easily acquired and applied to all things whatsoever, neither is anything at all the worse because it is capable of being perverted to burlesque; perhaps it may be the more perfect upon that score, since we know the most celebrated pieces have been thus treated with greatest success. It is in any man's power to suppose a fool's cap on the wisest head, and then laugh at his own supposition. I think there are not many things cheaper than supposing and laughing; and if the uniting these two talents can bring a thing into contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.

To conclude:—These considerations may perhaps have some effect while men are awake, but what arguments shall we use to the sleeper? what methods shall we take to hold open his eyes? Will he be moved by considerations of common civility? We know it is reckoned a point of very bad manners to sleep in private company, when perhaps the tedious impertinence of many talkers would render it at least as excusable as the dullest sermon. Do they think it a small thing to watch four hours at a play where all virtue and religion are openly reviled, and can they not watch one half hour to hear them defended? Is this to deal like a judge, (I mean like a good judge,) to listen on one side of the cause and sleep on the other? I shall add but one word more: that this indecent sloth is very much owing to that luxury and excess men usually practise upon this day, by which half the service thereof is turned to sin, men dividing their time between God and their bellies, when after a gluttonous meal, their senses dozed and stupified, they retire to God's house to sleep out the afternoon. Surely, brethren, these things ought not so to be.

"He that hath ears to hear let him hear." And God give us all grace to hear and receive his holy word to the salvation of our own souls!

SERMON THE ELEVENTH.

ON THE WISDOM OF THIS WORLD.

1 cor. iii. 19.

The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.

It is remarkable that about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world all kinds of learning flourished to a very great degree, insomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even such who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praise and opinion of the wisdom and virtue of the Gentile sages of those days, and likewise of those ancient philosophers who went before them, whose doctrines are left upon record either by themselves or other writers.

As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be said that the providence of God brought this about for several very wise ends and purposes; for it is certain that these philosophers had been a long time before searching out where to fix the true happiness of man, and not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not possibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their inquiries were in the end but

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vain and fruitless; the consequence of which must be not only an acknowledgment of the weakness of all human wisdom, but likewise an open passage hereby made for letting in those beams of light which the glorious sunshine of the gospel then brought into the world, by revealing those hidden truths which they had so long before been labouring to discover, and fixing the general happiness of mankind beyond all controversy and dispute. And therefore the providence of God wisely suffered men of deep genius and learning then to arise, who should search into the truth of the gospel now made known, and canvass its doctrines with all the subtilty and knowledge they were masters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wisdom only "which cometh from above."

However, to make a further inquiry into the truth of this observation, I doubt not but there is reason to think that a great many of those encomiums given to ancient philosophers are taken upon trust, and by a sort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an inquiry that would employ so much time and thinking. For the usual ends why men affect this kind of discourse appear generally to be either out of ostentation, that they may pass upon the world for persons of great knowledge and observation; or, what is worse, there are some who highly exalt the wisdom of those Gentile sages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce divine revelation, and more especially that of the gospel; for the consequence they would have us draw is this, that since those ancient philosophers rose to a greater pitch of wisdom and virtue than was ever known among Christians, and all this purely upon the strength of their own reason and liberty of thinking, therefore it must follow that either all revelation is false, or, what is worse, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worse than it found him.

But this high opinion of heathen wisdom is not very ancient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times. Our Saviour had but a low esteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who followed the doctrines of Plato and Epicurus. St. Paul likewise, who was well versed in all the Grecian literature, seems very much to despise their philosophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the Colossians to "beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit." And in another place he advises Timothy to "avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called;" that is, not to introduce into the Christian doctrine the jangling of those vain philosophers, which they would pass upon the world for science. And the reasons he gives are, first, That those who professed them did err concerning the faith; secondly, because the knowledge of them did increase ungodliness, vain babblings being otherwise expounded vanities, or empty sounds, that is, tedious disputes about words, which the philosophers were always so full of, and which were the natural product of disputes and dissensions between several sects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the heathen philosophy, as it is manifest from several passages in their writings; so that this vein of affecting to raise the reputation of those sages so high is a mode and a vice but of yesterday, assumed chiefly, as I have said, to disparage revealed knowledge, and the consequences of it among us.

Now, because this is a prejudice which may prevail with some persons, so far as to lessen the influence of the gospel; and whereas, therefore, this is an opinion which men of education are likely to be encountered with, when they have produced themselves into the world; I shall endeavour to show that their preference of heathen wisdom and virtue before that of the Christian is every way unjust, and grounded upon ignorance or mistake; in order to which, I shall consider four things:—

First, I shall produce certain points wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I shall show in several instances where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly, I shall show that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the heathen wise men were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any sect, whereas in Christianity it is quite the contrary.

First, I shall produce certain points wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short and was very imperfect.

My design is to persuade men that Christian philosophy is in all things preferable to heathen wisdom; from which, or its professors, I shall however, have no occasion to detract. They were as wise and as good as it was possible for them to be under such disadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more so with such aids as we enjoy; but our lessons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall short.

The first point I shall mention is that universal defect which was in all their schemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happiness of mankind; nor had any of them a tolerable answer upon this difficulty to satisfy a reasonable person. For to say, as the most plausible of them did, "that happiness consisted in virtue," was but vain babbling and a mere sound of words, to amuse others and themselves; because they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did consist; and likewise because several among the best of them taught quite different things, placing happiness in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I shall have occasion to show when I speak of their particular tenets.

The second great defect in the Gentile philosophy was, that it wanted some suitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progress in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the score of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: bodily goods being only suitable to bodily wants are no rest at all for the mind; and if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wisdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now human nature is so constituted that we can never pursue anything heartily, but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize; and the greater the prize the faster we run; for an incorruptible crown, if we understand it, and believe it to be such, more than a corruptible one. But some of the philosophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine so far as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itself; whereas if there be anything in this more than the sound of the words, it is at least too abstracted to become a universal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general use.

It was the want of assigning some happiness proportioned to the soul of man, that caused many of them, either on the one hand to be sour and morose, supercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar pursuits of common men, to hunt after greatness and riches, to make their court and to serve occasions, as Plato did to the younger Dionysius, and Aristotle to Alexander the Great. So impossible it is for a man, who looks no further than the present world, to fix himself long in a contemplation where the present

world has no part: he has no sure hold, no firm footing, he can never expect to remove the earth he rests upon, while he has no support besides for his feet, but wants, like Archimedes, some other place whereon to stand. To talk of bearing pain and grief without any sort of present or future hope cannot be purely greatness of spirit, there must be a mixture in it of affectation and an allay of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true there has been all along in the world a notion of rewards and punishments in another life, but it seems to have rather served as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a settled principle by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The last celebrated words of Socrates, a little before his death, do not seem to reckon or build much upon any such opinion, and Cæsar made no scruple to disown it, and ridicule it in open senate.

Thirdly, The greatest and wisest of all their philosophers were never able to give any satisfaction to others and themselves in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely gross and absurd in their conceptions, and those who made the fairest conjectures are such as were generally allowed by the learned, to have seen the system of Moses, if I may so call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the heathen world, as we find by Diodorus, Justin, Longinus, and other authors; for the rest, the wisest among them laid aside all notions after a Deity, as a disquisition vain and fruitless, which indeed it was upon unrevealed principles; and those who ventured to engage too far, fell into incoherence and confusion.

Fourthly, Those among them who had the justest conceptions of a Divine Power, and did also admit a providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they trusted in themselves for all things; but as for a trust or dependence upon God, they would not have understood the phrase, it made no part of the profane style.

Therefore it was that, in all issues and events which they could not reconcile to their own sentiments of reason and justice, they were quite disconcerted, they had no retreat; but upon every blow of adverse fortune either affected to be indifferent, or grew sullen and severe, or else yielded and sunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy fell short and was very imperfect, I go on, in the second place, to show, in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thales, the founder of the Ionic sect, so celebrated for morality, being asked how a man might bear ill-fortune with greatest ease, answered, "By seeing his enemies in a worse condition." An answer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included such consequences as must destroy all society from the world.

Solon lamenting the death of a son, one told him, "You lament in vain." "Therefore," said he, "I lament because it is in vain." This was a plain confession how imperfect all his philosophy was, and that something was still wanting. He owned that all his wisdom and morals were useless, and this upon one of the most frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to support himself even from David, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath instructed his disciples!

Plato himself, with all his refinements, placed happiness in wisdom, health, good fortune, honour, and riches, and held that they who enjoyed all these were perfectly happy; which opinion was indeed unworthy its owner, leaving the wise and good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miserable without resource.

His scholar Aristotle fell more grossly into the same notion, and plainly affirmed, "That virtue without the goods of fortune was not sufficient for happiness, but that a wise man must be miserable in poverty and sickness." Nay, Diogenes himself, from whose pride and singularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, "That a poor old man was the most miserable thing in life."

Zeno also and his followers fell into many absurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal; which, instead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Lastly, Epicurus had no notion of justice, but as it was profitable; and his placing happiness in pleasure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception; for although he taught that pleasure did consist in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or ascertain the boundaries of virtue as he ought to have done, by which means he misled his followers into the greatest vices, making their names to become odious and scandalous even in the heathen world.

I have produced these few instances from a great many others to show the imperfection of heathen philosophy, wherein I have confined myself wholly to their morality. And surely we may pronounce upon it, in the words of St. James, that "this wisdom descended not from above, but was earthly and sensual." What if I had produced their absurd notions about God and the soul? it would then have completed the character given it by that apostle, and appeared to have been devilish too. But it is easy to observe, from the nature of these few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a support by revelation from God.

I proceed, therefore, in the third place, to show the perfection of Christian wisdom from above; and I shall endeavour to make it appear, from those proper characters and marks of it by the apostle before mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verses.

The words run thus:—

"This wisdom descendeth not from above; but is earthly, sensual, devilish.

"For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.

"But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."

"The wisdom from above is, first, pure." This purity of the mind and spirit is peculiar to the gospel. Our Saviour says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." A mind free from all pollution of lusts shall have a daily vision of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This it is that keeps us unspotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holiness, and righteousness, far beyond the examples of the most celebrated philosophers.

It is "peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated." The Christian doctrine teacheth us all those dispositions that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any morose leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the composition of most heathen schemes; so we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's last legacy was peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto seventy times seven. Christian wisdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues of which the heathens fall infinitely short. Plato

indeed (and it is worth observing) has somewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the highest strain ever reached by man without divine assistance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us! "To love them that hate us; to bless them that curse us; and to do good to them that despitefully use us."

Christian wisdom is "without partiality;" it is not calculated for this or that nation of people, but the whole race of mankind: not so the philosophical schemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or sects; but, "in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him."

Lastly, It is "without hypocrisy;" it appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel, we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide even from ourselves those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does; unlike several branches of the heathen wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts, it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the last place, to show that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the Grecian sages were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by ancient moralists were fortitude and temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined; and the two instances wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height were Socrates and Cato. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all owing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For Socrates himself was of none at all; and although Cato was called a stoic, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. Whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On the other side, as the examples of fortitude and patience among the primitive Christians have been infinitely greater and more numerous, so they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were such as the same persons, without those aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth most of the apostles, with many thousand martyrs, are a cloud of witnesses beyond exception. Having therefore spoken so largely upon the former heads, I shall dwell no longer upon this.

And if it should here be objected, Why does not Christianity still produce the same effects? it is easy to answer, first, that although the number of pretended Christians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never so small; and it is a true lively faith alone that, by the assistance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, We may answer, that Christianity itself has very much suffered by being blended up with Gentile philosophy. The Platonic system, first taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for some early heresies in the church. When disputes began to arise, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by Scotus, as best fitted for controversy. And however this may now have become necessary, it was surely the author of a litigious vein, which has since occasioned very pernicious consequences, stopped the progress of Christianity, and been a great promoter of vice; verifying that sentence given by St. James, and mentioned before, "Where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work." This was the fatal stop to the Grecians, in their progress both of arts and arms: their wise men were divided under several sects, and their governments under several commonwealths, all in opposition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themselves, while they should have been armed against the common enemy. And I wish we had no other examples, from the like causes, less foreign or ancient than that. Diogenes said Socrates was a madman; the disciples of Zeno and Epicurus, nay of Plato and Aristotle, were engaged in fierce disputes about the most insignificant trifles. And if this be the present language and practice among us Christians, no wonder that Christianity does not still produce the same effects which it did at first, when it was received and embraced in its utmost purity and perfection: for such wisdom as this cannot "descend from above;" but must be "earthly, sensual, devilish, full of confusion and every evil work;" whereas "the wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." This is the true heavenly wisdom, which Christianity only can boast of, and which the greatest of the heathen wise men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost be praises for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON THE TWELFTH.

ON DOING GOOD;

A Sermon on the occasion of Wood's Project.*

GALATIANS, vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to consult our own private good, before the private good of any other person whatsoever. We are indeed commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves, but not as well as ourselves. The love we have for ourselves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have toward our neighbour; but as the copy doth not equal the original, so my neighbour cannot think it hard if I prefer myself, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myself first, and afterward of him. And this I need not be at much pains in persuading you to; for the want of self-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other side, if, by a small hurt and loss to myself, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that case his interest is to be preferred. For example, if I can be sure of saving his life without great danger to my own; if I can preserve him from being undone without ruining myself; or recover his reputation without blasting mine; all this I am obliged to do: and if I sincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myself.

But, besides this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity, under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extensive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour

* "I never," said the dean in a jocular conversation, "preached but twice in my life, and they were not sermons, but pamphlets." Being asked on what subject he replied. "They were against Wood's halfpence."—PILKINGTON.

in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the commonwealth, under the same government with ourselves; and this is usually called love of the public, and is a duty to which we are more strictly obliged than even that of loving ourselves; because therein ourselves are also contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the public, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in ancient times properly known by the name of virtue, because it was the greatest of all virtues, and was supposed to contain all virtues in it; and many great examples of this virtue are left us on record, scarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in such a base, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in. In those times it was common for men to sacrifice their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope nor belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the least scruple of sacrificing a whole nation, as well as their own souls, for a little present gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly must in that to come.

Have we not seen men for the sake of some petty employment give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country and of mankind, in the ruin of which themselves must at last be involved? Are not these corruptions gotten among the meanest of our people, who for a piece of money will give their votes at a venture for the disposal of their own lives and fortunes, without considering whether it be to those who are most likely to betray or defend them? But if I were to produce only one instance out of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endless labour, and therefore I shall not attempt it.

But here I would not be misunderstood: by the love of our country I do not mean loyalty to our king, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal in the common sense of the word without one grain of public good at his heart. Witness this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe that since the beginning of the world no nation upon earth ever showed (all circumstances considered) such high constant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour as we have done, and at the same time no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a public spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore I shall think my time not ill spent if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me to show the love you have for your country by endeavouring in your several situations to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded that all our misfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to show you three things:—

First, That there are few people so weak or mean who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public.

And, *lastly*, That all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, There are few people so weak or mean who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the public.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man who saved a city by his counsel. It hath often happened that a private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt, hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of very useful inventions whereof the world now reaps the benefit! The very example of honesty and industry in a poor tradesman will sometimes spread through a neighbourhood when others see how successful he is; and thus so many useful members are gained, for which the whole body of the public is the better. Whoever is blessed with a true public spirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make use of that blessing for the ends it was given him by some means or other; and therefore it hath been observed in most ages that the greatest actions for the benefit of the commonwealth have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular men and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands whence it was least expected.

But, *secondly*, It is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public; and hence arise most of those miseries with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians! The weakest hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thousand of the strongest cannot stop. Those who have thrown off all regard for public good will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exercise that power whenever they can. The greatest blow given of late to this kingdom was by the dishonesty of a few manufacturers, who by imposing bad ware at foreign markets, in almost the only traffic permitted to us, did half ruin that trade, by which this poor unhappy kingdom now suffers in the midst of sufferings. I speak not here of persons in high stations, who ought to be free from all reflection, and are supposed always to intend the welfare of the community; but we now find by experience that the meanest instrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of destruction, and is at this present endeavouring to finish his work; and hath agents among ourselves who are contented to see their own country undone, to be small sharers in that iniquitous gain which at last must end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confess it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse to you on this subject, to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public spirit when all you have is at stake; to prefer the interest of your prince and your fellow-subjects before that of one destructive impostor and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by some that this way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit. But surely when an open attempt is made and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poor-house, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure, ill-designing projector and his followers, it is time for the pastor to cry out "that the wolf is getting into his flock," to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for his infinite goodness in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions; which union, if it continue, will in all probability defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the nation!

But hence it clearly follows how necessary the love of our country or a public spirit is in every particular man, since the wicked have so many opportunities of doing public mischief. Every man is upon his guard for his private advantage; but where the public is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, considering himself only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loss is equally shared, and thus he thinks he can be no great sufferer. Meanwhile the trader, the farmer,

and the shopkeeper complain of the hardness and deadness of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is in a great measure owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public spirit and firm union among themselves, which are so necessary to he prosperity of every nation.

Another method by which the meanest wicked man may have it in his power to injure the public is false accusation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded too many examples; neither is it long since no man whose opinions were thought to differ from those in fashion could safely converse beyond his nearest friends for fear of being sworn against as a traitor by those who made a traffic of perjury and subornation; by which the very eace of the nation was disturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got loose. And it is very remarkable that the pernicious project now in hand to reduce us to beg gary was forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us, and indeed there could not be a more proper instrument for such a work.

Another method by which the meanest people may do injury to the public is the spreading of lies and false rumours: thus raising a distrust among the people of a nation, causing them to mistake their true interest, and their enemies for their friends; and this hath been likewise too successful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom misled by the grossest lies, raised upon occasion to serve some particular turn As it hath also happened in the case I lately mentioned, where one obscure man, by representing our wants where they were least, and concealing them where they were greatest, had almost succeeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom, and may still succeed, if God doth not continue that public spirit which he hath almost miraculously kindled in us upon this occasion.

Thus we see the public is many times as it were at the mercy of the meanest instrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it mischief, upon the principles of avarice or malice, which I am afraid are deeply rooted in too many breasts, and against which there can be no defence, but a firm resolution in all honest men to be closely united and active in showing their love to their country, by preferring the public interest to their present private advantage. If a passenger in a great storm at sea should hide his goods that they might not be thrown overboard to lighten the ship, what would be the consequence? The ship is cast away, and he loses his life and goods together.

We have heard of men who, through greediness of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation; which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families perished first. Let those among us consider this and tremble, whose houses are privately stored with those materials of beggary and desolation, lately brought over to be scattered like a pestilence among their countrymen, which may probably first seize upon themselves and their families, until their houses shall be made a dunghill.

I shall mention one practice more, by which the meanest instruments often succeed in doing public mischief; and this is by deceiving us with plausible arguments, to make us believe that the most ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the brass, but were ready, like the Israelites, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some of good intentions made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the Philistines treated Samson, (I mean when he was betrayed by Delilah,) first to put out our eyes, and then to bind us with fetters of brass.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was to show you that all wilful injuries done to the public are very great and aggravating sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from Scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promised Abraham to save Sodom, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to Jonas for not destroying Nineveh was, because there were six score thousand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order; and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people doth his utmost to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and put it into the hands of the devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particular persons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the public.

Secondly, All offenders against their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is impossible to obtain a pardon or make restitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at resenting injuries, and very slow in forgiving them: and how shall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injury he hath done to millions? How shall those who, by a most destructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompense? How will the authors and promoters of that villanous project for the ruin of this poor country be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they should no further succeed? The deplorable case of such wretches must entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: for those who know the least in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmost endeavours to make restitution to the person injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to sincere repentance, there is no hope of salvation given in the gospel.

Lastly, All offences against our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe those laws which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced us into the world, and continues to nourish us, so that it is usually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magistrates who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly shown you how terrible a sin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is so highly necessary, when every man's endeavour will be of use. We have hitherto been just able to support ourselves under many hardships; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to in duty to our gracious king, as well as to our ourselves. Let us therefore preserve that public spirit, which God hath raised in us, for our own temporal interest. For if this wicked project should succeed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we sell ourselves for nought, the merchant, the shopkeeper, the artificer, must fly to the desert with their miserable families, there to starve or live upon rapine,

or at least exchange their country for one more hospitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to say to you who are under my care, to warn you against those temporal evils which may draw the worst of spiritual evils after them; such as heart-burnings, murmurings, discontents, and all manner of wickedness which a desperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am sensible that what I have now said will not go very far, being confined to this assembly; but I hope it may stir up others of my brethren to exhort their several congregations, after a more effectual manner, to show their love for their country on this important occasion. And this I am sure cannot be called meddling in affairs of state.

I pray God protect his most gracious majesty and this kingdom long under his government; and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, suborners, perjurers, false accusers, and oppressors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our king, love to our county, and charity to each other.

And this we beg, for Jesus Christ's sake: to whom be all honour, glory, power, might, majesty, and dominion, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen.

THOUGHTS ON RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reason; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacities and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act sometimes by other men's reason; but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reason fully convinces me, it becomes my own reason.

To say a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor sense.

You may force men by interest or punishment to say or swear they believe and to act as if they believed; you can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the possession of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or disturbing the public.

Violent zeal for truth has a hundred to one odds, to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption wherein some nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment, till which time particular men should be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impossible, and the attempt wicked, whether those opinions be true or false; unless your avowed design be to abolish that religion altogether. So for instance, in the famous doctine of Christ's divinity, which has been universally received by all bodies of Christians since the condemnation of Arianism under Constantine and his successors; wherefore the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable; because they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world—*Qui ratione suâ disturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed, when it cannot be overcome.

The Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the Jews and heathens without the article of Christ's divinity; which I remember Erasmus accounts for, by its being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps if it were now softened by the Chinese missionaries, the conversion of those infidels would be less difficult; and we find by the Alcoran it is the great stumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into debate can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St. Paul's allegories, and other figures of Grecian eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's mercy is over all his works; but divines of all sorts lessen that mercy too much.

I look upon myself, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by Providence for defending a post assigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cause is just, yet one great motive is my submitting to the pleasure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not answerable to God for the doubts that arise in my own breast, since they are the consequence of that reason which he has planted in me; if I take care to conceal those doubts from others, if I use my best endeavours to subdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thousands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compass of subtleties, niceties, and distinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and less from reason or good policy.

I never saw, heard, nor read that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Christianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but some degree of persecution.

Those fine gentlemen, who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parsons themselves, and show us better examples.

Miserable mortals! can we contribute to the honour and glory of God? I could wish that expression were struck out of our Prayer-books.

Liberty of conscience, properly speaking, is no more than the liberty of possessing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magistrate; but how far he shall publicly act in pursuance of those opinions is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if upon this pretence I should insist upon liberty of conscience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is established, the magistrate would, with great justice, hang me and my disciples. It is the same case in religion, although not so avowed; where liberty of conscience, under the present acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at least convulsions and disturbances, in a state; which politicians would see well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which these kingdoms, as well as France, Sweden, and other countries, are flaming instances. Cromwell's notion upon that article was natural and right, when, upon the surrender of a town in Ireland, the popish governor insisted upon an article for liberty of concience. Cromwell said, "He meddled with no man's concience; but if by liberty of conscience the governor meant the liberty of the mass, he had express orders from the parliament of England against admitting any such liberty at all."

It is impossible that anything so natural, so necessary, and so universal as death should ever have been designed by Providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reason were intended by Providence to govern our passions, yet it seems that in two points of the greatest moment to the being and continuance of the world, God has intended our passions to prevail over reason. The first is, the propagation of our species; since no wise man ever married from the

dictates of reason. The other is, the love of life; which, from the dictates of reason, every man would despise and wish it an end, or that it never had a beginning. The Scripture system of man's creation is what Christians are bound to believe, and seems most agreeable of all others to probability and reason. Adam was formed from a piece of clay, and Eve from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beasts of the field and birds of the air. As to Eve, it doth not appear that her husband was her monarch; only she was to be his help-mate, and placed in some degree of subjection. However, before his fall, the beasts were his most obedient subjects, whom he governed by absolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the course of nature was changed; the animals began to reject his government; some were able to escape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in Adam over his posterity who were contemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood; whereof the first was Nimrod, the mighty hunter, who, as Milton expresseth it, made men, and not beasts, his prey; for men were easier caught by promises, and subdued by the folly or treachery of their own species; whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or strength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and some other animals, are strong or valiant; and their species never degenerates in their native soil, except they happen to be enslaved or destroyed by human fraud; but men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverseness, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity of their own kind.

TRACTS, RELIGIOUS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

AN ARGUMENT

TO PROVE THAT THE ABOLISHING OF

CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND

MAY, AS THINGS NOW STAND, BE ATTENDED WITH SOME INCONVENIANCES, AND PERHAPS NOT PRODUCE THOSE MANY GOOD EFFECTS PROPOSED THEREBY.*

I AM very sensible what a weakness and presumption it is to reason against the general humour and disposition of the world. I remember it was, with great justice, and due regard to the freedom both of the public and the press, forbidden, upon several penalties, to write, or discourse, or lay wagers against the Union, even before it was confirmed by parliament; because that was looked upon as a design to oppose the current of the people, which, beside the folly of it, is a manifest breach of the fundamental law, that makes this majority of opinion the voice of God. In like manner, and for the very same reasons, it may perhaps be neither safe nor prudent to argue against the abolishing of Christianity, at a juncture when all parties appear so unanimously determined upon the point, as we cannot but allow from their actions, their discourses, and their writings. However, I know not how, whether from the affectation of singularity, or the perverseness of human nature, but so it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this opinion. Nay, though I were sure an order were issued for my immediate prosecution by the attorney-general, I should still confess that, in the present posture of our affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet see the absolute necessity of extirpating the Christian religion from among us.

This perhaps may appear too great a paradox even for our wise and paradoxical age to endure; therefore I shall handle it with all tenderness, and with the utmost deference to that great and profound majority which is of another sentiment.

And yet the curious may please to observe how much the genius of a nation is liable to alter in half an age: I have heard it affirmed for certain, by some very old people, that the contrary opinion was, even in their memories, as much in vogue as the other is now; and that a project for the abolishing of Christianity would then have appeared as singular, and been thought as absurd, as it would be, at this time, to write or discourse in its defence.

Therefore I freely own that all appearances are against me. The system of the gospel, after the fate of other systems, is generally antiquated and exploded: and the mass or body of the common people, among whom it seems to have had its latest credit, are now grown as much ashamed of it as their betters; opinions like fashions always descending from those of quality to the middle sort, and thence to the vulgar, where at length they are dropped and vanish.

But here I would not be mistaken, and must therefore be so bold as to borrow a distinction from the writers on the other side, when they make a difference between nominal and real Trinitarians. I hope no reader imagines me so weak to stand up in the defence of real Christianity, such as used in primitive times, (if we may believe the authors of those ages,) to have an influence upon men's belief and actions: to offer at the restoring of that would indeed be a wild project; it would be to dig up foundations; to destroy at one blow all the wit and half the learning of the kingdom; to break the entire frame and constitution of things; to ruin trade, extinguish arts and sciences, with the professors of them; in short, to turn our courts, exchanges, and shops into deserts; and would be full as absurd as the proposal of Horace, where he advises the Romans all in a body to leave their city, and seek a new seat in some remote part of the world, by way of cure for the corruption of their manners.

Therefore I think this caution was in itself altogether unnecessary, (which I have inserted only to prevent all possibility of cavilling,) since every candid reader will easily understand my discourse to be intended only in defence of nominal Christianity; the other having been for some time wholly laid aside by general consent, as utterly inconsistent with our present schemes of wealth and power.

But why we should therefore cast off the name and title of Christians, although the general opinion and resolution be so violent for it, I confess I cannot (with submission) apprehend, nor is the consequence necessary. However, since the undertakers propose such wonderful advantages to the nation by this project, and advance many plausible objections against the system of Christianity, I shall briefly consider the strength of both, fairly allow them their greatest weight, and offer such answers as I think most reasonable. After which I will beg leave to show what inconveniences may possibly happen by such an innovation, in the present posture of our affairs.

First, one great advantage proposed by the abolishing

* This is a very happy and judicious idea.—JOHNSON.

of Christianity is, that it would very much enlarge and establish liberty of conscience, that great bulwark of our nation, and of the Protestant religion; which is still too much limited by priestcraft, notwithstanding all the good intentions of the legislature, as we have lately found by a severe instance. For it is confidently reported that two young gentlemen of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of causes and effects, and by the mere force of natural abilities, without the least tincture of learning, having made a discovery that there was no God, and generously communicating their thoughts for the good of the public, were some time ago, by an unparallelled severity, and upon I know not what obsolete law, broke for blasphemy. And as it has been wisely observed, if persecution once begins, no man alive knows how far it may reach or where it will end.

In answer to all which, with deference to wiser judgments, I think this rather shows the necessity of a nominal religion among us. Great wits love to be free with the highest objects; and if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will speak evil of dignities, abuse the government, and reflect upon the ministry; which I am sure few will deny to be of much more pernicious consequence, according to the saying of Tiberius, *deorum offensa diis curæ*. As to the particular fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one instance, perhaps another cannot be produced: yet (to the comfort of all those who may be apprehensive of persecution) blasphemy, we know, is freely spoken a million of times in every coffee-house and tavern, or wherever else good company meet. It must be allowed indeed that, to break an English free-born officer only for blasphemy was, to speak the gentlest of such an action, a very high strain of absolute power. Little can be said in excuse for the general: perhaps he was afraid it might give offence to the allies, among whom, for aught we know, it may be the custom of the country to believe a God. But if he argued, as some have done, upon a mistaken principle, that an officer who is guilty of speaking blasphemy may some time or other proceed so far as to raise a mutiny, the consequence is by no means to be admitted; for surely the commander of an English army is likely to be but ill obeyed whose soldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected against the gospel system, that it obliges men to the belief of things too difficult for freethinkers, and such who have shaken off the prejudices that usually cling to a confined education. To which I answer, that men should be cautious how they raise objections which reflect upon the wisdom of the nation. Is not everybody freely allowed to believe whatever he pleases, and to publish his belief to the world whenever he thinks fit, especially if it serves to strengthen the party which is in the right? Would any indifferent foreigner, who should read the trumpery lately written by Asgil, Tindal, Toland, Coward, and forty more, imagine the gospel to be our rule of faith, and confirmed by parliaments? Does any man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he believes, one syllable of the matter? And is any man worse received upon that score, or does he find his want of nominal faith a disadvantage to him in the pursuit of any civil or military employment? What if there be an old dormant statute or two against him, are they not now obsolete to a degree, that Epsom and Dudley themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in execution?

It is likewise urged that there are, by computation, in this kingdom, above ten thousand parsons, whose revenues, added to those of my lords the bishops, would suffice to maintain at least two hundred young gentlemen of wit and pleasure, and freethinking, enemies to priestcraft, narrow principles, pedantry, and prejudices, who might be an ornament to the court and town: and then again, so great a number of able [bodied] divines might be a recruit to our fleet and armies. This indeed appears to be a consideration of some weight; but then, on the other side, several things deserve to be considered likewise: as first, whether it may not be thought necessary that in certain tracts of country, like what we call parishes, there shall be one man at least of abilities to read and write. Then it seems a wrong computation, that the revenues of the church throughout this island would be large enough to maintain two hundred young gentlemen, or even half that number, after the present refined way of living; that is, to allow each of them such a rent as, in the modern form of speech, would make them easy. But still there is in this project a greater mischief behind; and we ought to beware of the woman's folly, who killed the hen that every morning laid her a golden egg. For, pray what would become of the race of men in the next age, if we had nothing to trust to beside the scrofulous, consumptive productions furnished by our men of wit and pleasure, when, having squandered away their vigour, health, and estates, they are forced, by some disagreeable marriage, to piece up their broken fortunes, and entail rottenness and politeness on their posterity? Now, here are ten thousand persons reduced, by the wise regulations of Henry VIII., to the necessity of a low diet and moderate exercise, who are the only great restorers of our breed, without which the nation would in an age or two become one great hospital.

Another advantage proposed by the abolishing of Christianity is the clear gain of one day in seven, which is now entirely lost, and consequently the kingdom one-seventh less considerable in trade, business, and pleasure; besides the loss to the public of so many stately structures, now in the hands of the clergy, which might be converted into play-houses, market-houses, exchanges, common dormitories, and other public edifices.

I hope I shall be forgiven a hard word, if I call this a perfect *cavil*. I readily own there has been an old custom, time out of mind, for people to assemble in the churches every Sunday, and that shops are still frequently shut, in order, as it is conceived, to preserve the memory of that ancient practice; but how this can prove a hinderance to business or pleasure is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleasure are forced, one day in the week, to game at home instead of the chocolate-houses? are not the taverns and coffee-houses open? can there be a more convenient season for taking a dose of physic? are fewer claps got upon Sundays than other days? is not that the chief day for traders to sum up the accounts of the week, and for lawyers to prepare their briefs? But I would fain know how it can be pretended that the churches are misapplied? where are more appointments and rendezvouses of gallantry? where more care to appear in the foremost box, with greater advantage of dress? where more meetings for business? where more bargains driven of all sorts? and where so many conveniences or encitements to sleep?

There is one advantage greater than any of the foregoing proposed by the abolishing of Christianity; that it will utterly extinguish parties among us, by removing those factious distinctions of high and low church, of Whig and Tory, Presbyterian and Church of England, which are now so many grievous clogs upon public proceedings, and are apt to dispose men to prefer the gratifying of themselves, or depressing of their adversaries, before the most important interests of the state.

I confess, if it were certain that so great an advantage would redound to the nation by this expedient, I would submit and be silent; but will any man say that, if the words *whoring, drinking, cheating, lying, stealing* were, by act of parliament, ejected out of the English tongue and dictionaries, we should all awake next morning chaste and temperate, honest and just, and lovers of truth? Is this a fair consequence? Or, if the physicians would forbid us to pronounce the words *pox, gout, rheumatism*, and *stone*, would that expedient serve, like so many talismans, to destroy the diseases themselves? Are party and faction rooted in men's hearts no deeper than phrases borrowed from religion, or founded upon no firmer principles? and is our language so poor that we cannot find other terms to express them? Are *envy, pride, avarice*, and *ambition* such ill nomenclators, that they cannot furnish appellations for their owners? Will not *heydukes*, and *mamalukes, mandarins*, and *patshaws*, or any other words formed at pleasure, serve to distinguish those who are in the ministry, from others, who would be in it if they could? What, for instance, is easier than to vary the form of speech, and instead of the word church make it a question in politics whether the monument be in danger? Because religion was nearest at hand to furnish a few convenient phrases, is our invention so barren, we can find no other? Suppose, for argument sake, that the Tories favoured Margarita, the Whigs Mrs. Tofts, and the trimmers Valentini; would not *Margaritians, Toftians*, and *Valentinians* be very tolerable marks of distinction? The *Prasini* and *Veniti*, two most virulent factions in Italy, began (if I remember right) by a distinction of colours in ribbons; and we might contend with as good a grace about the dignity of the *blue* and the *green*, which would serve as properly to divide the court, the parliament, and the kingdom between them as any terms of art whatsoever borrowed from religion. And therefore I think there is little force in this objection against Christianity, or prospect of so great an advantage, as is proposed in the abolishing of it.

It is again objected, as a very absurd, ridiculous custom, that a set of men should be suffered, much less employed and hired, to bawl one day in seven against the lawfulness of those methods most in use, toward the pursuit of greatness, riches, and pleasure, which are the constant practice of all men alive on the other six. But this objection is, I think, a little unworthy of so refined an age as ours. Let us argue this matter calmly: I appeal to the breast of any polite freethinker, whether, in the pursuit of gratifying a predominant passion, he has not always felt a wonderful incitement, by reflecting it was a thing forbidden; and therefore we see, in order to cultivate this taste, the wisdom of the nation has taken special care that the ladies should be furnished with prohibited silks, and the men with prohibited wine. And indeed it were to be wished that some other prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the pleasures of the town; which for want of such expedients begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel inroads from the spleen.

It is likewise proposed as a great advantage to the public, that if we once discard the system of the gospel, all religion will of course be banished for ever; and consequently along with it those grievous prejudices of education, which under the names of *virtue, conscience, honour, justice*, and the like, are so apt to disturb the peace of human minds, and the notions whereof are so hard to be eradicated, by right reason or freethinking, sometimes during the whole course of our lives.

Here first I observe, how difficult it is to get rid of a phrase which the world is once grown fond of, though the occasion that first produced it be entirely taken away. For several years past, if a man had but an ill-favoured nose, the deep-thinkers of the age would some way or other contrive to impute the cause to the prejudice of his education. From this fountain were said to be derived all our foolish notions of justice, piety, love of our country; all our opinions of God or a future state, heaven, hell, and the like; and there might formerly perhaps have been some pretence for this charge. But so effectual care has been taken to remove those prejudices by an entire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite innovators) the young gentlemen who are now on the scene seem to have not the least tincture of those infusions, or string of those weeds; and by consequence, the reason for abolishing nominal Christianity upon that pretext is wholly ceased.

For the rest, it may perhaps admit a controversy whether the banishing of all notions of religion whatsoever would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am in the least of opinion with those who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians to keep the lower part of the world in awe, by the fear of invisible powers; unless mankind were then very different to what it is now: for I look upon the mass or body of our people here in England to be as freethinkers, that is to say, as stanch unbelievers, as any of the highest rank. But I conceive some scattered notions about a superior power to be of singular use for the common people, as furnishing excellent materials to keep children quiet when they grow peevish, and providing topics of amusement in a tedious winter-night.

Lastly, it is proposed as a singular advantage, that the abolishing of Christianity will very much contribute to the uniting of Protestants, by enlarging the terms of communion, so as to take in all sorts of dissenters, who are now shut out of the pale upon account of a few ceremonies, which all sides confess to be things indifferent; that this alone will effectually answer the great ends of a scheme for comprehension, by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with dissenters, and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that not without stooping, and sideling, and squeezing his body.

To all this I answer, that there is one darling inclination of mankind which usually affects to be a retainer to religion, though she be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend; I mean the spirit of opposition, that lived long before Christianity, and can easily subsist without it. Let us, for instance, examine wherein the opposition of sectaries among us consists; we shall find Christianity to have no share in it at all. Does the gospel anywhere prescribe a starched, squeezed countenance, a stiff formal gait, a singularity of manners and habit, or any affected modes of speech, different from the reasonable part of mankind? Yet, if Christianity did not lend its name to stand in the gap, and to employ or divert these humours, they must of necessity be spent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and disturbance of the public peace. There is a portion of enthusiasm assigned to every nation, which, if it has not proper objects to work on, will burst out and set all in a flame. If the quiet of a state can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchase no wise man would refuse. Let the mastiffs amuse themselves about a sheep's skin stuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock. The institution of convents abroad seems in one point a strain of great wisdom; there being few irregularities in human passions that may not have recourse to vent themselves in some of those

orders, which are so many retreats for the speculative, the melancholy, the proud, the silent, the politic, and the morose, to spend themselves, and evaporate the noxious particles; for each of whom we in this island are forced to provide a several sect of religion, to keep them quiet; and whenever Christianity shall be abolished, the legislature must find some other expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a gate you open, if there will be always left a number, who place a pride and a merit in refusing to enter?

Having thus considered the most important objections against Christianity, and the chief advantages proposed by the abolishing thereof, I shall now, with equal deference and submission to wiser judgments, as before, proceed to mention a few inconveniences that may happen, if the gospel should be repealed, which perhaps the projectors may not have sufficiently considered.

And first, I am very sensible how much the gentlemen of wit and pleasure are apt to murmur, and be choked at the sight of so many daggled-tail parsons, who happen to fall in their way and offend their eyes; but, at the same time, these wise reformers do not consider what an advantage and felicity it is for great wits to be always provided with objects of scorn and contempt, in order to exercise and improve their talents, and divert their spleen from falling on each other or on themselves; especially when all this may be done without the least imaginable danger to their persons.

And to urge another argument of a parallel nature: if Christianity were once abolished, how could the freethinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another subject, so calculated in all points, whereon to display their abilities? what wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of from those whose genius, by continual practice, has been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against religion, and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other subject? we are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only, topic we have left? Who would ever have suspected Asgil for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? what other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? it is the wise choice of the subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For had a hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion.

Nor do I think it wholly groundless, or my fears altogether imaginary, that the abolishing Christianity may perhaps bring the church into danger, or at least put the senate to the trouble of another securing vote. I desire I may not be mistaken; I am far from presuming to affirm or think that the church is in danger at present, or as things now stand; but we know not how soon it may be so, when the Christian religion is repealed. As plausible as this project seems, there may be a dangerous design lurking under it. Nothing can be more notorious than that the atheists, deists, socinians, anti-trinitarians, and other subdivisions of freethinkers, are persons of little zeal for the present ecclesiastical establishment; their declared opinion is for repealing the sacramental test; they are very indifferent with regard to ceremonies, nor do they hold the *jus divinum* of episcopacy; therefore this may be intended as one politic step toward altering the constitution of the church established, and setting up presbytery in the stead, which I leave to be further considered by those at the helm.

In the last place, I think nothing can be more plain than that, by this expedient, we shall run into the evil we chiefly pretend to avoid, and that the abolishment of the Christian religion will be the readiest course we can take to introduce popery. And I am the more inclined to this opinion, because we know it has been the constant practice of the jesuits to send over emissaries with instructions to personate themselves members of the several prevailing sects among us. So it is recorded that they have at sundry times appeared in the disguise of presbyterians, anabaptists, independents, and quakers, according as any of these were most in credit; so, since the fashion has been taken up of exploding religion, the popish missionaries have not been wanting to mix with the freethinkers; among whom Toland, the great oracle of the antichristians, is an Irish priest, the son of an Irish priest, and the most learned and ingenious author of a book called "The Rights of the Christian Church," was in a proper juncture reconciled to the Romish faith, whose true son, as appears by a hundred passages in his treatise, he still continues. Perhaps I could add some others to the number, but the fact is beyond dispute, and the reasoning they proceed by is right; for, supposing Christianity to be extinguished, the people will never be at ease till they find out some other method of worship; which will as infallibly produce superstition, as superstition will end in popery.

And therefore if, notwithstanding all I have said, it still be thought necessary to have a bill brought in for repealing Christianity, I would humbly offer an amendment, that instead of the word Christianity, may be put religion in general, which, I conceive, will much better answer all the good ends proposed by the projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being a God and his providence, with all the necessary consequences which curious and inquisitive men will be apt to draw from such premises, we do not strike at the root of the evil, though we should ever so effectually annihilate the present scheme of the gospel: for of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action? which is the sole end, how remote soever in appearance, of all objections against Christianity; and therefore the freethinkers consider it as a sort of edifice, wherein all the parts have such a mutual dependence on each other, that if you happen to pull out one single nail, the whole fabric must fall to the ground. This was happily expressed by him, who had heard of a text brought for proof of the Trinity, which in an ancient manuscript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the hint, and by a sudden deduction of a long *sorites* most logically concluded; "Why, if it be as you say, I may safely whore and drink on, and defy the parson." From which, and many the like instances easy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifest than that the quarrel is not against any particular points of hard digestion in the Christian system, but against religion in general; which, by laying restraints on human nature, is supposed the great enemy to the freedom of thought and action.

Upon the whole, if it shall still be thought for the benefit of church and state that Christianity be abolished, I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the execution to a time of peace, and not venture, in this conjuncture, to disoblige our allies, who, as it falls out, are all Christians, and many of them, by the prejudices of their education, so bigoted as to place a sort of pride in the appellation. If upon being rejected by them, we are to trust to an alliance with the Turk, we shall find ourselves much deceived: for, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in war with the Persian emperor, so his people would be more scandalized at our infidelity than our Christian neighbours. For the Turks are not only strict observers of

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religious worship, but, what is worse, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preserve the name of Christians.

To conclude: whatever some may think of the great advantages to trade by this favourite scheme, I do very much apprehend that, in six months time after the act is passed for the extirpation of the gospel, the Bank and East-India stock may fall at least one *per cent.* And since that is fifty times more than ever the wisdom of our age thought fit to venture for the preservation of Christianity, there is no reason we should be at so great a loss, merely for the sake of destroying it.

A PROJECT
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF RELIGION,
AND THE
REFORMATION OF MANNERS.
BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1709.

O siquis volet impias
Cædes, et rabiem tollere civicam:
Si quæret pater urbium
Subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
Refrænare licentiam.[a]

Hor. Lib. iii. Od. 24.

STEELE spoke of this treatise in the fifth number of the Tatler. "The title was so uncommon, and promised so peculiar a way of thinking, that every man here has read it, and as many as have done so have approved it. It is written with the spirit of one who has seen the world enough to undervalue it with good breeding. The author must certainly be a man of wisdom as well as piety, and have spent much time in the exercise of both. The real causes of the decay of the interest of religion are set forth in a clear and lively manner, without unseasonable passions; and the whole air of the book, as to the language, the sentiments, and the reasonings, shows it was written by one whose virtue sits easy about him, and to whom vice is thoroughly contemptible. It was said by one in company, alluding to that knowledge of the world this author seems to have, 'The man writes much like a gentleman, and goes to heaven with a very good mien.'"

TO THE COUNTESS OF BERKELEY.[b]

MADAM,—My intention of prefixing your ladyship's name is not, after the common form, to desire your protection of the following papers, which I take to be a very unreasonable request; since, by being inscribed to your ladyship, though without your knowledge, and from a concealed hand, you cannot recommend them without some suspicion of partiality. My real design is, I confess, the very same I have often detested in most dedications; that of publishing your praises to the world; not upon the subject of your noble birth, for I know others as noble; or of the greatness of your fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful race (the images of their parents) which call you mother; for even this may perhaps have been equalled in some other age or country. Besides, none of these advantages do derive any accomplishments to the owners, but serve at best only to adorn what they really possess. What I intend is, your piety, truth, good sense, and good nature, affability, and charity; wherein I wish your ladyship had many equals, or any superiors; and I wish I could say I knew them too, for then your ladyship might have had a chance to escape this address. In the mean time, I think it highly necessary, for the interest of virtue and religion, that the whole kingdom should be informed in some parts of your character: for instance, that the easiest and politest conversation, joined with the truest piety, may be observed in your ladyship, in as great perfection as they were ever seen apart in any other persons. That by your prudence and management under several disadvantages, you have preserved the lustre of that most noble family into which you are grafted, and which the unmeasurable profusion of ancestors, for many generations, had too much eclipsed. Then, how happily you perform every office of life to which Providence has called you: in the education of those two incomparable daughters, whose conduct is so universally admired; in every duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate wife; in that care which descends to the meanest of your domestics; and lastly, in that endless bounty to the poor, and discretion where to distribute it. I insist on my opinion, that it is of importance for the public to know this and a great deal more of your ladyship; yet whoever goes about to inform them shall, instead of finding credit, perhaps be censured for a flatterer. To avoid so usual a reproach, I declare this to be no dedication, but merely an introduction to a proposal for the advancement of religion and morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, some few lineaments in the character of a lady, who has spent all her life in the practice and promotion of both.

[a] Oh! that some patriot wise and good,
Would stop this impious thirst of blood,
And joy on statues to behold
His name, the father of the state, enroll'd.

FRANCIS.

[b] Elizabeth, daughter of Baptist Noel, viscount Campden, and sister to Edward earl of Gainsborough. To the kindness of this lady it is not unlikely that Swift was indebted for his benefices. —JOHNSON.

A PROJECT, &c.

AMONG all the schemes offered to the public in this projecting age, I have observed with some displeasure that there have never been any for the improvement of religion and morals; which, beside the piety of the design from the consequence of such a reformation in a future life, would be the best natural means for advancing the public felicity of the state as well as the present happiness of every individual. For, as much as faith and morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident they might in a short time, and with no very great trouble, be raised to as high a perfection as numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed, the method is so easy and obvious and some present opportunities so good, that in order to have this project reduced to practice, there seems to want nothing more than to put those in mind who, by their honour, duty, and interest, are chiefly concerned.

But because it is idle to propose remedies before we are assured of the disease, or to be in fear till we are convinced of the danger, I shall first show in general that the nation is extremely corrupted in religion and morals; and then I will offer a short scheme for the reformation of both.

As to the first, I know it is reckoned but a form of speech, when divines complain of the wickedness of the age: however, I believe, upon a fair comparison with other times and countries, it would be found an undoubted truth.

For, first to deliver nothing but plain matter of fact without exaggeration or satire, I suppose it will be granted that hardly one in a hundred among our people of quality or gentry appears to act by any principle of religion; that great numbers of them do entirely discard it, and are ready to own their disbelief of all revelation in ordinary discourse. Nor is the case much better among the vulgar, especially in great towns, where the profaneness and ignorance of handicraftsmen, small traders, servants, and the like are to a degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then it is observed abroad, that no race of mortals have so little sense of religion as the English soldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great officers of the army that, in the whole compass of their acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their profession who seemed to regard or believe one syllable of the gospel: and the same at least may be affirmed of the fleet. The conse-

quences of all which upon the actions of men are equally manifest. They never go about as in former times to hide or palliate their vices, but expose them freely to view like any other common occurrences of life, without the least reproach from the world or themselves. For instance, any man will tell you he intends to be drunk this evening, or was so last night, with as little ceremony or scruple as he would tell you the time of the day. He will let you know he is going to a wench, or that he has got the venereal disease, with as much indifferency as he would a piece of public news. He will swear, curse, or blaspheme without the least passion or provocation. And though all regard for reputation is not quite laid aside in the other sex, it is however at so low an ebb, that very few among them seem to think virtue and conduct of absolute necessity for preserving it. If this be not so, how comes it to pass that women of tainted reputations find the same countenance and reception in all public places with those of the nicest virtue, who pay and receive visits from them without any manner of scruple? which proceeding, as it is not very old among us, so I take it to be of most pernicious consequence: it looks like a sort of compounding between virtue and vice, as if a woman were allowed to be vicious, provided she be not a profligate; as if there were a certain point where gallantry ends and infamy begins; or that a hundred criminal amours were not as pardonable as half a score.

Besides those corruptions already mentioned, it would be endless to enumerate such as arise from the excess of play or gaming: the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths, and blasphemies among the men; among the women the neglect of household affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent passion, and, lastly, the known inlet to all lewdness, when, after an ill run, the person must answer the defects of the purse; the rule on such occasions holding true in play as it does in law, *quod non habet in crumena habet in corpore*.

But all these are trifles in comparison, if we step into other scenes and consider the fraud and cozenage of trading men and shopkeepers; that insatiable gulf of injustice and oppression the law; the open traffic for all civil and military employments (I wish it rested there) without the least regard to merit or qualifications; the corrupt management of men in office; the many detestable abuses in choosing those who represent the people; with the management of interest and factions among the representatives: to which I must be bold to add, the ignorance of some of the lower clergy, the mean servile temper of others; the pert, pragmatical demeanour of several young stagers in divinity upon their first producing themselves into the world; with many other circumstances needless, or rather invidious to mention; which falling in with the corruptions already related have, however unjustly, almost rendered the whole order contemptible.

This is a short view of the general depravities among us, without entering into particulars, which would be an endless labour. Now, as universal and deep-rooted as these appear to be, I am utterly deceived if an effectual remedy might not be applied to most of them: neither am I at present upon a wild speculative project, but such a one as may be easily put in execution.

For while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately or by subordination, it is in the power of the prince to make piety and virtue become the fashion of the age, if at the same time he would make them necessary qualifications for favour and preferment.

It is clear from present experience, that the bare example of the best prince will not have any mighty influence where the age is very corrupt. For when was there ever a better prince on the throne than the present queen? I do not talk of her talent for government, her love of the people, or any other qualities that are purely regal; but her piety, charity, temperance, conjugal love, and whatever other virtues do best adorn a private life; wherein, without question or flattery, she has no superior: yet neither will it be satire or peevish invective to affirm, that infidelity and vice are not much diminished since her coming to the crown, nor will in all probability, till more effectual remedies be provided.

Thus human nature seems to lie under the disadvantage that the example alone of a vicious prince will in time corrupt an age; but the example of a good one will not be sufficient to reform it without further endeavours. Princes must therefore supply this defect by a vigorous exercise of that authority which the law has left them, by making it every man's interest and honour to cultivate religion and virtue; by rendering vice a disgrace and the certain ruin to preferment or pretensions: all which they should first attempt in their own courts and families. For instance, might not the queen's domestics of the middle and lower sort be obliged, upon penalty of suspension or loss of their employments, to a constant weekly attendance at least on the service of the church; to a decent behaviour in it; to receive the sacrament four times in the year; to avoid swearing and irreligious profane discourses; and to the appearance, at least, of temperance and chastity? Might not the care of all this be committed to the strict inspection of proper officers? Might not those of higher rank and nearer access to her majesty's person receive her own commands to the same purpose, and be countenanced or disfavoured according as they obey? Might not the queen lay her injunctions on the bishops and other great men of undoubted piety to make diligent inquiry and give her notice if any person about her should happen to be of libertine principles or morals? Might not all those who enter upon any office in her majesty's family be obliged to take an oath parallel with that against simony, which is administered to the clergy? It is not to be doubted, but that if these or the like proceedings were duly observed, morality and religion would soon become fashionable court virtues, and be taken up as the only methods to get or keep employments there; which alone would have mighty influence upon many of the nobility and principal gentry.

But if the like methods were pursued as far as possible with regard to those who are in the great employments of state, it is hard to conceive how general a reformation they might in time produce among us. For if piety and virtue were once reckoned qualifications necessary to preferment, every man thus endowed, when put into great stations, would readily imitate the queen's example in the distribution of all offices in his disposal, especially if any apparent transgression, through favour or partiality, would be imputed to him for a misdemeanour, by which he must certainly forfeit his favour and station; and there being such great numbers in employment, scattered through every town and county in this kingdom, if all these were exemplary in the conduct of their lives, things would soon take a new face, and religion receive a mighty encouragement; nor would the public weal be less advanced, since, of nine offices in ten that are ill executed, the defect is not in capacity or understanding, but in common honesty. I know no employment for which piety disqualifies any man; and if it did, I doubt the objection would not be very seasonably offered at present; because it is perhaps too just a reflection, that in the disposal of places, the question whether a person be fit for what he is recommended to is generally the last that is thought on or regarded.

I have often imagined that something parallel to the office of censors anciently in Rome would be of mighty

use among us, and could be easily limited from running into any exorbitances. The Romans understood liberty at least as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every occasion as bold assertors. Yet I do not remember to have read any great complaint of the abuses in that office among them, but many admirable effects of it are left upon record. There are several pernicious vices, frequent and notorious among us, that escape or elude the punishment of any law we have yet invented, or have had no law at all against them; such as atheism, drunkenness, fraud, avarice, and several others, which by this institution, wisely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppose, for instance, that itinerary commissioners were appointed to inspect everywhere throughout the kingdom into the conduct at least of men in office, with respect to their morals and religion as well as their abilities; to receive the complaints and informations that should be offered against them, and make their report here upon oath to the court or the ministry, who should reward or punish accordingly. I avoid entering into the particulars of this or any other scheme, which, coming from a private hand, might be liable to many defects, but would soon be digested by the wisdom of the nation; and surely 6000*l.* a-year would not be ill laid out among as many commissioners duly qualified, who, in three divisions, should be personally obliged to take their yearly circuits for that purpose.

But this is beside my present design, which was only to show what degree of reformation is in the power of the queen without the interposition of the legislature, and which her majesty is, without question, obliged in conscience to endeavour by her authority as much as she does by her practice.

It will be easily granted, that the example of this great town has a mighty influence over the whole kingdom; and it is as manifest, that the town is equally influenced by the court, and the ministry, and those who, by their employments or their hopes, depend upon them. Now, if under so excellent a princess as the present queen, we would suppose a family strictly regulated, as I have above proposed, a ministry where every single person was of distinguished piety; if we should suppose all great offices of state and law filled after the same manner, and with such as were equally diligent in choosing persons, who, in their several subordinations, would be obliged to follow the examples of their superiors, under the penalty of loss of favour and place, will not everybody grant that the empire of vice and irreligion would be soon destroyed in this great metropolis, and receive a terrible blow through the whole island, which has so great an intercourse with it, and so much affects to follow its fashions?

For if religion were once understood to be the necessary step to favour and preferment, can it be imagined that any man would openly offend against it who had the least regard for his reputation or his fortune? There is no quality so contrary to any nature which men cannot affect and put on upon occasion in order to serve an interest or gratify a prevailing passion. The proudest man will personate humility, the morosest learn to flatter, the laziest will be sedulous and active, where he is in pursuit of what he has much at heart: how ready, therefore, would most men be to step into the paths of virtue and piety if they infallibly led to favour and fortune!

If swearing and profaneness, scandalous and avowed lewdness, excessive gaming and intemperance were a little discountenanced in the army, I cannot readily see what ill consequences could be apprehended. If gentlemen of that profession were at least obliged to some external decorum in their conduct, or even if a profligate life and character were not a means of advancement, and the appearance of piety a most infallible hindrance, it is impossible the corruptions there should be so universal and exorbitant. I have been assured by several great officers, that no troops abroad are so ill disciplined as the English, which cannot well be otherwise while the common soldiers have perpetually before their eyes the vicious example of their leaders; and it is hardly possible for those to commit any crime whereof these are not infinitely more guilty, and with less temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the gentlemen of the army, that the beastly vice of drinking to excess has been lately, from their example, restored among us, which for some years before was almost dropped in England. But, whoever the introducers were, they have succeeded to a miracle; many of the young nobility and gentry are already become great proficients, and are under no manner of concern to hide their talent, but are got beyond all sense of shame, or fear of reproach.

This might soon be remedied if the queen would think fit to declare, that no young person of quality whatsoever who was notoriously addicted to that or any other vice should be capable of her favour, or even admitted into her presence, with positive command to her ministers, and others in great office, to treat them in the same manner; after which all men who had any regard for their reputation, or any prospect of preferment, would avoid their commerce. This would quickly make that vice so scandalous, that those who could not subdue would at least endeavour to disguise it.

By the like methods a stop might be put to that ruinous practice of deep gaming; and the reason why it prevails so much is, because a treatment directly opposite in every point is made use of to promote it; by which means the laws enacted against this abuse are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied that the want of strict discipline in the universities has been of pernicious consequence to the youth of this nation, who are there almost left entirely to their own management, especially those among them of better quality and fortune; who, because they are not under a necessity of making learning their maintenance, are easily allowed to pass their time, and take their degrees with little or no improvement; than which there cannot well be a greater absurdity: for if no advancement of knowledge can be had from those places, the time there spent is at best utterly lost, because every ornamental part of education is better taught elsewhere: and as for keeping youths out of harm's way, I doubt, where so many of them are got together, at full liberty of doing what they please, it will not answer the end. But whatever abuses, corruptions, or deviations from statutes have crept into the universities through neglect or length of time, they might in a great degree be reformed, by strict injunctions from court (upon each particular) to the visitors and heads of houses; beside the peculiar authority the queen may have in several colleges, whereof her predecessors were the founders. And among other regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the excess of drinking; with that scurvy custom among the lads, and parent of the former vice, the taking of tobacco where it is not absolutely necessary in point of health.

From the universities the young nobility, and others of great fortunes, are sent for early up to town, for fear of contracting any airs of pedantry by a college education. Many of the younger gentry retire to the inns of court, where they are wholly left to their own discretion. And the consequence of this remissness in education appears, by observing that nine in ten of those who rise in the church, or the court, the law, or the army, are younger brothers, or new men, whose ear

row fortunes have forced them upon industry and application.

As for the inns of court, unless we suppose them to be much degenerated, they must needs be the worst instituted seminaries in any Christian country; but whether they may be corrected without interposition of the legislature I have not skill enough to determine. However, it is certain that all wise nations have agreed in the necessity of a strict education, which consisted, among other things, in the observance of moral duties, especially justice, temperance, and chastity, as well as the knowledge of arts, and bodily exercises; but all these among us are laughed out of doors.

Without the least intention to offend the clergy, I cannot but think that, through a mistaken notion and practice, they prevent themselves from doing much service, which otherwise might lie in their power, to religion and virtue: I mean, by affecting so much to converse with each other, and caring so little to mingle with the laity. They have their particular clubs, and particular coffee-houses, where they generally appear in clusters: a single divine dares hardly show his person among numbers of fine gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into such company, he is silent and suspicious, in continual apprehension that some pert man of pleasure should break an unmannerly jest and render him ridiculous. Now I take this behaviour of the clergy to be just as reasonable as if the physicians should agree to spend their time in visiting one another, or their several apothecaries, and leave their patients to shift for themselves. In my humble opinion, the clergy's business lies entirely among the laity; neither is there, perhaps, a more effectual way to forward the salvation of men's souls, than for spiritual persons to make themselves as agreeable as they can in the conversations of the world, for which a learned education gives them great advantage, if they would please to improve and apply it. It so happens that the men of pleasure, who never go to church, nor use themselves to read books of devotion, form their ideas of the clergy from a few poor strollers they often observe in the streets, or sneaking out of some person of quality's house, where they are hired by the lady at ten shillings a-month: while those of better figure and parts do seldom appear to correct these notions. And let some reasoners think what they please, it is certain that men must be brought to esteem and love the clergy before they can be persuaded to be in love with religion. No man values the best medicine if administered by a physician whose person he hates or despises. If the clergy were as forward to appear in all companies as other gentlemen, and would a little study the arts of conversation to make themselves agreeable, they might be welcome at every party where there was the least regard for politeness or good sense; and consequently prevent a thousand vicious or profane discourses, as well as actions; neither would men of understanding complain that a clergyman was a constraint upon the company, because they could not speak blasphemy or obscene jests before him. While the people are so jealous of the clergy's ambition, as to abhor all thoughts of the return of ecclesiastical discipline among them, I do not see any other method left for men of that function to take, in order to reform the world, than by using all honest arts to make themselves acceptable to the laity. This, no doubt, is part of that wisdom of the serpent, which the author of Christianity directs, and is the very method used by St. Paul, who became all things to all men—to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.

How to remedy these inconveniences may be a matter of some difficulty, since the clergy seem to be of an opinion that this humour of sequestering themselves is a part of their duty; nay, as I remember they have been told so by some of their bishops in their pastoral letters, particularly by one [Dr. Burnet] among them of great merit and distinction, who yet in his own practice has all his lifetime taken a course directly contrary. But I am deceived if an awkward shame and fear of ill usage from the laity have not a greater share in this mistaken conduct than their own inclinations: however, if the outward profession of religion and virtue were once in practice and countenance at court as well as among all men in office, or who have any hopes or dependence for preferment, a good treatment of the clergy would be the necessary consequence of such a reformation; and they would soon be wise enough to see their own duty and interest in qualifying themselves for lay conversation when once they were out of fear of being choked by ribaldry or profaneness.

There is one further circumstance upon this occasion which I know not whether it will be very orthodox to mention: the clergy are the only set of men among us who constantly wear a distinct habit from others; the consequence of which (not in reason but in fact) is this, that as long as any scandalous persons appear in that dress, it will continue in some degree a general mark of contempt. Whoever happens to see a scoundrel in a gown reeling home at midnight (a sight neither frequent nor miraculous) is apt to entertain an ill idea of the whole order, and at the same time to be extremely comforted in his own vices. Some remedy might be put to this, if those straggling gentlemen who come up to town to seek their fortunes were fairly dismissed to the West Indies, where there is work enough, and where some better provision should be made for them than I doubt there is at present. Or what if no person were allowed to wear the habit who had not some preferment in the church, or at least some temporal fortune sufficient to keep him out of contempt? though in my opinion it were infinitely better if all the clergy (except the bishops) were permitted to appear like other men of the graver sort, unless at those seasons when they are doing the business of their function.

There is one abuse in this town which wonderfully contributes to the promotion of vice; that such men are often put into the commission of the peace, whose interest it is that virtue should be utterly banished from among us; who maintain or at least enrich themselves by encouraging the grossest immoralities; to whom all the bawds of the ward pay contribution for shelter and protection from the laws. Thus these worthy magistrates, instead of lessening enormities, are the occasion of just twice as much debauchery as there would be without them. For those infamous women are forced upon doubling their work and industry to answer double charges of paying the justice and supporting themselves; like thieves who escape the gallows and are let out to steal in order to discharge the gaoler's fees.

It is not to be questioned but the queen and ministry might easily redress this abominable grievance by enlarging the number of justices of the peace; by endeavouring to choose men of virtuous principles; by admitting none who have not considerable fortunes; perhaps by receiving into the number some of the most eminent clergy: than by forcing all of them, upon severe penalties, to act when there is occasion, and not permitting any who are offered to refuse the commission; but in these two last cases, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the legislature.

The reformation of the stage is entirely in the power of the queen; and in the consequences it has upon the minds of the younger people, does very well deserve the strictest care. Besides the indecent and profane passages; besides the perpetual turning into ridicule the very function of the priesthood with other irregularities,

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in most modern comedies, which have been often objected to them; it is worth observing the distributive justice of the authors, which is constantly applied to the punishment of virtue and the reward of vice; directly opposite to the rules of their best critics, as well as to the practice of dramatic poets, in all other ages and countries. For example, a country squire, who is represented with no other vice but that of being a clown and having the provincial accent upon his tongue, which is neither a fault nor in his power to remedy, must be condemned to marry a cast wench or a cracked chambermaid. On the other side, a rakehell of the town, whose character is set off with no other accomplishment but excessive prodigality, profaneness, intemperance, and lust, is rewarded with a lady of great fortune to repair his own, which his vices had almost ruined. And as in a tragedy the hero is represented to have obtained many victories in order to raise his character in the minds of the spectators; so the hero of a comedy is represented to have been victorious in all his intrigues for the same reason. I do not remember that our English poets ever suffered a criminal amour to succeed upon the stage till the reign of king Charles II. Ever since that time the alderman is made a cuckold, the deluded virgin is debauched, and adultery and fornication are supposed to be committed behind the scenes as part of the action. These and many more corruptions of the theatre, peculiar to our age and nation, need continue no longer than while the court is content to connive at or neglect them. Surely a pension would not be ill employed on some men of wit, learning, and virtue, who might have power to strike out every offensive or unbecoming passage from plays already written, as well as those that may be offered to the stage for the future. By which, and other wise regulations, the theatre might become a very innocent and useful diversion, instead of being a scandal and reproach to our religion and country.

The proposals I have hitherto made for the advancement of religion and morality are such as come within reach of the administration; such as a pious active prince, with a steady resolution, might soon bring to effect. Neither am I aware of any objections to be raised against what I have advanced; unless it should be thought that making religion a necessary step to interest and favour might increase hypocrisy among us; and I readily believe it would. But if one in twenty should be brought over to true piety by this or the like methods, and the other nineteen be only hypocrites, the advantage would still be great. Besides, hypocrisy is much more eligible than open infidelity and vice; it wears the livery of religion; it acknowledges her authority and is cautious of giving scandal. Nay, a long continued disguise is too great a constraint upon human nature, especially an English disposition: men would leave off their vices out of mere weariness rather than undergo the toil and hazard, and perhaps the expense, of practising them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with religion as it is with love; which by much dissembling, at last grows real.

All other projects to this great end have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws against immorality have not been executed, and proclamations occasionally issued out to enforce them are wholly unregarded, as things of form. Religious societies, though begun with excellent intention, and by persons of true piety, are said, I know not whether truly or not, to have dwindled into factious clubs, and grown a trade to enrich little knavish informers of the meanest rank, such as common constables, and broken shopkeepers.

And that some effectual attempt should be made toward such a reformation, is perhaps more necessary than people commonly apprehend; because the ruin of a state is generally preceded by a universal degeneracy of manners and contempt of religion; which is entirely our case at present.

Dis te minorem, quod geris, imperas [a] Hor.

Neither is this a matter to be deferred till a more convenient time of peace and leisure; because a reformation in men's faith and morals is the best natural, as well as religious, means to bring the war to a good conclusion. For, if men in trust performed their duty for conscience sake, affairs would not suffer through fraud, falsehood, and neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God, and his providence, and acted accordingly, they might reasonably hope for his divine assistance in so just a cause as ours.

Nor could the majesty of the English crown appear, upon any occasion, in a greater lustre, either to foreigners or subjects, than by an administration which, producing such great effects, would discover so much power. And power being the natural appetite of princes, a limited monarch cannot so well gratify it in anything, as a strict execution of the laws.

Besides, all parties would be obliged to close with so good a work as this, for their own reputation: neither is any expedient more likely to unite them. For the most violent party men I have ever observed are such as, in the conduct of their lives, have discovered least sense of religion or morality; and when all such are laid aside, at least those among them as shall be found incorrigible, it will be a matter perhaps of no great difficulty to reconcile the rest.

The many corruptions at present in every branch of business are almost inconceivable. I have heard it computed by skilful persons, that of 6,000,000*l.* raised every year for the service of the public, one-third, at least, is sunk and intercepted through the several classes and subordinations of artful men in office, before the remainder is applied to the proper uses. This is an accidental ill effect of our freedom. And while such men are in trust, who have no check from within, nor any views but toward their interest, there is no other fence against them, but the certainty of being hanged upon the first discovery, by the arbitrary will of an unlimited monarch, or his vizier. Among us, the only danger to be apprehended is the loss of an employment; and that danger is to be eluded a thousand ways. Besides, when fraud is great, it furnishes weapons to defend itself: and at worst, if the crimes be so flagrant, that a man is laid aside out of perfect shame (which rarely happens), he retires loaded with the spoils of the nation; *et fruitur dis iratis.* I could name a commission, where several persons, out of a salary of 500*l.*, without other visible revenues, have always lived at the rate of 2000*l.*, and laid out 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* upon purchases of lands or annuities. A hundred other instances of the same kind might easily be produced. What remedy, therefore, can be found against such grievances, in a constitution like ours, but to bring religion into countenance, and encourage those who, from the hope of future reward, and dread of future punishment, will be moved to act with justice and integrity?

This is not to be accomplished any other way than by introducing religion as much as possible to be the turn and fashion of the age, which only lies in the power of the administration; the prince with utmost strictness regulating the court, the ministry, and other persons in great employment; and these, by their example and authority, reforming all who have dependence on them.

It is certain that a reformation, successfully carried on in this great town, would in time spread itself over the whole kingdom; since most of the considerable

[a] "That you the power Divine obey,
Boundless on earth extend your sway."—Francis.

youth pass here that season of their lives wherein the strongest impressions are made, in order to improve their education or advance their fortunes, and those among them who return into their several counties are sure to be followed and imitated as the greatest patterns of wit and good breeding.

And if things were once in this train, that is, if virtue and religion were established as the necessary titles to reputation and preferment; and if vice and infidelity were not only laden with infamy, but made the infallible ruin of all men's pretensions, our duty, by becoming our interest, would take root in our natures, and mix with the very genius of our people, so that it would not be easy for the example of one wicked prince to bring us back to our former corruptions.

I have confined myself (as it is before observed) to those methods for the advancement of piety which are in the power of a prince, limited like ours, by a strict execution of the laws already in force. And this is enough for a project that comes without any name or recommendation, I doubt a great deal more than will suddenly be reduced into practice. Though if any disposition should appear toward so good a work, it is certain that the assistance of the legislative power would be necessary to make it more complete. I will instance only a few particulars:—

In order to reform the vices of this town, which, as we have said, has so mighty an influence on the whole kingdom, it would be very instrumental to have a law made that all taverns and alehouses should be obliged to dismiss their company by twelve at night, and shut up their doors; and that no woman should be suffered to enter any tavern or alehouse upon any pretence whatsoever. It is easy to conceive what a number of ill consequences such a law would prevent; the mischiefs of quarrels, and lewdness, and thefts, and midnight brawls, the diseases of intemperance and venery, and a thousand other evils needless to mention. Nor would it be amiss if the masters of those public houses were obliged, upon the severest penalties, to give only a proportioned quantity of drink to every company; and when he found his guests disordered with excess, to refuse them any more.

I believe there is hardly a nation in Christendom where all kind of fraud is practised in so unmeasurable a degree as with us. The lawyer, the tradesman, the mechanic, have found so many arts to deceive in their several callings, that they far outgrow the common prudence of mankind, which is in no sort able to fence against them. Neither could the legislature in anything more consult the public good, than by providing some effectual remedy against this evil, which, in several cases, deserves greater punishment than many crimes that are capital among us. The vintner who, by mixing poison with his wines, destroys more lives than any one disease in the bill of mortality; the lawyer, who persuades you to a purchase which he knows is mortgaged for more than the worth, to the ruin of you and your family; the goldsmith or scrivener, who takes all your fortune to dispose of, when he has beforehand resolved to break the following day, do surely deserve the gallows much better than the wretch who is carried thither for stealing a horse.

It cannot easily be answered to God or man why a law is not made for limiting the press; at least so far as to prevent the publishing of such pernicious books as, under pretence of freethinking, endeavour to overthrow those tenets in religion which have been held inviolable, almost in all ages, by every sect that pretend to be Christian; and cannot, therefore, with any colour of reason, be called points in controversy, or matters of speculation, as some would pretend. The doctrine of the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, and even the truth of all revelation, are daily exploded and denied in books openly printed; though it is to be supposed neither party will avow such principles, or own the supporting of them to be any way necessary to their service.

It would be endless to set down every corruption or defect which requires a remedy from the legislative power. Senates are likely to have little regard for any proposals that come from without doors; though, under a due sense of my own inabilities, I am fully convinced that the unbiassed thoughts of an honest and wise man, employed on the good of his country, may be better digested than the results of a multitude, where faction and interest too often prevail; as a single guide may direct the way better than five hundred, who have contrary views, or look asquint, or shut their eyes.

I shall therefore mention but one more particular, which I think the parliament ought to take under consideration; whether it be not a shame to our country, and a scandal to Christianity, that in many towns, where there is a prodigious increase in the number of houses and inhabitants, so little care should be taken for the building of churches, that five parts in six of the people are absolutely hindered from hearing divine service? particularly here in London,[a] where a single minister, with one or two sorry curates, has the care sometimes of above twenty thousand souls incumbent on him; a neglect of religion so ignominious, in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilised age or country.

But, to leave these airy imaginations of introducing new laws for the amendment of mankind, what I principally insist on is, a due execution of the old, which lies wholly in the crown, and in the authority thence derived: I return, therefore, to my former assertion, that if stations of power, trust, profit, and honour, were constantly made the rewards of virtue and piety, such an administration must needs have a mighty influence on the faith and morals of the whole kingdom: and men of great abilities would then endeavour to excel in the duties of a religious life, in order to qualify themselves for public service. I may possibly be wrong in some of the means I prescribe towards this end; but that is no material objection against the design itself. Let those who are at the helm contrive it better, which, perhaps, they may easily do. Everybody will agree that the disease is manifest, as well as dangerous; that some remedy is necessary, and that none yet applied has been effectual; which is a sufficient excuse for any man who wishes well to his country to offer his thoughts, when he can have no other end in view but the public good. The present queen is a princess of as many and great virtues as ever filled a throne: how would it brighten her character to the present and after ages, if she would exert her utmost authority to instil some share of those virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn only from her example! and, be it spoke with all the veneration possible for so excellent a sovereign, her best endeavours in this weighty affair are a most important part of her duty, as well as of her interest and her honour.

But it must be confessed that, as things are now, every man thinks he has laid in a sufficient stock of merit, and may pretend to any employment, provided he has been loud and frequent in declaring himself hearty for the government. It is true, he is a man of pleasure, and a freethinker; that is, in other words, he is profligate in his morals, and a despiser of religion; but in point of party, he is one to be confided in; he is an assertor of liberty and property; he rattles it out against popery and arbitrary power, and priestcraft and

[a] The first hint for procuring a fund for building fifty new churches in London.

high church. It is enough: he is a person fully qualified for any employment, in the court or the navy, the law or the revenue; where he will be sure to leave no arts untried, of bribery, fraud, injustice, oppression, that he can practise with any hope of impunity. No wonder such men are true to a government where liberty runs high, where property, however attained, is so well secured, and where the administration is at least so gentle: it is impossible they could choose any other constitution without changing to their loss.

Fidelity to a present establishment is indeed the principal means to defend it from a foreign enemy, but without other qualifications, will not prevent corruptions from within; and states are more often ruined by these than the other.

To conclude: whether the proposals I have offered toward a reformation be such as are most prudent and convenient may probably be a question, but it is none at all whether some reformation be absolutely necessary; because the nature of things is such that if abuses be not remedied they will certainly increase, nor ever stop till they end in the subversion of a commonwealth. As there must always of necessity be some corruptions, so, in a well-instituted state the executive power will be always contending against them by reducing things (as Machiavel speaks) to their first principles, never letting abuses grow inveterate or multiply so far that it will be hard to find remedies, and perhaps impossible to apply them. As he that would keep his house in repair must attend every little breach or flaw, and supply it immediately, else time alone will bring all to ruin,—how much more the common accidents of storms and rain? He must live in perpetual danger of his house falling about his ears, and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down and build it again from the ground, perhaps upon a new foundation, or at least in a new form, which may neither be so safe nor so convenient as the old.

REMARKS UPON A BOOK

SINTITLED

"THE RIGHTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH." &c.,

Written in the year 1708, but left unfinished.[a]

Before I enter upon a particular examination of this treatise it will be convenient to do two things:—

First, To give some account of the author, together with the motives that might probably engage him in such a work; and,

Secondly, To discover the nature and tendency in general of the work itself.

The first of these, although it has been objected against, seems highly reasonable, especially in books that instil pernicious principles. For, although a book is not intrinsically much better or worse according to the stature or complexion of the author, yet when it happens to make a noise, we are apt and curious, as in other noises, to look about from whence it comes. But, however, there is something more in the matter.

If a theological subject be well handled by a layman, it is better received than if it came from a divine, and that for reasons obvious enough, which, although of little weight in themselves, will ever have a great deal with mankind.

But when books are written with ill intentions, to advance dangerous opinions or destroy foundations, it may be then of real use to know from what quarter they come, and go a good way toward their confutation. For instance, if any man should write a book against the lawfulness of punishing felony with death, and upon inquiry the author should be found in Newgate under condemnation for robbing a house, his arguments would, not very unjustly, lose much of their force from the circumstances he lay under; so, when Milton writ his book of divorces, it was presently rejected as an occasional treatise, because everybody knew he had a shrew for his wife. Neither can there be any reason imagined why he might not, after he was blind, have writ another upon the danger and inconvenience of eyes. But it is a piece of logic which will hardly pass on the world, that because one man has a sore nose therefore all the town should put plasters upon theirs. So, if this treatise about the rights of the church should prove to be the work of a man steady in his principles, of exact morals, and profound learning, a true lover of his country, and a hater of Christianity—as what he really believes to be a cheat upon mankind, whom he would undeceive purely for their good—it might be apt to check unwary men, even of good dispositions toward religion. But if it be found the production of a man soured with age and misfortunes, together with the consciousness of past miscarriages; of one who, in hopes of preferment, was reconciled to the popish religion; of one wholly prostitute in life and principles, and only an enemy to religion because it condemns them; in this case—and this last I find is the universal opinion—he is likely to have few proselytes beside those who, from a sense of their vicious lives, require to be perpetually supplied by such amusements as this, which serve to flatter their wishes and debase their understandings.

I know there are some who would fain have it that this discourse was written by a club of freethinkers, among whom the supposed author only came in for a share: but sure we cannot judge so meanly of any party without affronting the dignity of mankind. If this be so, and if here be the product of all their quotas and contributions, we must needs allow that freethinking is a most confined and limited talent. It is true, indeed, the whole discourse seems to be a motley, inconsistent composition, made up of various shreds of equal fineness, although of different colours. It is a bundle of incoherent maxims and assertions that frequently destroy one another: but still there is the same flatness of thought and style, the same weak advances toward wit and raillery, the same petulancy and pertness of spirit, the same train of superficial reading, the same threadbare quotation, the same affectation of forming general rules upon false and scanty premises; and, lastly, the same vapid venom sprinkled over the whole, which, like the dying impotent bite of a trodden benumbed snake, may be nauseous and offensive, but cannot be very dangerous.

And, indeed, I am so far from thinking this libel to be born of several fathers, that it has been the wonder of several others, as well as myself, how it was possible for any man who appears to have gone the common circle of academical education; who has taken so universal a liberty, and has so entirely laid aside all regards, not only of Christianity but common truth and

[a] To understand the merits of this controversy it is necessary to premise that Dr. Matthew Tindal, born about 1637, became a commoner of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1653, and was finally elected fellow of All Soul's in 1676. In the reign of James II. he declared himself a Roman Catholic, but afterwards renounced that religion. He distinguished himself by two works: first, "The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted," in 1706. This book made some noise, and met with many answers; among others it exercised the pen of Dr Swift in these judicious remarks. Dr. Tindal published a "Defence" in the year 1709, which, with the book itself, the house of commons ordered to be burnt by the hangman, March 25th, 1710. The other work was "Christianity as Old as the Creation," published in 1730. He left a second volume of that work in manuscript, the publication of which was prevented by bishop Gibson. He was indisputably a man of great reasoning powers and very sufficient learning; and Christians might have wished, with reason, that he had employed his talents to a better purpose.

justice; one who is dead to all sense of shame, and seems to be past the getting or losing of a reputation, should, with so many advantages, and upon so unlimited a subject, come out with so poor, so jejune a production. Should we pity or be amazed at so perverse a talent, which, instead of qualifying an author to give a new turn to old matters, disposes him quite contrary to talk in an old beaten trivial manner upon topics wholly new; to make so many sallies into pedantry without a call upon a subject the most alien, and in the very moments he is declaiming against it, and in an age, too, where it is so violently exploded, especially among those readers he proposes to entertain?

I know it will be said, that this is only to talk in the common style of an answerer, but I have not so little policy. If there were any hope of reputation or merit from such victory, I should be apt, like others, to cry up the courage and conduct of an enemy. Whereas to detect the weakness, the malice, the sophistry, the falsehood, the ignorance of such a writer, requires little more than to rank his perfections in such an order, and place them in such a light, that the commonest reader may form a judgment of them.

It may still be a wonder how so heavy a book, written upon a subject in appearance so little instructive or diverting, should survive to three editions, and consequently find a better reception than is usual with such bulky, spiritless volumes; and this in an age that pretends so soon to be nauseated with what is tedious and dull. To which I can only return, that as burning a book by the common hangman is a known expedient to make it sell, so to write a book that deserves such treatment is another; and a third, perhaps as effectual as either, is to ply an insipid, worthless tract with grave and learned answers, as Dr. Hickes, Dr. Potter, and Mr. Wotton have done. Such performances, however commendable, have glanced a reputation upon the piece, which owes its life to the strength of those hands and weapons that were raised to destroy it; like flinging a mountain upon a worm, which, instead of being bruised by the advantage of its littleness, lodges under it unhurt.

But neither is this all. For the subject, as unpromising as it seems at first view, is no less than that of Lucretius, to free men's minds from the bondage of religion; and this not by little hints and by piecemeal, after the manner of those little atheistical tracts that steal into the world, but in a thorough wholesale manner, by making religion, church, Christianity, with all their concomitants, a perfect contrivance of the civil power. It is an imputation often charged on this sort of men, that, by their invectives against religion, they can possibly propose no other end than that of fortifying themselves and others against the reproaches of a vicious life, it being necessary for men of libertine practices to embrace libertine principles, or else they cannot act in consistence with any reason, or preserve any peace of mind. Whether such authors have this design, (whereof I think they have never gone about to acquit themselves,) thus much is certain, that no other use is made of such writings; neither did I ever hear this author's book justified by any person, either Whig or Tory, except such who are of that profligate character. And I believe whoever examines it will be of the same opinion; although, indeed, such wretches are so numerous, that it seems rather surprising why the book has had no more editions than why it should have so many.

Having thus endeavoured to satisfy the curious with some account of this author's character, let us examine what might probably be the motives to engage him in such a work. I shall say nothing of the principal, which is a sum of money; because that is not a mark to distinguish him from any other trader with the press. I will say nothing of revenge and malice, from resentment of the indignities and contempt he has undergone for his crime of apostacy. To this passion he has thought fit to sacrifice order, propriety, discretion, and common sense, as may be seen in every page of his book; but I am deceived, if there were not a third motive as powerful as the other two; and that is, vanity. About the latter end of king James's reign he had almost finished a learned discourse in defence of the church of Rome, and to justify his conversion; all which, upon the revolution, was quite out of season. Having thus prostituted his reputation, and at once ruined his hopes, he had no recourse left but to show his spite against religion in general, the false pretensions to which had proved so destructive to his credit and fortune: and at the same time, loath to employ the speculations of so many years to no purpose, by an easy turn, the same arguments he had made use of to advance popery were full as properly levelled by him against Christianity itself; like the image, which, while it was new and handsome, was worshipped for a saint, and when it came to be old and broken was still good enough to make a tolerable devil. And therefore every reader will observe, that the arguments for popery are much the strongest of any in his book, as I shall further remark when I find them in my way.

There is one circumstance in his title-page, which I take to be not amiss, where he calls his book "Part the First." This is a project to fright away answerers, and make the poor advocates for religion believe he still keeps further vengeance in petto. It must be allowed, he has not wholly lost time while he was of the Romish communion. This very trick he learned from his old father the pope, whose custom it is to lift up his hand, and threaten to fulminate when he never meant to shoot his bolts; because the princes of Christendom had learned the secret to avoid or despise them. Dr. Hickes knew this very well, and therefore, in his answer to this "Book of Rights," where a second part is threatened, like a rash person he desperately cries, "Let it come." But I, who have too much phlegm to provoke angry wits of his standard, must tell the author that the doctor plays the wag, as if he were sure it were all grimace. For my part, I declare, if he writes a second part, I will not write another-answer, or if I do, it shall be published before the other part comes out.

There may have been another motive, although it be hardly credible, both for publishing this work and threatening a second part: it is soon conceived how far the sense of a man's vanity will transport him. This man must have somewhere heard that dangerous enemies have been often bribed to silence with money or preferment; and therefore, to show how formidable he is, he has published his first essay, and in hopes of hire to be quiet, has frighted us with his design of another. What must the clergy do in these unhappy circumstances? If they should bestow this man bread enough to stop his mouth, it will but open those of a hundred more, who are every whit as well qualified to rail as he. And truly, when I compare the former enemies to Christianity, such as Socinus, Hobbes, and Spinosa, with such of their successors, as Toland, Asgil, Coward, Gildon, this author of the Rights, and some others, the church appears to me like the sick old lion in the fable, who, after having his person outraged by the bull, the elephant, the horse, and the bear, took nothing so much to heart as to find himself at last insulted by the spurn of an ass.

I will now add a few words, to give the reader some general notion of the nature and tendency of the work itself.

I think I may assert, without the least partiality

that it is a treatise wholly devoid of wit or learning, under the most violent and weak endeavours and pretences to both: that it is replenished throughout with bold, rude, improbable falsehoods, and gross misinterpretations; and supported by the most impudent sophistry, and false logic, I have anywhere observed. To this he has added a paltry, traditional cant of priestrid and priestcraft, without reason or pretext as he applies it. And when he rails at those doctrines in popery, (which no Protestant was ever supposed to believe,) he leads the reader, however, by the hand, to make applications against the English clergy; and then he never fails to triumph, as if he had made a very shrewd and notable stroke. And because the court and kingdom seemed disposed to moderation with regard to dissenters, more perhaps than is agreeable to the hot unreasonable temper of some mistaken men among us; therefore, under the shelter of that popular opinion, he ridicules all that is sound in religion, even Christianity itself, under the names of Jacobite, Tackers, High Church, and other terms of factious jargon. All which, if it were to be first rased from his book, (as just so much of nothing to the purpose,) how little would remain to give the trouble of an answer! To which let me add, that the spirit or genius, which animates the whole, is plainly perceived to be nothing else but the abortive malice of an old neglected man who has long lain under the extremes of obloquy, poverty, and contempt, that have soured his temper and made him fearless. But where is the merit of being bold to a man that is secure of impunity to his person, and is past apprehension of anything else? He that has neither reputation nor bread has very little else to lose, and has therefore as little to fear. And as it is usually said, "Whoever values not his own life, is master of another man's," so there is something like it in reputation: he that is wholly lost to all regards of truth or modesty, may scatter so much calumny and scandal that some part may perhaps be taken up before it fall to the ground; because the ill talent of the world is such that those who will be at pains enough to inform themselves in a malicious story will take none at all to be undeceived, nay, will be apt, with some reluctance, to admit a favourable truth.

To expostulate, therefore, with this author for doing mischief to religion, is to strew his bed with roses: he will reply in triumph, that this was his design; and I am loath to mortify him, by asserting he has done none at all. For I never yet saw so poor an atheistical scribble which would not serve as a twig for sinking libertines to catch at. It must be allowed in their behalf, that the faith of Christians is not as a grain of mustard-seed in comparison of theirs, which can remove such mountains of absurdities, and submit with so entire a resignation to such apostles. If these men had any share of that reason they pretend to, they would retire into Christianity, merely to give it ease. And, therefore, men can never be confirmed in such doctrines until they are confirmed in their vices; which last, as we have already observed, is the principal design of this and all other writers against revealed religion.

I am now opening the book which I propose to examine; an employment, as it is entirely new to me, so it is that to which of all others I have naturally the greatest antipathy. And indeed, who can dwell upon a tedious piece of insipid thinking and false reasoning, so long as I am likely to do, without sharing the infection?

But, before I plunge into the depths of the book itself, I must be forced to wade through the shallows of a long preface.

This preface, large as we see it, is only made up of such supernumary arguments against an independent power in the church, as he could not, without nauseous repetition, scatter into the body of his book: and it is detached, like a forlorn hope, to blunt the enemy's sword that intends to attack him. Now I think it will be easy to prove, that the opinion of *imperium in imperio*, in the sense he charges it upon the clergy of England, is what no one divine of any reputation, and very few at all, did ever maintain; and that their universal sentiment in this matter is such as few Protestants did ever dispute. But if the author of the "Regale," or two or three or more obscure writers, have carried any points further than Scripture and reason will allow, (which is more than I know or shall trouble myself to inquire,) the clergy of England is no more answerable for those than the laity is for all the folly and impertinence of this treatise. And, therefore, that people may not be amused, or think this man is somewhat, that he has advanced or defended any oppressed truth, or overthrown any growing dangerous errors, I will set in as clear a light as I can what I conceive to be held by the established clergy and all reasonable Protestants in this matter.

Everybody knows and allows, that in all government there is an absolute, unlimited, legislative power; which is originally in the body of the people, although, by custom, conquest, usurpation, or other accidents, sometimes fallen into the hands of one or a few. This in England is placed in the three estates, (otherwise called the two houses of parliament,) in conjunction with the king. And whatever they please to enact, or to repeal in the settled forms, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, immediately becomes law or nullity. Their decrees may be against equity, truth, reason, and religion, but they are not against law: because law is the will of the supreme legislature, and that is themselves. And there is no manner of doubt but the same authority whenever it pleases, may abolish Christianity, and set up the Jewish, Mahometan, or heathen religion. In short, they may do anything within the compass of human power. And, therefore, who will dispute that the same law which deprived the church not only of lands, misapplied to superstitious uses, but even the tithes and glebes, (the ancient and necessary support of parish priests,) may take away all the rest whenever the lawgivers please, and make the priesthood as primitive as this writer or others of his stamp can desire.

But as the supreme power can certainly do ten thousand things more than it ought, so there are several things which some people may think it can do, although it really cannot. For it unfortunately happens, that edicts which cannot be executed will not alter the nature of things. So, if a king and parliament should please to enact that a woman who has been a month married is *virgo intacta*, would that actually restore her to her primitive state? If the supreme power should resolve a corporal of dragoons to be a doctor of divinity, law, or physic, few, I believe, would trust their souls, fortunes, or bodies to his direction; because that power is neither fit to judge or teach those qualifications which are absolutely necessary to the several professions. Put the case, that walking on the slack-rope were the only talent required by an act of parliament for making a man a bishop; no doubt, when a man had done his feat of activity in form, he might sit in the house of lords, put on his robes and his rochet, go down to his palace, receive and spend his rents; but it requires very little Christianity to believe this tumbler to be one whit more a bishop than he was before, because the law of God has otherwise decreed; which law, although a nation may refuse to receive it, cannot alter in its own nature.

And here lies the mistake of this superficial man.

who is not able to distinguish between what the civil power can hinder and what it can do. "If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them, since no greater power is required for one than the other." (See preface, p. 8.) This consequence he repeats above twenty times, and always in the wrong. He affects to form a few words into the shape and size of a maxim, then tries it by his ear, and according as he likes the sound or cadence, pronounces it true. Cannot I stand over a man with a great pole, and hinder him from making a watch, although I am not able to make one myself? If I have strength enough to knock a man on the head, does it follow I can raise him to life again? The parliament may condemn all the Greek and Roman authors; can it therefore create new ones in their stead? They may make laws, indeed, and call them canon and ecclesiastical laws, and oblige all men to observe them under pain of high treason. And so may I, who love as well as any man to have in my own family the power in the last resort, take a turnip, tie a string to it, and call it a watch, and turn away all my servants if they refuse to call it so too.

For my own part, I most confess that this opinion of the independent power of the church, or *imperium in imperio*, wherewith this writer raiseth such a dust, is what I never imagined to be of any consequence, never once heard disputed amongst divines, nor remember to have read, otherwise than as a scheme in one or two authors of middle rank, but with very little weight laid on it. And I dare believe there is hardly one divine in ten that ever once thought of this matter. Yet to see a large swelling volume written only to encounter this doctrine, what could one think less than that the whole body of the clergy were perpetually tiring the press and the pulpit with nothing else?

I remember some years ago a virtuoso writ a small tract about worms, proved them to be in more places than was generally observed, and made some discoveries by glasses. This having met with some reception, presently the poor man's head was full of nothing but worms; all we eat and drink, all the whole consistence of human bodies, and those of every other animal, the very air we breathed, in short, all nature throughout, was nothing but worms; and by that system, he solved all difficulties, and from thence all causes in philosophy. Thus it has fared with our author, and his independent power. The attack against occasional conformity, and the scarcity of coffee, the invasion of Scotland, the loss of kerseys and narrow cloths, the death of king William, the author's turning papist for preferment, the loss of the battle of Almanza, with ten thousand other misfortunes, are all owing to this *imperium in imperio*.

It will be therefore necessary to set this matter in a clear light, by inquiring whether the clergy have any power independent of the civil, and of what nature it is.

Whenever the Christian religion was embraced by the civil power in any nation, there is no doubt but the magistrates and senates were fully instructed in the rudiments of it. Besides, the Christians were so numerous, and their worship so open before the conversion of princes, that their discipline, as well as doctrine, could not be a secret: they saw plainly a subordination of ecclesiastics, bishops, priests, and deacons: that these had certain powers and employments different from the laity: that the bishops were consecrated, and set apart for that office, by those of their own order: that the presbyters and deacons were differently set apart, always by the bishops: that none but the ecclesiastics presumed to pray or preach in places set apart for God's worship, or to administer the Lord's supper: that all questions, relating either to discipline or doctrine, were determined in ecclesiastical conventions. These, and the like doctrines and practices, being most of them directly proved, and the rest by very fair consequence deduced from the words of our Saviour and his apostles were certainly received as a divine law, by every prince or state which admitted the Christian religion: and consequently, what they could not justly alter afterward, any more than the common laws of nature. And therefore, although the supreme power can hinder the clergy or church from making any new canons, or executing the old; from consecrating bishops, or refuse those that they do consecrate; or, in short, from performing any ecclesiastical office, as they may from eating, drinking, and sleeping; yet they cannot themselves perform those offices, which are assigned to the clergy by our Saviour and his apostles; or, if they do, it is not according to the divine institution, and consequently, null and void. Our Saviour tells us, "His kingdom is not of this world;" and therefore, to be sure, the world is not of his kingdom; nor can ever please him by interfering in the administration of it, since he has appointed ministers of his own, and has empowered and instructed them for that purpose: so that I believe the clergy who, as he says, are good at distinguishing, would think it reasonable to distinguish between their power and the liberty of exercising this power. The former they claim immediately from Christ, and the latter, from the permission, connivance, or authority of the civil government; with which the clergy's power, according to the solution I have given, cannot possibly interfere.

But this writer, setting up to form a system upon stale, scanty topics, and a narrow circle of thought, falls into a thousand absurdities. And for a further help, he has a talent of rattling out phrases, which seem to have sense, but have none at all; the usual fate of those who are ignorant of the force and compass of words, without which it is impossible for a man to write either pertinently, or intelligibly, upon the most obvious subjects.

So, in the beginning of his preface, page 4, he says, "The Church of England, being established by acts of parliament, is a perfect creature of the civil power; I mean the polity and discipline of it, and it is that which makes all the contention; for as to the doctrines expressed in the articles, I do not find high church to be in any manner of pain; but they who lay claim to most orthodoxy can distinguish themselves out of them." It is observable in this author, that his style is naturally harsh and ungrateful to the ear, and his expressions mean and trivial; but whenever he goes about to polish a period, you may be certain of some gross defect in propriety or meaning: so, the lines just quoted seem to run easily over the tongue, and upon examination they are perfect nonsense and blunder: to speak in his own borrowed phrase, what is contained in the idea of established? Surely, not existence. Does establishment give being to a thing? He might have said the same thing of Christianity in general, or the existence of God, since both are confirmed by acts of parliament. But the best is behind: for in the next line, having named the church half a dozen times before, he now says, he means only the polity and discipline of it; as if, having spoken in praise of the art of physic, a man should explain himself, that he meant only the institution of a college of physicians into a president and fellows. And it will appear that this author, however versed in the practice, has grossly transgressed the rules of nonsense, (whose property it is neither to affirm nor deny,) since every visible assertion gathered from those few lines is absolutely false: for where was the necessity of excepting the doctrines expressed in the articles, since these are equally creatures of the civil power, having been established by acts of

parliament as well as the others? But the church of England is no creature of the civil power, either as to its polity or doctrines. The fundamentals of both were deduced from Christ and his apostles, and the instructions of the purest and earliest ages; and were received as such by those princes or states who embraced Christianity, whatever prudential additions have been made to the former by human laws, which alone can be justly altered or annulled by them.

What I have already said would, I think, be a sufficient answer to his whole preface, and indeed to the greatest part of his book, which is wholly turned upon battering down a sort of independent power in the clergy, which few or none of them ever claimed or defended. But there being certain peculiarities in this preface that very much set off the wit, the learning, the raillery, reasoning, and sincerity of the author, I shall take notice of some of them as I pass.

But here, I hope, it will not be expected, that I should bestow remarks upon every passage in this book that is liable to exception for ignorance, falsehood, dulness, or malice. Where he is so insipid that nothing can be struck out for the reader's entertainment, I shall observe Horace's rule:

Quæ desperes tractata nitescere posse, relinquas.*

Upon which account I shall say nothing of that great instance of his candour and judgment in relation to Dr. Stillingfleet, who (happening to lie under his displeasure upon the fatal test of *imperium in imperio*) is high church and jacobite, took the oaths of allegiance to save him from the gallows, and subscribed the articles only to keep his preferment: whereas the character of that prelate is universally known to have been directly the reverse of what this writer gives him.

But before he can attempt to ruin this damnable opinion of two independent powers, he tells us, page 6, "It will be necessary to show what is contained in the idea of government." Now, it is to be understood that this refined way of speaking was introduced by Mr. Locke; after whom the author limps as fast as he is able. All the former philosophers in the world, from the age of Socrates to ours, would have ignorantly put the question, *Quid est imperium?* But now, it seems, we must vary our phrase: and since our modern improvement of human understanding, instead of desiring a philosopher to describe or define a mouse-trap, or tell me what it is, I must gravely ask, what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap? But then, to observe how deeply this new way of putting questions to a man's self makes him enter into the nature of things: his present business is to show us what is contained in the idea of government. The company knows nothing of the matter, and would gladly be instructed; which he does in the following words, p. 6.—

"It would be in vain for one intelligent being to pretend to set rules to the actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the compliance with, or punish the deviations from, his rules, by some good or evil, which is not the natural consequence of those actions; since the forbidding men to do or forbear an action, on the account of that convenience or inconvenience which attends it, whether he who forbids it will or no, can be no more than advice."

I shall not often draw such long quotations as this, which I could not forbear to offer as a specimen of the propriety and perspicuity of this author's style. And indeed, what a light breaks out upon us all as soon as we have read these words! how thoroughly are we instructed in the whole nature of government! what mighty truths are here discovered, and how clearly conveyed to our understanding! and, therefore, let us melt this refined jargon into the old style, for the improvement of such who are not enough conversant in the new.

If the author were one who used to talk like one of us, he would have spoken in this manner: "I think it necessary to give a full and perfect definition of government, such as will show the nature and all the properties of it; and my definition is thus: One man will never cure another of stealing horses, merely by minding him of the pains he has taken, the cold he has got, and the shoe-leather he has lost, in stealing that horse; nay, to warn him that the horse may kick or fling him, or cost him more than he is worth in hay and oats, can be no more than advice. For the gallows is not the natural effect of robbing on the highway, as heat is of fire; and, therefore, if you will govern a man, you must find out some other way of punishment than what he will inflict upon himself."

Or, if this will not do, let us try it in another case, (which I instanced before,) and in his own terms. Suppose he had thought it necessary (and I think it was as much so as the other) to show us what is contained in the idea of a mouse-trap, he must have proceeded in these terms: "It would be in vain for an intelligent being to set rules for hindering a mouse from eating his cheese, unless he can inflict upon that mouse some punishment, which is not the natural consequence of eating her cheese. For to tell her it may lie heavy on her stomach, that she will grow too big to get back into her hole and the like, can be no more than advice; therefore, we must find out some other way of punishing her, which has more inconveniences than she will ever suffer by the mere eating of cheese." After this, who is so slow of understanding as not to have in his mind a full and complete idea of a mouse-trap? Well.—The freethinkers may talk what they please of pedantry, and cant, and jargon of schoolmen, and insignificant terms in the writings of the clergy, if ever the most perplexed and perplexing follower of Aristotle, from Scotus to Suarez, could be a match for this author.

But the strength of his arguments is equal to the clearness of his definitions. For having most ignorantly divided government into three parts, whereof the first contains the other two, he attempts to prove that the clergy possess none of these by a divine right. And he argues thus, p. vii. "As to a legislative power, if that belongs to the clergy by divine right, it must be when they are assembled in convocation; but the 25th Henry VIII., c. 19, is a bar to any such divine right, because that act makes it no less than a præmunire for them so much as to meet without the king's writ, &c." So that the force of his argument lies here; if the clergy had a divine right, it is taken away by the 25th of Henry VIII. And as ridiculous as this argument is, the preface and book are founded upon it.

Another argument against the legislative power in the clergy of England is, p. viii., that Tacitus tells us that, in great affairs, the Germans consulted the whole body of the people: "De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes: ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur."—Tacitus de Moribus et Populis Germaniæ. Upon which Tindal observes thus: "De majoribus omnes," was a fundamental among our ancestors long before they arrived in Great Britain, and matters of religion were ever reckoned among their majora. (See Pref. p. viii: and ix.) Now it is plain that our ancestors, the Saxons, came from Germany; it is likewise plain, that religion was always reckoned by the heathens among their majora; and it is plain the whole body of the people could not be the clergy, and therefore the clergy of England have no legislative power.

* Artful he knows each circumstance to leave
Which will not grace and ornament receive."
FRANCIS.

Thirdly, p. ix. They have no legislative power, because Mr. Washington, in his "Observations on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England, shows, from undeniable authorities, that in the time of William the Conqueror, and several of his successors, there were no laws enacted concerning religion, but by the great council of the kingdom." I hope, likewise, Mr. Washington observes, that this great council of the kingdom, as appears by undeniable authorities, was sometimes entirely composed of bishops and clergy, and called the parliament, and often consulted upon affairs of state, as well as church, as it is agreed by twenty writers of those ages; and if Mr. Washington says otherwise, he is an author just fit to be quoted by beaux.

Fourthly.—But it is endless to pursue this matter any further; in that it is plain, the clergy have no divine right to make laws; because Henry VIII., Edward VI., and queen Elizabeth, with their parliaments, will not allow it them. Now, without examining what divine right the clergy have, or how far it extends; is it any sort of proof that I have no right, because a stronger power will not let me exercise it? or, does all that this author says through his preface, or book itself, offer any other sort of argument but this, or what he deduces the same way?

But his arguments and definitions are yet more supportable than the grossness of the historical remarks, which are scattered so plentifully in his book, that it would be tedious to enumerate, or to show the fraud and ignorance of them. I beg the reader's leave to take notice of one here just in my way; and the rather, because I design for the future to let hundreds of them pass without further notice. "When," says he, p. x. "by the abolishing of the pope's power, things were brought back to their ancient channel, the parliament's right in making ecclesiastical laws revived of course." What can possibly he meant by this "ancient channel?" Why, the channel that things ran in before the pope had any power in England: that is to say, before Austin the monk converted England; before which time, it seems, the parliament had a right to make ecclesiastical laws. And what parliament could this be? Why the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, met at Westminster.

I cannot here forbear reproving the folly and pedantry of some lawyers, whose opinions this poor creature blindly follows, and renders yet more absurd by his comments. The knowledge of our constitution can be only attained by consulting the earliest English histories, of which those gentlemen seem utterly ignorant, further than a quotation or index. They would fain derive our government, as now constituted, from antiquity: and because they have seen Tacitus quoted for his majoribus omnes; and have read of the Goths' military institution in their progress and conquests, they presently dream of a parliament. Had their reading reached so far, they might have deduced it much more fairly from Aristotle and Polybius; who both distinctly name the composition of rex, seniores, et populus; and the latter, as I remember particularly, with the highest approbation. The princes in the Saxon Heptarchy did indeed call their nobles sometimes together upon weighty affairs, as most other princes of the world have done in all ages. But they made war and peace, and raised money, by their own authority: they gave or mended laws by their charters, and they raised armies by their tenures. Besides, some of those kingdoms fell in by conquests before England was reduced under one head, and therefore could pretend no rights but by the concessions of the conqueror.

Further, which is more material, upon the admission of Christianity, great quantities of land were acquired by the clergy, so that the great council of the nation was often entirely of churchmen, and ever a considerable part. But our present constitution is an artificial thing, not fairly to be traced, in my opinion, beyond Henry I. Since which time it has in every age admitted several alterations; and differs now as much, even from what it was then, as almost any two species of government described by Aristotle. And it would be much more reasonable to affirm, that the government of Rome continued the same under Justinian as it was in the time of Scipio, because the senate and consuls still remained, although the power of both had been, for several hundred years, transferred to the emperors.

REMARKS ON THE PREFACE.

Page iv.; v. "If men of opposite sentiments can subscribe the same articles, they are as much at liberty as if there were none." May not a man subscribe the whole articles, because he differs from another in the explication of one? how many oaths are prescribed that men may differ in the explication of some part of them? Instance, &c.

Page vi. "Idea of government." A canting pedantic way, learned from Locke; and how prettily he shows it. Instance—

Page vii. "25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19. is a bar to any such divine right [of legislative power in the clergy.]" Absurd to argue against the clergy's divine right, because of the statute of Henry VIII. How does that destroy divine right? The sottish way of arguing; from what the parliament can do; from their power, &c.

Page viii. "If the parliament did not think they had a plenitude of power in this matter, they would not have damned all the canons of 1640." What does he mean? A grave divine could not answer all his playhouse and Alsatia cant, &c. He has read Hudibras, and many plays.

Ibid. "If the parliament can annul ecclesiastical laws, they must be able to make them." Distinguish and show the silliness, &c.

Ibid. All that he says against the discipline, he might say the same against the doctrine, nay, against the belief of a God, viz., that the legislature might forbid it. The church forms and contrives canons; and the civil power, which is compulsive, confirms them.

Page ix. "There were no laws enacted but by the great council of the kingdom." And that was very often, chiefly only bishops.

Ibid. "Laws settled by parliament to punish the clergy." What laws were those?

Page x. "The people are bound to no laws but of their own choosing." It is fraudulent; for they may consent to what others choose, and so people often do.

Page xiv. paragraph 6. "The clergy are not supposed to have any divine legislature, because that must be superior to all worldly power; and then the clergy might as well forbid the parliament to meet but when and where they please, &c." No such consequence at all. They have a power exclusive from all others. Ordained to act as clergy, but not govern in civil affairs; nor act without leave of the civil power.

Page xxv. "The parliament suspected the love of power natural to churchmen." Truly, so is the love of pudding, and most other things desirable in this life; and in that they are like the laity, as in all other things that are not good. And therefore they are held not in esteem for what they are like in, but for their virtues. The true way to abuse them with effect, is to tell us some faults of theirs, that other men have not, or not so much of as they, &c. Might not any man speak full as bad of senates, diets, and parliaments, as he can do about councils; and as bad of princes as he does of bishops?

Page xxxi. "They might as well have made cardi-

nals Campegi and de Chinuchil bishops of Salisbury and Worcester as have enacted that their several sees and bishoprics were utterly void." No. The legislature might determine who should not be a bishop there, but not make a bishop.

Page xxxi. "Were not a greater number deprived by parliament upon the Restoration?" Does he mean presbyters? What signifies that?

Ibid. "Have they not trusted this power with our princes?" Why, ay. But that argues not right, but power. Have they not cut off a king's head, &c.? The church must do the best they can, if not what they would.

Page xxxvi. "If tithes and first-fruits are paid to spiritual persons as such, the king or queen is the most spiritual person," &c. As if the first-fruits, &c., were paid to the king, as tithes to a spiritual person.

Page xliii. "King Charles II. thought fit that the bishops in Scotland should hold their bishoprics during will and pleasure: I do not find that high church complained of this as an encroachment," &c. No; but as a pernicious counsel of lord Loch.

Page xliv. "The common law judges have a power to determine whether a man has a legal right to the sacrament." They pretend it, but what we complain of as a most abominable hardship. &c.

Page xlv. "Giving men thus blindly to the devil, is an extraordinary piece of complaisance to a lay chancellor." He is something in the right; and therefore it is a pity there are any; and I hope the church will provide against it. But if the sentence be just, it is not the person, but the contempt. And if the author attacks a man on the highway, and takes but twopence, he shall be sent to the gallows, more terrible to him than the devil, for his contempt of the law, &c. Therefore he need not complain of being sent to hell.

Page lxiv. Mr. Lesley may carry things too far, as it is natural; because the other extreme is so great. But what he says of the king's losses, since the church lands were given away, is too great a truth, &c.

Page lxxvi. "To which I have nothing to plead, except the zeal I have for the Church of England." You will see, some pages further, what he means by the church; but it is not fair not to begin with telling us what is contained in the idea of a church, &c.

Page lxxxiii. "They will not be angry with me for thinking better of the church than they do," &c. No, but they will differ from you; because the worse the queen is pleased you think her better. I believe the church will not concern themselves much about your opinion of them, &c.

Page lxxxiv. "But the popish, eastern, presbyterian, and jacobite clergy, &c." This is like a general pardon, with such exceptions as make it useless, if we compute it, &c.

Page lxxxvii. "Misapplying of the word church, &c." This is cavilling. No doubt his project is for exempting the people; but that is not what in common speech we usually mean by the church. Besides, who does not know that distinction?

Ibid. "Constantly apply the same ideas to them." This is, in old English, meaning the same thing.

Page lxxxix. "Demonstrates I could have no designs but the promoting of truth," &c. Yes, several designs, as money, spleen, atheism, &c. What? will any man think truth was his design, and not money and malice? Does he expect the house will go into a committee for a bill to bring things to his scheme, to confound everything, &c.?

Some deny Tindal to be the author, and produce stories of his dulness and stupidity. But what is there in all this book that the dullest man in England might not write, if he were angry and bold enough, and had no regard to truth?

REMARKS ON THE BOOK, &c

Page 4. "Whether Lewis XIV. has such a power over Philip V.?" He speaks here of the unlimited, uncontrollable authority of fathers. A very foolish question! and his discourse hitherto, of government, weak and trivial, and liable to objections.

Ibid. "Whom he is to consider not as his own, but the Almighty's workmanship." A very likely consideration for the ideas of the state of nature. A very wrong deduction of paternal government; but that is nothing to the dispute, &c.

Page 12. "And as such might justly be punished by every one in the state of nature." False; he does not seem to understand the state of nature, although he has borrowed it from Hobbes, &c.

Page 14. "Merely speculative points, and other indifferent things," &c. And why are speculative opinions so insignificant? do not men proceed in their practice according to their speculations? so, if the author were a chancellor, and one of his speculations were, that the poorer the clergy the better, would not that be of great use if a cause came before him of tithes or church lands?

Ibid. "Which can only be known by examining whether men had any power in the state of nature over their own or others' actions in these matters." No, that is a wrong method, unless where religion has not been revealed; in natural religion, &c.

Ibid. "Nothing at first sight can be more obvious than that, in all religious matters, none could make over the right of judging for himself, since that would cause his religion to be absolutely at the disposal of another." At his rate of arguing (I think I do not misrepresent him, and I believe he will not deny the consequence) a man may profess Heathenism, Mahometism, &c., gain as many proselytes as he can; and they may have their assemblies, and the magistrate ought to protect them, provided they do not disturb the state: and they may enjoy all secular preferments, be lords chancellors, judges, &c. But there are some opinions in several religions, which, although they do not directly make men rebel, yet lead to it. Nay, we might have temples for idols, &c. A thousand such absurdities follow from his general notions, and ill-digested schemes. And we see in the Old Testament, that kings were reckoned good or ill, as they suffered or hindered image-worship and idolatry, &c., which was limiting conscience.

Page 15. "Men may form what clubs, companies, or meetings they think fit, &c., which the magistrate, as long as the public sustains no damage, cannot hinder," &c. This is false; although the public sustain no damage, they will forbid clubs where they think danger may happen.

Page 16. "The magistrate is as much obliged to protect them in the way they choose of worshipping him, as in any other indifferent matter."—Page 17. "The magistrate ought to treat all his subjects alike, how much soever they differ from him or one another in these matters." This shows that, although they be Turks, Jews, or Heathens, it is so. But we are sure Christianity is the only true religion, &c.; and therefore it should be the magistrate's chief care to propagate it; and that God should be worshipped in that form, that those who are the teachers think most proper, &c.

Page 18. "So that persecution is the most comprehensive of all crimes, &c." But he has not told us what is included in the idea of persecution. State it right.

Ibid. "But here it may be demanded, if a man's conscience make him do such acts, &c." This does not answer the above objection: for if the public be not disturbed with atheistical principles preached, our im-

moralities, all is well. So that still men may be Jews, Turks, &c.

Page 22. "The same reason which obliges them to make statutes of mortmain, and other laws, against the people's giving estates to the clergy, will equally hold for their taking them away when given." A great security for property! Will this hold to any other society in the state, as merchants, &c., or only to ecclesiastics? A petty project: forming general schemes requires a deeper head than this man's.

Ibid. "But the good of the society being the only reason of the magistrate's having any power over men's properties, I cannot see why he should deprive his subjects of any part thereof, for the maintenance of such opinions as have no tendency that way," &c. Here is a paragraph (vide also infra) which has a great deal in it. The meaning is, that no man ought to pay tithes who does not believe what the minister preaches. But how came they by this property? When they purchased the land, they paid only for so much; and the tithes were exempted. It is an older title than any man's estate is; and if it were taken away to-morrow, it could not, without a new law, belong to the owners of the other nine parts, any more than impropriations do.

Ibid "For the maintenance of such opinions, as nowise contribute to the public good." By such opinions as the public receive no advantage by he must mean Christianity.

Page 23. "Who by reason of such articles are divided into different sects." A pretty cause of sects! &c.

Page 24. "So the same reason, as often as it occurs, will oblige him to leave that church." This is an excuse for his turning papist.

Ibid. "Unless you suppose churches like traps, easy to admit one; but when once he is in, there he must always stick, either for the pleasure or profit of the trap-setters." Remark his wit.

Page 29. "Nothing can be more absurd than maintaining there must be two independent powers in the same society, &c." This is abominably absurd: show it.

Page 33. "The whole hierarchy as built on it, must necessarily fall to the ground, and great will be the fall of this spiritual Babylon." I will do him justice, and take notice when he his witty, &c.

Page 36. "For if there may be two such [independent powers] in every society on earth, why may there not be more than one in heaven?" A delicate consequence.

Page 37. "Without having the less, he could not have the greater, in which that is contained." Sophistical: instance wherein.

Page 42. "Some since, subtler than the Jews, have managed commutations more to their own advantage by enriching themselves, and beggaring, if fame be not a liar, many an honest dissenter." It is fair to produce witnesses, is she a liar or not? The report is almost impossible. Commutations were contrived for roguish registers and proctors, and lay chancellors, but not for the clergy.

Page 43. "Kings and people, who (as the Indians do the devil) adored the pope out of fear." I am in doubt whether I shall allow that for wit or not. &c. Look you, in these cases, preface it thus: If one may use an old saying.

Page 44. "One reason why the clergy make what they call schism to be so heinous a sin." There it is now; because he has changed churches, he ridicules schism; as Milton wrote for divorces, because he had an ill wife. For ten pages on, we must give the true answer, that makes all these arguments of no use.

Page 60. "It possibly will be said, I have all this while being doing these gentlemen a great deal of wrong." To do him justice, he sets forth the objections of his adversaries with great strength, and much to their advantage. No doubt those are the very objections we would offer.

Page 68. "Their executioner." He is fond of this word in many places, yet there is nothing in it further than it is the name for the hangman, &c.

Page 69. "Since they exclude both from having anything in the ordering of church matters." Another part of his scheme; for, by this the people ought to execute ecclesiastical offices without distinction, for he brings the other opinion as an absurd one.

Page 72. "They claim a judicial power, and, by virtue of it, the government of the church, and thereby (pardon the expression) become traitors both to God and man." Who does he desire to pardon him? or is this meant of the English clergy? so it seems. Does he desire them to pardon him? they do it as Christians. Does he desire the government to do it? but then how can they make examples? He says, the clergy do so, &c.; so he means all.

Page 74. "I would gladly know what they mean by giving the Holy Ghost." Explain what is really meant by giving the Holy Ghost, like a king empowering an ambassador.

Page 76. "The Popish clergy make very bold with the three persons of the Trinity." Why then, don't mix them; but we see whom this glances on most. As to the *Congé d'élire*, and *Nolo episcopari*, not so absurd; and if omitted, why changed?

Page 78. "But not to digress"—Pray does he call scurrility upon the clergy a digression? The apology needless, &c.

Ibid. "A clergyman, it is said, is God's ambassador." But you know an ambassador may have a secretary, &c.

Ibid. "Call their pulpit-speeches the word of God." That is a mistake.

Page 79. "Such persons to represent him." Are not they that own his power fitter to represent him than others? Would the author be a fitter person?

Ibid. "Puffed up with intolerable pride and insolence." Not at all; for where is the pride to be employed by a prince, whom so few own, and whose being is disputed by such as this author?

Ibid. "Perhaps from a poor servitor, &c., to be a prime minister in God's kingdom." That is right. God takes notice of the difference between poor servitors, &c. Extremely foolish: show it. The argument lies strongly against the apostles, poor fishermen; and St. Paul a tent-maker. So gross and idle!

Page 80. "The formality of laying hand over head on a man." A pun; but an old one. I remember when Swan made that pun first, he was severely checked for it.

Ibid. "What more is required to give one a right," &c. Here show what power is in the church, and what in the state, to make priests.

Page 85. "To bring men into, and not turn them out of, the ordinary way of salvation." Yes; but as one rotten sheep does mischief—and do you think it reasonable that such a one as this author should converse with Christians, and weak ones?

Ibid. See his fine account of spiritual punishment.

Page 87. "The clergy affirm, that if they had not the power to exclude men from the church, its unity could not be preserved." So to expel an ill member from a college, would be the way to divide the college; as in All-Souls', &c. Apply it to him.

Page 88. "I cannot see but it is contrary to the rules of charity to exclude men from the church," &c. All this turns upon the falsest reasoning in the world. So, if a man be imprisoned for stealing a horse, he is hindered from other duties: and you might argue, that a man who does ill, ought to be more diligent in minding other duties, and not to be debarred from them

it is for contumacy and rebellion against that power in the church which the law has confirmed. So a man is outlawed for a trifle, upon contumacy.

Page 92. "Obliging all by penal laws to receive the sacrament." This is false.

Page 93. "The want of which means can only harden a man in his impenitence." It is for his being hardened that he is excluded. Suppose a son robs his father on the highway, and his father will not see him till he restores the money, and owns his fault. It is hard to deny him paying his duty in other things, &c. How absurd this!

Page 95. "And that only they had a right to give it." Another part of his scheme, that the people have a right to give the sacrament. See more of it, pp. 135 and 137.

Page 96. "Made familiar to such practices by the heathen priests." Well; and this shows the necessity of it for peace sake. A silly objection of this and other enemies to religion, to think to disgrace it by applying heathenism, which only concerns the political part, wherein they were as wise as others, and might give rules. Instance, in some, &c.

Page 98. "How differently from this do the great pretenders to primitive practice act," &c. This is a remarkable passage. Does he condemn or allow this mysterious way? It seems the first; and therefore these words are a little turned, but infallibly stood in the first draught as a great argument for popery.

Page 100. "They dress them up in a sanbenito." So, now we are to answer for the inquisition. One thing is, that he makes the fathers guilty of asserting most of the corruptions about the power of priests.

Page 104. "Some priests assume to themselves an arbitrary power of excluding men from the Lord's supper." His scheme; that anybody may administer the sacraments, women, or children, &c.

Page 108. "One no more than another can be reckoned a priest." See his scheme. Here he disgraces what the law enacts, about the manner of consecration, &c.

Page 118. "Churches serve to worse purposes than bear-gardens." This from Hudibras.

Page 119. "In the time of that wise heathen Ammianus Marcellinus" Here he runs down all Christianity in general.

Page 120. "I shall, in the following part of my discourse, show that this doctrine is so far from serving the ends of religion, that, 1. It prevents the spreading of the gospel, &c." This independent power in the church is like the worms; being the cause of all diseases.

Page 124. "How easily could the Roman emperors have destroyed the church?" Just as if he had said, how easily could Herod kill Christ while a child, &c.

Page 125. "The people were set against bishops by reason of their tyranny." Wrong; for the bishops were no tyrants: their power was swallowed up by the popes, and the people desired they should have more. It was the regulars that tyrannized and formed priestcraft. He is ignorant.

Page 139. "He is not bound by the laws of Christ to leave his friends in order to be baptized," &c. This directly against the gospel.—One would think him an emissary, by his preaching schism.

Page 142. "Then will the communion of saints be practicable, to which the principles of all parties, the occasional conformists only excepted, stand in direct opposition," &c. So that all are wrong but they. The Scripture is fully against schism. Tindal promotes it, and places in it all the present and future happiness of man.

Page 144. All he has hitherto said on this matter, with a very little turn, were arguments for popery; for it is certain that religion had share in very few wars for many hundred years before the Reformation, because they were all of a mind. It is the ambition of rebels, preaching upon the discontents of sectaries, that they are not supreme, which has caused wars for religion. He is mistaken altogether. His little narrow understanding and want of learning.

Page 145. "Though some say the highfliers' lives might serve for a very good rule, if men would act quite contrary to them." Is he one of those some? Beside the new turn of wit, &c., all the clergy in England come under his notion of highfliers, as he states it.

Page 147. "None of them (churchmen) could be brought to acknowledge it lawful, upon any account whatever, to exclude the duke of York." This account false in fact.

Ibid. "And the body politic, whether ecclesiastical or civil, must be dealt with after the same manner as the body natural." What, because it is called a body, and is a simile, must it hold in all circumstances?

Page 148. "We find all wise legislators have had regard to the tempers, inclinations, and prejudices," &c. This paragraph false.—It was directly contrary in several, as Lycurgus, &c.

Page 152. "All the skill of the prelatists is not able to discover the least distinction between bishop and presbyter." Yet, God knows, this hath been done many a time.

Page 158. "The Epistle to the Philippians is directed to the bishops and deacons; I mean in due order after the people, viz., to the saints, with their bishops and deacons." I hope he would argue from another place that the people precede the king because of these words—"Ye shall be destroyed, both you and your king."

Page 161. "The pope, and other great church dons." I suppose he means bishops; but I wish he would explain himself, and not be so very witty in the midst of an argument; it is like two mediums, not fair in disputing.

Page 167. "Clemens Romanus blames the people, not for assuming a power, but for making a wrong use of it," &c. His great error all along is, that he does not distinguish between a power and a liberty of exercising that power, &c. I would appeal to any man whether the clergy have not too little power, since a book like his, that unsettles foundations and would destroy all, goes unpunished, &c.

Page 171. "By this or some such method, the bishops obtained their power over their fellow-presbyters, and both over the people. The whole tenour of the gospel directly contrary to it." Then it is not an allowable means: this carries it so far as to spoil his own system; it is a sin to have bishops as we have them.

Page 172. "The preservation of peace and unity, and not any divine right, was the reason of establishing a superiority of one of the presbyters over the rest; otherwise there would, as they say, have been as many schismatics as presbyters. No great compliment to the clergy of those days." Why so? It is the natural effect of a worse independency, which he keeps such a clatter about, an independency of churches on each other, which must naturally create schism.

Page 183. "How could the Christians have asserted the disinterestedness of those who first preached the gospel, particularly their having a right to the tenth part?" Yes, that would have passed easy enough; for they could not imagine teachers could live on air, and their heathen priests were much more unreasonable.

Page 184. "Men's suffering for such opinions is not sufficient to support the weight of them." This is a glance against Christianity. State the case of convert-

ing infidels; the converters are supposed few; the bulk of the priests must be of the converted country. It is their own people therefore they maintain. What project or end can a few converters propose? they can leave no power to their families, &c. State this, I say, at length, and give it a true turn. Princes give corporations power to purchase lands.

Page 187. "That it became an easy prey to the barbarous nations." Ignorance in Tindal. The empire long declined before Christianity was introduced. This a wrong cause, if ever there was one.

Page 190. "It is the clergy's interest to have religion corrupted." Quite the contrary; prove it. How is it the interest of the English clergy to corrupt religion? The more justice and piety the people have, the better it is for them; for that would prevent the penury of farmers, and the oppression of exacting, covetous landlords, &c. That which has corrupted religion is the liberty unlimited of professing all opinions. Do not lawyers render law intricate by their speculations, &c. And physicians, &c.

Page 209. "The spirit and temper of the clergy," &c. What does this man think the clergy are made of? Answer generally to what he says against councils in the ten pages before. Suppose I should bring quotations in their praise.

Page 211. "As the clergy, though few in comparison of the laity, were the inventors of corruptions." His scheme is, that the fewer and poorer the clergy the better, and the contrary among the laity. A noble principle; and delicate consequences from it.

Page 207. "Men are not always condemned for the sake of opinions, but opinions sometimes for the sake of men." And so he hopes that, if his opinions are condemned, people will think it is a spite against him, as having been always scandalous.

Page 210. "The meanest layman as good a judge as the greatest priest, for the meanest man is as much interested in the truth of religion as the greatest priest." As if one should say the meanest sick man has as much interest in health as a physician, therefore is as good a judge of physic as a physician, &c.

Ibid. "Had synods been composed of laymen, none of those corruptions which tend to advance the interest of the clergy," &c. True. But the part the laity had in reforming was little more than plundering. He should understand that the nature of things is this, that the clergy are made of men, and without some encouragement they will not have the best but the worst.

Page 215. "They who gave estates to, rather than they who took them from, the clergy, were guilty of sacrilege." Then the people are the church, and the clergy not; another part of his scheme.

Page 219. "The clergy, as they subsisted by the alms of the people," &c. This he would have still. Show the folly of it. Not possible to show any civilized nation ever did it. Who would be clergymen then? The absurdity appears by putting the case that none were to be statesmen, lawyers, or physicians, but who were to subsist by alms.

Page 222. "These subtle clergymen work their designs who lately cut out such a tacking job for them," &c. He is mistaken—everybody was for the bill almost, though not for the tack. The bishop of Sarum was for it, as appears by his speech against it. But it seems the tacking is owing to metaphysical speculations. I wonder whether is most perplexed, this author in his style or the writings of our divines. In the judgment of all people our divines have carried practical preaching and writing to the greatest perfection it ever arrived to; which shows that we may affirm in general our clergy is excellent, although this or that man be faulty. As if an army be constantly victorious, regular, &c., we may say it is an excellent, victorious army: but Tindal, to disparage it, would say such a serjeant ran away; such an ensign hid himself in a ditch; nay, one colonel turned his back, therefore it is a corrupt, cowardly army, &c.

Page 224. "They were as apprehensive of the works of Aristotle as some men are of the works of a late philosopher, which they are afraid will let too much light into the world." Yet just such another; only a commentator on Aristotle. People are likely to improve their understanding much with Locke; it is not his "Human Understanding," but other works, that people dislike, although in that there are some dangerous tenets, as that of no innate ideas.

Page 226. "Could they, like the popish priests, add to this a restraint on the press, their business would be done." So it ought: for example, to hinder his book, because it is written to justify the vices and infidelity of the age. There can be no other design in it. For is this a way or manner to do good? railing does but provoke. The opinion of the whole parliament is, the clergy are too poor.

Ibid. "When some nations could be no longer kept from prying into learning, this miserable gibberish of the schools was contrived." We have exploded schoolmen as much as he, and in some people's opinion too much, since the liberty of embracing any opinion is allowed; they following Aristotle, who is doubtless the greatest master of arguing in the world: but it has been a fashion of late years to explode Aristotle; and therefore this man has fallen into it like others, for that reason, without understanding him. Aristotle's poetry, rhetoric, and politics are admirable; and therefore it is likely, so are his logics.

Page 230. "In these freer countries, as the clergy have less power, so religion is better understood, and more useful and excellent discourses are made on that subject," &c. Not generally. Holland not very famous; Spain has been, and France is. But it requires more knowledge than his to form general rules, which people strain, when ignorant, to false deductions to make them out.

Page 232. Chap. VII. That this hypothesis of an independent power in any set of clergymen makes all reformation unlawful, except where those who have this power do consent. The title of this chapter a truism.

Page 234. "If God has not placed mankind, in respect to civil matters, under an absolute power, but has permitted them in every society to act as they judge best for their own safety," &c. Bad parallels; bad politics; want of due distinction between teaching and government. The people may know when they are governed well, but not be wiser than their instructors. Show the difference.

Ibid. "If God has allowed the civil society these privileges, can we suppose he has less kindness for his church?" &c. Here they are distinguished then; here it makes for him. It is a sort of turn of expression which is scarce with him, and he contradicts himself to follow it.

Page 235. "This cursed hypothesis had perhaps never been thought on with relation to civils, had not the clergy (who have an inexhaustible magazine of oppressive doctrines) contrived first in ecclesiasticals," &c. The seventh paragraph furious and false. Were there no tyrants before the clergy, &c.?

Page 236. "Therefore, in order to serve them, though I expect little thanks," &c. And why so? Will they not, as you say, follow their interest? I thought you said so. He has three or four sprightly turns of this kind, that look as if he thought he had done wonders and had put all the clergy in a ferment; whereas, I do assure him there are but two things wonderful in his book: first, how any man in a

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Christian country could have the boldness and wickedness to write it; and how any government would neglect punishing the author of it, if not as an enemy of religion, yet as a profligate trumpeter of sedition. These are hard words, got by reading his book.

Page 236. "The light of nature, as well as the gospel, obliges people to judge of themselves," &c. "to avoid false prophets, seducers," &c. The legislature can turn out a priest, and appoint another ready made, but not make one; as you discharge a physician and may take a farrier; but he is no physician unless made as he ought to be.

Ibid. "Since no more power is required for the one than the other." This is, I dislike my physician and can turn him off, therefore I can make any man a physician, &c. *Cujus est destruere*, &c. Jest on it: therefore, because he lays schemes for destroying the church, we must employ him to raise it again. See what danger lies in applying maxims at random. So because it is the soldiers' business to knock men on the head, it is theirs likewise to raise them to life, &c

Page 237. "It can belong only to the people to appoint their own ecclesiastical officers." This word "people" is so delicious in him that I cannot tell what is included in the idea of the "people." Does he mean the rabble or the legislature, &c.? In this sense it may be true that the legislature gives leave to the bishops to appoint, and they appoint themselves; I mean, the executive power appoints, &c. He shows his ignorance in government. As to high church, he carries it a prodigious way, and includes in the idea of it more than others will allow.

Page 239. "Though it be customary to admit none to the ministry who are not approved by the bishops or priests," &c. One of his principles to expose.

Ibid. "If every one has not an inherent right to choose his own guide, then a man must be either of the religion of his guide, or," &c. That would make delicate work in a nation: what would become of all our churches? They must dwindle into conventicles. Show what would be the consequence of this scheme in several points. This great reformer, if his projects were reduced to practice, how many thousand sects, and consequently tumults, &c. Men must be governed in speculations, at least not suffered to vent them, because opinions tend to actions, which are most governed by opinions, &c. If those who write for the church writ no better, they would succeed but scurvily. But to see whether he be a good writer, let us see when he has published his second part.

Page 253. "An excellent author in his preface to the account of Denmark." This man judges and writes much of a level. Molesworth's preface full of stale profligate topics. That author wrote his book in spite to a nation, as this does to religion, and both perhaps on poor personal piques.[a]

Ibid. "By which means, and not by any difference in speculative matters, they are more rich and populous." As if ever anybody thought that a difference in speculative opinions made men richer or poorer; for example, &c.

Page 258. "Play the devil for God's sake." If this is meant for wit, I would be glad to observe it; but in such cases I first look whether there be common sense, &c.

Page 261. "Christendom has been the scene of perpetual wars, massacres,' &c. He does not consider that most religious wars have been caused by schisms, when the dissenting parties were ready to join with any ambitious discontented man. The national religion always desires peace, even in her notions, for its interests.

Page 270. "Some have taken the liberty to compare a high-church priest in politics, to a monkey in a glass-shop, where, as he can do no good, so he never fails of doing mischief enough." That is his modesty, it is his own simile, and it rather fits a man that does so and so, meaning himself. Besides, the comparison is foolish: so it is with men as with stogs.

Page 276. "Their interest obliges them directly to promote tyranny." The matter is, that Christianity is the fault which spoils the priests, for they were like other men before they were priests. Among the Romans, priests did not do so; for they had the greatest power during the republic. I wonder he did not prove they spoiled Nero.

Page 277. "No princes have been more insupportable, and done greater violence to the commonwealth, than those the clergy have honoured for saints and martyrs." For example in our country, the princes most celebrated by our clergy are, &c. &c. &c. And the quarrels since the Conquest were nothing at all of the clergy, but purely of families, &c., wherein the clergy only joined like other men.

Page 279. "After the reformation, I desire to know whether the conduct of the clergy was anywise altered for the better," &c. Monstrous misrepresentation! Does this man's spirit of declaiming let him forget all truth of fact, as here, &c.? Show it. Or does he flatter himself a time will come in future ages that men will believe it on his word? In short, between declaiming, between misrepresenting, and falseness, and charging popish things, and independency, huddled together, his whole book is employed.

Set forth at large the necessity of union in religion, and the disadvantage of the contrary, and answer the contrary in Holland, where they have no religion, and are the worst constituted government in the world to last. It is ignorance of causes and appearances which makes shallow people judge so much to their advantage. They are governed by the administration and almost legislature of Holland, through advantage of property, nor are they fit to be set in balance with a noble kingdom, &c., like a man that gets a hundred pounds a-year by hard labour, and one that has it in land.

Page 280. "It may be worth inquiring whether the difference between the several sects in England," &c. A noble notion started, that union in the church must enslave the kingdom: reflect on it. This man has somewhere heard that it is a point of wit to advance paradoxes, and the bolder the better. But the wit lies in maintaining them, which he neglects, and forms imaginary conclusions from them as if they were true and uncontested.

He adds, "That in the best constituted church the greatest good which can be expected of the ecclesiastics is from their divisions." This is a maxim deduced from a gradation of false suppositions. If a man should turn the tables, and argue that all the debauchery, atheism, licentiousness, &c., of the times, were owing to the poverty of the clergy, &c., what would he say? There have been more wars of religion since the ruin of the clergy than before in England. All the civil wars before were from other causes.

Page 283. "Prayers are made in the loyal university of Oxford to continue the throne free from the contagion of schism. See Mather's sermon on the 29th of May, 1705." Thus he ridicules the university, while he is eating their bread.[a] The whole university comes with the most loyal addresses, yet that goes for nothing. If one indiscreet man drops an indiscreet word, all must answer for it.

Page 286. "By allowing all who hold no opinions prejudicial to the state, and contribute equally with their fellow-subjects to its support, equal privileges in it." But who denies that of the dissenters? The Calvinist scheme one would not think proper for monarchy. Therefore they fall in with the Scotch, Geneva, and Holland; and when they had strength

[a] Lord Molesworth's account of Denmark.

[a] Tindal was fellow of All Souls' College

here, they pulled down the monarchy. But I will tell an opinion they hold prejudicial to the state in his opinion; and that is, that they are against toleration, of which if I do not show him ten times more instances from their greatest writers than he can do of passive obedience among the clergy, I have done.

"Does not justice demand that they who alike contribute to the burden should alike receive the advantage?" Here is another of his maxims closely put without considering what exceptions may be made. The papists have contributed doubly (being so taxed), therefore, by this rule, they ought to have double advantage. Protection in property, leave to trade and purchase, &c., are enough for a government to give. Employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it, &c. For example, a man who upon all occasions declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a capacity of reducing it to practice, &c.

Page 287. "There can be no alteration in the established mode of church discipline, which is not made in a legal way." Oh! but there are several methods to compass this legal way, by cunning, faction, industry. The common people he knows may be wrought upon by priests; these may influence the faction, and so compass a very pernicious law, and in a legal way ruin the state; as king Charles I. began to be ruined in a legal way by passing bills, &c.

Page 288. "As everything is persecution which puts a man in a worse condition than his neighbours." It is hard to think sometimes whether this man is hired to write for or against dissenters and the sects. This is their opinion, although they will not own it so roundly. Let this be brought to practice: make a quaker lord-chancellor who thinks paying tithes unlawful; and bring other instances to show that several employments affect the church.

Ibid. "Great advantages which both church and state have got by the kindness already shown to dissenters." Let them then be thankful for that. We humour children for their good sometimes, but too much may hurt. Observe that this 64th paragraph just contradicts the former. For, if we have advantage by kindness shown dissenters, then there is no necessity of banishment or death.

Page 290. "Christ never designed the holy sacrament should be prostituted to serve a party. And that people should be bribed by a place to receive unworthily." Why, the business is, to be sure, that those who are employed are of the national church; and the way to know it is by receiving the sacrament, which all men ought to do in their own church, and if not, are hardly fit for an office; and if they have those moral qualifications he mentions joined to religion, no fear of receiving unworthily. And for this there might be a remedy: to take an oath that they are of the same principles, &c., for that is the end of receiving; and that it might be no bribe, the bill against occasional conformity would prevent entirely.

Ibid. "Preferring men not for their capacity, but their zeal to the church." The misfortune is, that if we prefer dissenters to great posts they will have an inclination to make themselves the national church, and so there will be perpetual struggling; which case may be dangerous to the state. For men are naturally wishing to get over others to their own opinion: witness this writer, who has published as singular and absurd notions as possible, yet has a mighty zeal to bring us over to them, &c.

Page 292. Here are two pages of scurrilous faction, with a deal of reflections on great persons. Under the notion of high-churchmen he runs down all uniformity and church government. Here is the whole lower house of convocation, which represents the body of the clergy, and both universities, treated with rudeness by an obscure, corrupt member, while he is eating their bread.

Page 294. "The reason why the middle sort of people retain so much of their ancient virtue, &c., is because no such pernicious notions are the ingredients of their education; which it is a sign are infinitely absurd when so many of the gentry and nobility can, notwithstanding their prepossession, get clear of them." Now the very same argument lies against religion, morality, honour, and honesty; which are, it seems, but prejudices of education, and too many get clear of them. The middle sort of people have other things to mind than the factions of the age. He always assigns many causes, and sometimes with reason, since he makes imaginary effects. He quarrels at power being lodged in the clergy: when there is no reasonable Protestant, clergy or laity, who will not readily own the inconveniences by too great power and wealth in any one body of men, ecclesiastics or seculars: but on that account to weed up the wheat with the tares; to banish all religion because it is capable of being corrupted; to give unbounded licence to all sects, &c.—And if heresies had not been used with some violence in the primitive age, we should have had, instead of true religion, the most corrupt one in the world.

Page 316. "The Dutch, and the rest of our Presbyterian allies, &c." The Dutch will hardly thank him for this appellation. The French Huguenots and Geneva Protestants themselves, and others, have lamented the want of episcopacy and approved ours, &c. In this and the next paragraph the author introduces the arguments he formerly used when he turned Papist in King James's time: and, loath to lose them, he gives them a new turn; and they are the strongest in his book, at least have most artifice.

Page 363. "'Tis plain all the power the bishops have is derived from the people," &c. In general the distinction lies here. The permissive power of exercising jurisdiction lies in the people, or legislature, or administrator of a kingdom; but not of making him a bishop: as a physician that commences abroad may be suffered to practise in London, or be hindered; but they have not the power of creating him a doctor, which is peculiar to a university. This is some allusion; but the thing is plain, as it seems to me, and wants no subterfuge, &c.

Page 338. "A journeyman bishop to ordain for him." Does any man think that writing at this rate does the author's cause any service? is it his wit or his spleen that he cannot govern?

Page 364. "Can any have a right to an office without having a right to do those things in which the office consists?" I answer, the ordination is valid. But a man may prudentially forbid to do some things: as a clergyman may marry without licence or banns; the marriage is good, yet he is punishable for it.

Page 368. "A choice made by persons who have no right to choose is an error of the first concoction." That battered simile again! this is hard. I wish physicians had kept that a secret, it lies so ready for him to be witty with.

Page 370. "If prescription can make mere nullities to become good and valid, the laity may be capable of all manner of ecclesiastical power," &c. There is a difference; for here the same way is kept, although there might be breaches; but it is quite otherwise if you alter the whole method from what it was at first. We see bishops: there always were bishops: it is the old way still. So a family is still held the same, although we are not sure of the purity of every one of the race.

Page 380. "It is said that every nation is not a complete body politic within itself as to ecclesiasticals.

But the whole church, say they, composes such a body, and Christ is the head of it. But Christ's headship makes Christians no more one body politic with respect to ecclesiasticals than to civils." Here we must show the reason and necessity of the church being a corporation all over the world: to avoid heresies, and preserve fundamentals, and hinder the corrupting of Scripture, &c. But there are no such necessities in government to be the same everywhere, &c. It is something like the colleges in a university; they are all independent, yet joined are one body. So a general council consisteth of many persons independent of one another, &c.

However, there is such a thing as *jus gentium*, &c. And he that is doctor of physic or law is so in any university of Europe, like the *Respublica Literaria*. Nor to me does there seem anything contradicting or improper in this notion of the Catholic church; and for want of such a communion religion is so much corrupted, and would be more if there were not more communion in this than in civils. It is of no import to mankind how nations are governed; but the preserving the purity of religion is best held up by endeavouring to make it one body over the world. Something like as there is in trade. So to be able to communicate with all Christians we come among is at least to be wished and aimed at as much as we can.

Page 384. "In a word, if the bishops are not supreme," &c. Here he reassumes his arguments for popery, that there cannot be a body politic of the church through the whole world without a visible head to have recourse to. These were formerly writ to advance popery, and now to put an absurdity upon the hypothesis of a Catholic church. As they say in Ireland, in king James's time they built mass-houses which we make very good barns of.

Page 388. "Bishops are under a premunire obliged to confirm and consecrate the person named in the *congé d'élire*." This perhaps is complained of. He is permitted to do it. We allow the legislature may hinder if they please; as they may turn out Christianity if they think fit.

Page 389. "It is the magistrate who empowers them to do more for other bishops than they can for themselves, since they cannot appoint their own successors." Yes they could if the magistrate would let them. Here is an endless splutter and a parcel of perplexed distinctions upon no occasion. All that the clergy pretend to is a right of qualifying men for the ministry, something like what a university doth with degrees. This power they claim from God, and that the civil power cannot do it as pleasing to God without them; but they may choose whether they will suffer it or not. A religion cannot be crammed down a nation's throat against their will; but when they receive a religion, it is supposed they receive it as their converters give it; and upon that foot they cannot justly mingle their own methods that contradict that religion, &c.

Page 390. "With us the bishops act only ministerially and by virtue of the regal commission, by which the prince firmly enjoins and commands them to proceed in choosing, confirming, and consecrating, &c." Suppose we held it unlawful to do so: how can we help it? But does that make it rightful if it be not so? Suppose the author lived in a heathen country, where a law would be made to call Christianity idolatrous; would that be a topic for him to prove it so by, &c? And why do the clergy incur a premunire? to frighten them? Because the law understandeth that if they refuse the chosen cannot be a bishop. But, if the clergy had an order to do it otherwise than they have prescribed, they ought and would incur a hundred rather.

Page 402. "I believe the Catholic church," &c. Here he ridicules the Apostles' Creed. Another part of his scheme. By what he says in these pages it is certain his design is either to run down Christianity or set up popery; the latter it is more charitable to think, and from his past life, highly probable.

Page 405. "That which gave the papists so great advantage was, clergymen's talking so very inconsistent with themselves," &c. State the difference here between our separation from Rome and the dissenters from us, and show the falseness of what he says. I wish he would tell us what he leaves for a clergyman to do, if he may not instruct the people in religion, and if they should not receive his instructions.

Page 411. "The restraint of the press a badge of popery." Why is that a badge of popery? why not restrain the press to those who would confound religion as in civil matters? But this toucheth himself. He would starve perhaps, &c. Let him get some honester livelihood then. It is plain all his arguments against constraint, &c., favour the papists as much as dissenters; for both have opinions that may affect the peace of the state.

Page 413. "Since this discourse," &c. And must we have another volume on this one subject of independency? or is it to fright us? I am not of Dr. Hickes's mind, *Qu'il vienne*. I pity the readers and the clergy that must answer it, be it ever so insipid. Reflect on this sarcastic conclusion, &c.

MR. COLLINS'S DISCOURSE OF FREETHINKING;

PUT INTO PLAIN ENGLISH, BY WAY OF ABSTRACT, FOR THE USE OF THE POOR.

BY A FRIEND OF THE AUTHOR.

"I came home at seven, and began a little whim which just came into my head and will make a threepenny pamphlet. It shall be finished in a week; and if it succeeds you shall know what it is; otherwise not."—*Journal to Stella*, Jan. 16, 1712-13.

"I was to-day with my printer, to give him a little pamphlet I have written; but not politicks. It will be out by Monday."—*Ibid.* Jan. 21.

"I hear there is now in the press, 'An Abstract of Mr. Collins's Discourse on Freethinking.' Whether it be written by an enemy or a friend, my author does not say; but in either case, if the writer strips that adventurous piece of its disguise, and leaves it naked and exposed in full light, he will amply deserve a perusal, and cannot fail of being useful or entertaining."—*Examiner*, Jan. 23.

"My little pamphlet is out; it is not politicks."—*Journal to Stella*, Jan. 25.

"This discourse is a striking specimen of the dean's well-known talent for irony; which, as he somewhere says,

> "He was born to introduce,
> To fashion brought, and taught its use."

"It must be owned, however, that this species of rhetorical figure is too refined, at least in the present instance, to be adapted to the apprehension and discernment of the poor, for whom it is *professedly* intended; but perhaps that profession was ironical too.

Arthur Collins, esq., published in 1713 his memorable "Discourse of Freethinking, occasioned by the rise and growth of a sect called Freethinkers." This made a great noise; and was attacked among others by Mr. Hoadly, and by Dr. Bentley under the name of *Philelutherus Lipsiensis*; and was at the same time exposed by the admirable irony of Dr. Swift.—Whilst all parties exerted their zeal against it in England, the author went abroad; and was treated with great civility by all sorts of people, priests, Jesuits, Calvinists, Arminians, &c. He went from Holland to Flanders, with a design of visiting France and Italy; but was recalled by the sudden death of a near relation. In 1715, he published "A philosophical Enquiry concerning Human Liberty;" and retired that year into Essex, for which county he was chosen treasurer in 1718, an office in which his strict integrity gained him much reputation. In 1724, he published "A Discourse of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Faith," which produced a number of answers; as did his "Scheme of Literal Prophecy," which appeared in 1727. After having been some years in a declining state of health, and severely afflicted with the stone, he died Dec. 13, 1729.

Mr. Collins called his discourse "A Letter to * * *, esq." N.

INTRODUCTION.

Our party having failed by all their political arguments to re-establish their power, the wise leaders have determined that the last and principal remedy should be made use of for opening the eyes of this blinded nation; and that a short but perfect system of their divinity should be published, to which we are all of us ready to subscribe, and which we lay down as a model, bearing a close analogy to our schemes in religion. Crafty, designing men, that they might keep the world in awe, have, in their several forms of government, placed a Supreme Power on earth to keep human kind in fear of being hanged, and a Supreme Power in heaven for fear of being damned. In order to cure men's apprehensions of the former, several of our learned members have written many profound treatises on anarchy; but a brief complete body of atheology seemed yet wanting till this irrefragable discourse appeared. However, it so happens that our ablest brethren, in their elaborate disquisitions upon this subject, have written with so much caution that ignorant unbelievers have edified very little by them. I grant that those daring spirits who first adventured to write against the direct rules of the gospel, the current of antiquity, the religion of the magistrate, and the laws of the land, had some measures to keep; and particularly where they railed at religion, were in the right to use little artful disguises, by which a jury could only find them guilty of abusing heathenism or popery. But the mystery is now revealed, that there is no such thing as mystery or revelation; and though our friends are out of place and power, yet we may have so much confidence in the present ministry to be secure that those who suffer so many free speeches against their sovereign and themselves to pass unpunished will never resent our expressing the freest thoughts against their religion; but think with Tiberius, that, if there be a God, he is able enough to revenge any injuries done to himself, without expecting the civil power to interpose.

By these reflections I was brought to think that the most ingenious author of the Discourse upon Freethinking, in a letter to Somebody, esq., although he has used less reserve than any of his predecessors, might yet have been more free and open. I considered that several well-willers to infidelity might be discouraged by a show of logic and a multiplicity of quotations scattered through his book, which to understandings of that size might carry an appearance of something like book-learning, and consequently fright them from reading for their improvement. I could see no reason why these great discoveries should be hid from our youth of quality who frequent White's and Tom's; why they should not be adapted to the capacities of the Kitcat and Hanover clubs, who might then be able to read lectures on them to their several toasts: and it will be allowed on all hands that nothing can sooner help to restore our abdicated cause than a firm universal belief of the principles laid down by this sublime author: for I am sensible that nothing would more contribute to "the continuance of the war" and the restoration of the late ministry than to have the doctrines delivered in this treatise well infused into the people. I have therefore compiled them into the following abstract, wherein I have adhered to the very words of our author, only adding some few explanations of my own where the terms happen to be too learned, and consequently a little beyond the comprehension of those for whom the work was principally intended—I mean the nobility and gentry of our party: after which I hope it will be impossible for the malice of a Jacobite, high-flying, priest-ridden faction to misrepresent us. The few additions I have made are for no other use than to help the transition, which could not otherwise be kept in an abstract: but I have not presumed to advance anything of my own; which, besides, would be needless to an author who has so fully handled and demonstrated every particular. I shall only add that, though this writer, when he speaks of priests, desires chiefly to be understood to mean the English clergy, yet he includes all priests whatsoever, except the ancient and modern heathens, the Turks, Quakers, and Socinians.

THE LETTER.

Sir, I send you this apology for freethinking without the least hopes of doing good, but purely to comply with your request; for those truths which nobody can deny will do no good to those who deny them. The clergy who are so impudent to teach the people the doctrines of faith, are all either cunning knaves or mad fools; for none but artificial, designing men, and crack-brained enthusiasts, presume to be guides to others in matters of speculation, which all the doctrines of Christianity are; and whoever has a mind to learn the Christian religion naturally, chooses such knaves and fools to teach them. Now the Bible, which contains the precepts of the priests' religion, is the most difficult book in the world to be understood: it requires a thorough knowledge in natural, civil, ecclesiastical history, law, husbandry, sailing, physic, pharmacy, mathematics, metaphysics, ethics, and everything else that can be named: and everybody who believes it ought to understand it, and must do so by force of his own freethinking without any guide or instructor.

How can a man think at all if he does not think freely? A man who does not eat and drink freely, does not eat and drink at all. Why may not I be denied the liberty of freeseeing as well as freethinking? Yet nobody pretends that the first is unlawful, for a cat may look on a king; though you be near-sighted, or have weak or sore eyes, or are blind, you may be a freeseer; you ought to see for yourself, and not trust to a guide to choose the colour of your stockings or save you from falling into a ditch.

In like manner, there ought to be no restraint at all on thinking freely upon any proposition, however impious or absurd. There is not the least hurt in the wickedest thoughts, provided they be free; nor in telling those thoughts to everybody, and endeavouring to convince the world of them; for all this is included in the doctrine of freethinking, as I shall plainly show you in what follows; and therefore you are all along to understand the word freethinking in this sense.

If you are apt to be afraid of the devil, think freely of him and you destroy him and his kingdom. Freethinking has done him more mischief than all the clergy in the world ever could do: they believe in the devil, they have an interest in him, and therefore are the great supports of his kingdom. The devil was in the states-general before they began to be freethinkers; for England and Holland were formerly the Christian territories of the devil. I told you how he left Holland; and freethinking and the Revolution banished him from England; I defy all the clergy to show me when they ever had such success against him. My meaning is, that to think freely of the devil is to think there is no devil at all; and he that thinks so, the devil is in him if he be afraid of the devil.

But within these two or three years the devil has come into England again; and Dr. Sacheverell has given him commission to appear in the shape of a cat, and carry old women about upon broomsticks: and the devil has now so many "ministers ordained to his service," that they have rendered freethinking odious, and nothing but the second coming of Christ can restore it.

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The priests tell me I am to believe the Bible; but freethinking tells me otherwise in many particulars. The Bible says the Jews were a nation favoured by God; but I, who am a freethinker, say that cannot be, because the Jews lived in a corner of the earth, and freethinking makes it clear that those who live in corners cannot be favourites of God. The New Testament all along asserts the truth of Christianity, but freethinking denies it; because Christianity was communicated but to a few, and whatever is communicated but to a few cannot be true; for that is like whispering, and the proverb says "that there is no whispering without lying."

Here is a society in London for propagating freethinking throughout the world, encouraged and supported by the queen and many others. You say, perhaps, it is for propagating the gospel. Do you think the missionaries we send will tell the heathens that they must not think freely? No, surely; why then, it is manifest those missionaries must be freethinkers and make the heathens so too. But why should not the king of Siam, whose religion is heathenism and idolatry, send over a parcel of his priests to convert us to his church, as well as we send missionaries there? Both projects are exactly of a piece and equally reasonable; and if those heathen priests were here, it would be our duty to hearken to them, and think freely whether they may not be in the right rather than we. I heartily wish a detachment of such divines as Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, Dr. Swift, Dr. Sacheverell, and some others, were sent every year to the farthest part of the heathen world, and that we had a cargo of their priests in return who would spread freethinking among us. Then the war would go on, the late ministry be restored, and faction cease; which our priests inflame by haranguing upon texts, and falsely call that "preaching the gospel."

I have another project in my head, which ought to be put in execution in order to make us freethinkers. It is a great hardship and injustice that our priests must not be disturbed while they are prating in their pulpit. For example: why should not William Penn the Quaker, or any Anabaptist, Papist, Muggletonian, Jew, or sweet-singer, have liberty to come into St. Paul's church in the midst of divine service, and endeavour to convert first the aldermen, then the preacher and singing-men? or pray, why might not poor Mr. Whiston, who denies the divinity of Christ, be allowed to come into the lower house of convocation and convert the clergy? But, alas! we are overrun with such false notions, that if Penn or Whiston should do their duty, they would be reckoned fanatics and disturbers of the holy synod; although they have as good a title to it as St. Paul had to go into the synagogues of the Jews; and their authority is full as divine as his.

Christ himself commands us to be freethinkers; for he bids us search the Scriptures and take heed what and whom we hear: by which he plainly warns us not to believe our bishops and clergy; for Jesus Christ, when he considered that all the Jewish and heathen priests, whose religion he came to abolish, were his enemies, rightly concluded that those appointed by him to preach his own gospel would probably be so too; and could not be secure that any set of priests of the faith he delivered would ever be otherwise: therefore it is fully demonstrated that the clergy of the church of England are mortal enemies to Christ, and ought not to be believed.

But without the privilege of freethinking, how is it possible to know which is the right Scripture? Here are perhaps twenty sorts of scriptures in the several parts of the world, and every set of priests contends that their scripture is the true one. The Indian bramins have a book of scripture called the Shaster; the Persees their Zundivastaw; the bonzes in China have theirs, written by the disciples of Fohe, whom they call "God and Saviour of the world, who was born to teach the way of salvation, and to give satisfaction for all men's sins:" which, you see, is directly the same with what our priests pretend of Christ. And must we not think freely to find out which are in the right, whether the bishops or the bonzes? But the talapoins, or heathen clergy of Siam, approach yet nearer to the system of our priests; they have a book of scripture written by Sommonocodam, who, the Siamese say, was "born of a virgin," and was "the God expected by the universe;" just as our priests tell us that Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and was the Messiah so long expected. The Turkish priests, or dervises, have their scripture which they call the Alcoran. The Jews have the Old Testament for their scripture, and the Christians have both the Old and the New. Now, among all these scriptures there cannot above one be right; and how is it possible to know which is that without reading them all, and then thinking freely, every one of us for ourselves, without following the advice or instruction of any guide, before we venture to choose? The parliament ought to be at the charge of finding a sufficient number of these scriptures for every one of her majesty's subjects; for there are twenty to one against us that we may be in the wrong: but a great deal of freethinking will at last set us all right, and every one will adhere to the scripture he likes best; by which means, religion, peace, and wealth will be for ever secured in her majesty's realms.

And it is the more necessary that the good people of England should have liberty to choose some other scripture, because all Christian priests differ so much about the copies of theirs, and about the various readings of the several manuscripts, which quite destroys the authority of the Bible: for what authority can a book pretend to where there are various readings? And for this reason it is manifest that no man can know the opinions of Aristotle or Plato, or believe the facts related by Thucydides or Livy, or be pleased with the poetry of Homer and Virgil, all which books are utterly useless upon account of their various readings. Some books of Scripture are said to be lost, and this utterly destroys the credit of those that are left: some we reject which the Africans and Coptics receive; and why may we not think freely and reject the rest? Some think the Scriptures wholly inspired, some partly, and some not at all. Now this is just the very case with the bramins, persees, bonzes, talapoins, dervises, rabbis, and all other priests, who build their religion upon books, as our priests do upon their Bibles. They all equally differ about the copies, various readings, and inspirations, of their several scriptures; and God knows which are in the right: freethinking alone can determine it.

It would be endless to show in how many particulars the priests of the heathen and Christian churches differ about the meaning even of those Scriptures which they universally receive as sacred. But to avoid prolixity I shall confine myself to the different opinions among the priests of the church of England; and here only give you a specimen, because even these are too many to be enumerated.

I have found out a bishop (though indeed his opinions are condemned by all his brethren) who allows the scriptures to be so difficult, that God has left them rather as a trial of our industry than a repository of our faith and furniture of creeds and articles of belief; with several other admirable schemes of freethinking, which you may consult at your leisure.

The doctrine of the Trinity is the most fundamental

point of the whole Christian religion. Nothing is more easy to a freethinker: yet what different notions of it do the English priests pretend to deduce from Scripture, explaining it by "specific unities, eternal modes of subsistence," and the like unintelligible jargon! Nay, it is a question whether this doctrine be fundamental or not; for though Dr. South and bishop Bull affirm it, yet bishop Taylor and Dr. Wallis deny it. And that excellent freethinking prelate bishop Taylor observes that Athanasius's example was followed with too much greediness: by which means it has happened that the greater number of our priests are in that sentiment, and think it necessary to believe the Trinity and incarnation of Christ.

Our priests likewise dispute several circumstances about the resurrection of the dead, the nature of our bodies after the resurrection, and in what manner they shall be united to our souls. They also attack one another "very weakly, with great vigour," about predestination. And it is certainly true (for bishop Taylor and Mr. Whiston the socinian say so) that all churches in prosperity alter their doctrines every age, and are neither satisfied with themselves nor their own confessions; neither does any clergyman of sense believe the thirty-nine articles.

Our priests differ about the eternity of hell torments. The famous Dr. Henry More, and the most pious and rational of all priests, Dr. Tillotson (both freethinkers), believe them to be not eternal. They differ about keeping the sabbath, the divine right of episcopacy, and the doctrine of original sin; which is the foundation of the whole Christian religion; for, if men are not liable to be damned for Adam's sin, the Christian religion is an imposture: yet this is now disputed among them; so is lay baptism: so was formerly the lawfulness of usury; but now the priests are common stock-jobbers, attorneys, and scriveners. In short, there is no end of disputing among priests: and therefore I conclude that there ought to be no such thing in the world as priests, teachers, or guides, for instructing ignorant people in religion, but that every man ought to think freely for himself.

I will tell you my meaning in all this. The priests dispute every point in the Christian religion as well as almost every text in the Bible; and the force of my argument lies here, that, whatever point is disputed by one or two divines, however condemned by the church, not only that particular point, but the whole article to which it relates, may lawfully be received or rejected by any freethinker. For instance, suppose More and Tillotson deny the eternity of hell torments, a freethinker may deny all future punishments whatsoever. The priests dispute about explaining the Trinity; therefore a freethinker may reject one or two, or the whole three persons; at least he may reject Christianity, because the Trinity is the most fundamental doctrine of that religion. So I affirm original sin, and that men are now liable to be damned for Adam's sin, to be the foundation of the whole Christian religion; but this point was formerly, and is now, disputed; therefore a freethinker may deny the whole. And I cannot help giving you one further direction, how I insinuate all along that the wisest freethinking priests, whom you may distinguish by the epithets I bestow on them, were those who differed most from the generality of their brethren.

But, besides, the conduct of our priests in many other points makes freethinking unavoidable; for some of them own that the doctrines of the church are contradictory to one another, as well as to reason; which I thus prove: Dr. Sacheverell says, in his speech at his trial, "That by abandoning passive obedience we must render ourselves the most inconsistent church in the world;" *ergo*, there must have been a great many inconsistencies and contradictory doctrines in the church before. Dr. South describes the incarnation of Christ as an astonishing mystery, impossible to be conceived by man's reason; *ergo*, it is contradictory to itself and to reason, and ought to be exploded by all freethinkers.

Another instance of the priests' conduct which multiplies freethinkers is their acknowledgment of abuses, defects, and false doctrines in the church; particularly that of eating black-pudding, which is so plainly forbid in the Old and New Testament, that I wonder those who pretend to believe a syllable in either will presume to taste it. Why should I mention the want of discipline and of a sideboard at the altar, with complaints of other great abuses and defects made by some of the priests, which no man can think on without freethinking, and consequently rejecting Christianity?

When I see an honest freethinking bishop endeavour to destroy the power and privileges of the church, and Dr. Atterbury angry with him for it, and calling it "dirty work," what can I conclude, by virtue of being a freethinker, but that Christianity is all a cheat?

Mr. Whiston has published several tracts wherein he absolutely denies the divinity of Christ. A bishop tells him, "Sir, in any matter where you have the church's judgment against you, you should be careful not to break the peace of the church by writing against it, though you are sure you are in the right." Now my opinion is directly contrary; and I affirm that, if ten thousand freethinkers thought differently from the received doctrine and from each other, they would be all in duty bound to publish their thoughts, provided they were all sure of being in the right, though it broke the peace of the church and state ten thousand times.

And here I must take leave to tell you, although you cannot but have perceived it from what I have already said, and shall be still more amply convinced by what is to follow, that freethinking signifies nothing without freespeaking and freewriting. It is the indispensable duty of a freethinker to endeavour forcing all the world to think as he does, and by that means make them freethinkers too. You are also to understand that I allow no man to be a freethinker any further than as he differs from the received doctrines of religion. Where a man falls in, though by perfect chance, with what is generally believed, he is in that point a confined and limited thinker; and you shall see by and by that I celebrate those for the noblest freethinkers in every age who differed from the religion of their countries in the most fundamental points, and especially in those which bear any analogy to the chief fundamentals of religion among us.

Another trick of the priests is, to charge all men with atheism who have more wit than themselves; which, therefore, I expect will be my case for writing this discourse. This is what makes them so implacable against Mr. Gildon, Dr. Tindal, Mr. Toland, and myself; and when they call us wits atheists, it provokes us to be freethinkers.

Again: the priests cannot agree when their Scripture was written. They differ about the number of canonical books, and the various readings. Now, those few among us who understand Latin are careful to tell this to our disciples, who presently fall a-freethinking, that the Bible is a book not to be depended upon in anything at all.

There is another thing that mightily spreads freethinking, which I believe you would hardly guess. The priests have got a way of late of writing books against freethinking; I mean treatises in dialogue, where they introduce atheists, deists, sceptics, and Socinians, offering their several arguments. Now these freethinkers are too hard for the priests themselves in their own books. And how can it be otherwise? For,

if the arguments usually offered by atheists are fairly represented in these books, they must needs convert everybody that reads them; because atheists, deists, sceptics, and Socinians, have certainly better arguments to maintain their opinions than any the priests can produce to maintain the contrary.

Mr. Creech, a priest, translated Lucretius into English, which is a complete system of atheism; and several young students, who were afterwards priests, wrote verses in praise of this translation. The arguments against Providence in that book are so strong that they have added mightily to the number of freethinkers.

Why should I mention the pious cheats of the priests, who in the New Testament translate the word *ecclesia*, sometimes the *church*, and sometimes the *congregation*; and *episcopus* sometimes a *bishop*, and sometimes an *overseer*? A priest, translating a book, left out a whole passage that reflected on the king, by which he was an enemy to political freethinking, a most considerable branch of our system. Another priest, translating a book of travels, left out a lying miracle, out of mere malice, to conceal an argument for freethinking. In short, these frauds are very common in all books which are published by priests. But, however, I love to excuse them whenever I can: and as to this accusation, they may plead the authority of the ancient fathers of the church for forgery, corruption, and mangling authors, with more reason than for any of their articles of faith. St. Jerom, St. Hilary, Eusebius Vercellensis, Victorinus, and several others, were all guilty of arrant forgery and corruption: for when they translated the works of several freethinkers, whom they called heretics, they omitted all their heresies or freethinkings, and had the impudence to own it to the world.

From these many notorious instances of the priests' conduct, I conclude they are not to be relied on in any one thing relating to religion, but that every man must think freely for himself.

But to this it may be objected that the bulk of mankind is as well qualified for flying as thinking; and if every man thought it his duty to think freely, and trouble his neighbour with his thoughts (which is an essential part of freethinking), it would make wild work in the world. I answer; whoever cannot think freely may let it alone if he pleases by virtue of his right to think freely; that is to say, if such a man freely thinks that he cannot think freely, of which every man is a sufficient judge, why then he need not think freely unless he thinks fit.

Besides, if the bulk of mankind cannot think freely in matters of speculation, as the being of a God, the immortality of the soul, &c., why then freethinking is indeed no duty: but then the priests must allow that men are not concerned to believe whether there is a God or not. But still those who are disposed to think freely may think freely if they please.

It is again objected that freethinking will produce endless divisions in opinion, and by consequence disorder society. To which I answer,—

When every single man comes to have a different opinion every day from the whole world and from himself, by virtue of freethinking, and thinks it his duty to convert every man to his own freethinking, as all we freethinkers do, how can that possibly create so great a diversity of opinions as to have a set of priests agree among themselves to teach the same opinions in their several parishes to all who will come to hear them? Besides, if all people were of the same opinion, the remedy would be worse than the disease; I will tell you the reason some other time.

Besides, difference in opinion, especially in matters of great moment, breeds no confusion at all. Witness Papist and Protestant, Roundhead and Cavalier, and Whig and Tory now among us. I observe, the Turkish empire is more at peace within itself than Christian princes are with one another. Those noble Turkish virtues of charity and toleration are what contribute chiefly to the flourishing state of that happy monarchy. There Christians and Jews are tolerated, and live at ease, if they can hold their tongues and think freely, provided they never set foot within the mosques nor write against Mahomet. A few plunderings now and then by the janissaries are all they have to fear.

It is objected that by freethinking men will think themselves into atheism; and indeed I have allowed all along that atheistical books convert men to freethinking. But suppose that to be true, I can bring you two divines who affirm superstition and enthusiasm to be worse than atheism, and more mischievous to society: and in short, it is necessary that the bulk of the people should be atheists or superstitious.

It is objected that priests ought to be relied on by the people as lawyers and physicians, because it is their faculty. I answer, it is true, a man who is no lawyer is not suffered to plead for himself. But every man may be his own quack if he pleases, and he only ventures his life; but in the other case, the priest tells him he must be damned: therefore do not trust the priest, but think freely for yourself; and if you happen to think there is no hell, there certainly is none, and consequently you cannot be damned. I answer further, that wherever there is no lawyer, physician, or priest, that country is paradise. Besides, all priests (except the orthodox, and those are not ours, nor any that I know) are hired by the public to lead men into mischief: but lawyers and physicians are not; you hire them yourself.

It is objected (by priests, no doubt, but I have forgot their names) that false speculations are necessary to be imposed upon men in order to assist the magistrate in keeping the peace; and that men ought therefore to be deceived, like children, for their own good. I answer, that zeal for imposing speculations, whether true or false (under which name of speculations I include all opinions of religion, as the belief of a God, providence, immortality of the soul, future rewards and punishments, &c.), has done more hurt than it is possible for religion to do good. It puts us to the charge of maintaining ten thousand priests in England, which is a burden upon society never felt on any other occasion, and a greater evil to the public than if these ecclesiastics were only employed in the most innocent offices of life, which I take to be eating and drinking. Now, if you offer to impose anything on mankind beside what relates to moral duties, as to pay your debts, not pick pockets, nor commit murder, and the like; that is to say, if, beside this, you oblige them to believe in God and Jesus Christ, what you add to their faith will take just so much off from their morality. By this argument it is manifest that a perfect moral man must be a perfect atheist; every inch of religion he gets loses him an inch of morality; for there is a certain *quantum* belongs to every man, of which there is nothing to spare. This is clear from the common practice of all our priests: they never once preach to you to love your neighbour, to be just in your dealings, or to be sober and temperate. The streets of London are full of common whores, publicly tolerated in their wickedness; yet the priests make no complaints against this enormity either from the pulpit or the press: I can affirm that neither you nor I, sir, have ever heard one sermon against whoring since we were boys. No, the priests allow all these vices, and love us the better for them, provided we will promise not "to harangue upon a text," nor to sprinkle a little

water in a child's face, which they call baptizing, and would engross it all to themselves.

Besides, the priests engage all the rogues, villains, and fools in their party, in order to make it as large as they can; by this means they seduced Constantine the Great over to their religion, who was the first Christian emperor, and so horrible a villain that the heathen priests told him they could not expiate his crimes in their church; so he was at a loss to know what to do, till an Egyptian bishop assured him that there was no villany so great but was to be expiated by the sacraments of the Christian religion; upon which he became a Christian, and to him that religion owes its first settlement.

It is objected that freethinkers themselves are the most infamous, wicked, and senseless of all mankind.

I answer, first, we say the same of priests and other believers. But the truth is, men of all sects are equally good and bad; for no religion whatsoever contributes in the least to mend men's lives.

I answer, secondly, that freethinkers use their understanding; but those who have religion do not: therefore the first have more understanding than the others; witness Toland, Tindal, Gildon, Clendon, Coward, and myself. For, use legs, and have legs.

I answer, thirdly, that freethinkers are the most virtuous persons in the world; for all freethinkers must certainly differ from the priests, and from nine hundred ninety-nine of a thousand of those among whom they live; and are therefore virtuous of course because everybody hates them.

I answer, fourthly, that the most virtuous people in all ages have been freethinkers; of which I shall produce several instances.

Socrates was a freethinker; for he disbelieved the gods of his country and the common creeds about them, and declared his dislike when he heard men attribute "repentance, anger, and other passions to the gods, and talk of wars and battles in heaven, and of the gods getting women with child," and such like fabulous and blasphemous stories. I pick out these particulars, because they are the very same with what the priests have in their Bibles, where repentance and anger are attributed to God; where it is said, there was "war in heaven;" and that "the Virgin Mary was with child by the Holy Ghost," whom the priests call God; all fabulous and blasphemous stories. Now, I affirm Socrates to have been a true Christian. You will ask, perhaps, how that can be, since he lived three or four hundred years before Christ? I answer, with Justin Martyr, that Christ is nothing else but reason; and I hope you do not think Socrates lived before reason. Now, this true Christian Socrates never made notions, speculations, or mysteries any part of his religion; but demonstrated all men to be fools who troubled themselves with inquiries into heavenly things. Lastly, it is plain that Socrates was a freethinker, because he was calumniated for an atheist, as freethinkers generally are, only because he was an enemy to all speculations and inquiries into heavenly things. For I argue thus, that if I never trouble myself to think whether there be a God or not, and forbid others to do it, I am a freethinker, but not an atheist.

Plato was a freethinker; and his notions are so like some in the gospel, that a heathen charged Christ with borrowing his doctrine from Plato. But Origen defends Christ very well against this charge by saying he did not understand Greek, and therefore could not borrow his doctrines from Plato. However, their two religions agreed so well that it was common for Christians to turn Platonists, and Platonists Christians. When the Christians found out this, one of their zealous priests (worse than any atheist) forged several things under Plato's name, but conformable to Christianity, by which the heathens were fraudulently converted.

Epicurus was the greatest of all freethinkers, and consequently the most virtuous man in the world. His opinions in religion were the most complete system of atheism that ever appeared. Christians ought to have the greatest veneration for him because he taught a higher point of virtue than Christ; I mean the virtue of friendship, which, in the sense we usually understand it, is not so much as named in the New Testament.

Plutarch was a freethinker, notwithstanding his being a priest; but indeed he was a heathen priest. His freethinking appears by showing the innocence of atheism (which at worst is only false reasoning) and the mischiefs of superstition; and he explains what superstition is by calling it a conceit of immortal ills after death, the opinion of hell torments, dreadful aspects, doleful groans, and the like. He is likewise very satirical upon the public forms of devotion in his own country, a qualification absolutely necessary to a freethinker; yet those forms which he ridicules are the very same that now pass for true worship in almost all countries. I am sure some of them do so in ours; such as abject looks, distortions, wry faces, beggarly tones, humiliation, and contrition.

Varro, the most learned among the Romans, was a freethinker; for he said the heathen divinity contained many fables below the dignity of immortal beings; such, for instance, as Gods begotten and proceeding from other Gods. These two words I desire you will particularly remark, because they are the very terms made use of by our priests in their doctrine of the Trinity. He says likewise that there are many things false in religion, and so say all freethinkers; but then he adds, "which the vulgar ought not to know, but it is expedient they should believe." In this last he indeed discovers the whole secret of a statesman and politician, by denying the vulgar the privilege of freethinking; and here I differ from him. However, it is manifest from hence that the Trinity was an invention of statesmen and politicians.

The grave and wise Cato, the censor, will for ever live in that noble freethinking saying—"I wonder," said he, "how one of our priests can forbear laughing when he sees another!" For contempt of priests is another grand characteristic of a freethinker. This shows that Cato understood the whole mystery of the Roman "religion as by law established." I beg you, sir, not to overlook these last words, "religion as by law established." I translate *haruspex* into the general word *priest*. Thus I apply the sentence to the priests in England; and when Dr. Smallridge sees Dr. Atterbury, I wonder how either of them can forbear laughing at the cheat they put upon the people by making them believe their "religion as by law established."

Cicero, that consummate philosopher and noble patriot, though he was a priest, and consequently more likely to be a knave, gave the greatest proofs of his freethinking. First, he professed the sceptic philosophy, which doubts of everything: then he wrote two treatises; in the first he shows the weakness of the stoics' arguments for the being of the gods; in the latter, he has destroyed the whole revealed religion of the Greeks and Romans; for why should not theirs be a revealed religion as well as that of Christ? Cicero likewise tells us, as his own opinion, that they who study philosophy do not believe there are any gods: he denies the immortality of the soul, and says there can be nothing after death.

And because the priests have the impudence to quote Cicero in their pulpits and pamphlets against freethinking, I am resolved to disarm them of his authority. You must know his philosophical works are generally in dialogues, where people are brought in disputing

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against one another. Now the priests, when they see an argument to prove a god, offered perhaps by a stoic, are such knaves or blockheads to quote it as if it were Cicero's own; whereas Cicero was so noble a freethinker that he believed nothing at all of the matter, nor ever shows the least inclination to favour superstition, or the belief of God and the immortality of the soul, unless what he throws out sometimes to save himself from danger, in his speeches to the Roman mob, whose religion was however much more innocent and less absurd than that of Popery at least: and I could say more—but you understand me.

Seneca was a great freethinker, and had a noble notion of the worship of the gods, for which our priests would call any man an atheist: he laughs at morning devotions, or worshipping upon Sabbath-days; he says, God has no need of ministers and servants, because he himself serves mankind. This religious man, like his religious brethren the stoics, denies the immortality of the soul; and says all that is feigned to be so terrible in hell is but a fable: death puts an end to all our misery, &c. Yet the priests were anciently so fond of Seneca, that they forged a correspondence of letters between him and St. Paul.

Solomon himself, whose writings are called "the word of God," was such a freethinker, that if he were now alive, nothing but his building of churches could have kept our priests from calling him an atheist. He affirms the eternity of the world almost in the same manner with Manilius, the heathen philosophical poet, which opinion entirely overthrows the history of the creation by Moses and all the New Testament: he denies the immortality of the soul, assures us "that men die like beasts," and "that both go to one place."

The prophets of the Old Testament were generally freethinkers. You must understand that their way of learning to prophesy was by music and drinking. These prophets wrote against the established religion of the Jews, (which those people looked upon as the institution of God himself,) as if they believed it was all a cheat: that is to say, with as great liberty against the priests and prophets of Israel, as Dr. Tindal did lately against the priests and prophets of our Israel, who has clearly shown them and their religion to be cheats. To prove this, you may read several passages in Isaiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Jeremiah, &c., wherein you will find such instances of freethinking, that if any Englishman had talked so in our days, their opinions would have been registered in Dr. Sacheverell's trial, and in the representation of the lower house of convocation, and produced as so many proofs of the profaneness, blasphemy, and atheism of the nation; there being nothing more profane, blasphemous, or atheistical in those representations than what these prophets have spoken, whose writings are yet called by our priests "the word of God." And therefore these prophets are as much atheists as myself, or as any of my freethinking brethren whom I lately named to you.

Josephus was a great freethinker. I wish he had chosen a better subject to write on than those ignorant, barbarous, ridiculous scoundrels, the Jews, whom God (if we may believe the priests) thought fit to choose for his own people. I will give you some instances of his freethinking. He says Cain travelled through several countries and kept company with rakes and profligate fellows; he corrupted the simplicities of former times, &c., which plainly supposes men before Adam, and consequently that the priests' history of the creation by Moses is an imposture. He says the Israelites' passing through the Red Sea was no more than Alexander's passing at the Pamphilian sea: that as for the appearance of God at Mount Sinai, the reader may believe it as he pleases, that Moses persuaded the Jews he had God for his guide, just as the Greeks pretended they had their laws from Apollo. These are noble strains of freethinking, which the priests know not how to solve but by thinking as freely; for one of them says that Josephus wrote this to make his work acceptable to the heathens by striking out every thing that was incredible.

Origen, who was the first Christian that had any learning, has left a noble testimony of his freethinking; for a general council has determined him to be damned, which plainly shows he was a freethinker and was no saint; for people were only sainted because of their want of learning and excess of zeal; so that all the fathers who are called saints by the priests were worse than atheists.

Minutius Felix seems to be a true modern latitudinarian freethinking Christian; for he is against altars, churches, public preaching, and public assemblies; and likewise against priests; for he says there were several great flourishing empires before there were any orders of priests in the world.

Synesius, who had too much learning and too little zeal for a saint, was for some time a great freethinker; he could not believe the resurrection till he was made a bishop, and then pretended to be convinced by a lying miracle.

To come to our own country: my lord Bacon was a great freethinker, when he tells us "that whatever has the least relation to religion is particularly liable to suspicion;" by which he seems to suspect all the facts whereon most of the superstitions (that is to say, what the priests call the religions) of the world are grounded. He also prefers atheism before superstition.

Mr. Hobbes was a person of great learning, virtue, and freethinking, except in his high-church politics.

But archbishop Tillotson is the person whom all English freethinkers own as their head; and his virtue is indisputable for this manifest reason, that Dr. Hickes, a priest, calls him an atheist; says he caused several to turn atheists, and to ridicule the priesthood and religion. These must be allowed to be noble effects of freethinking. This great prelate assures us that all the duties of the Christian religion with respect to God are no other but what natural light prompts men to, except the two sacraments, and praying to God in the name and mediation of Christ. As a priest and prelate, he was obliged to say something of Christianity; but pray observe, sir, how he brings himself off. He justly affirms that even these things are of less moment than natural duties; and, because mothers nursing their children is a natural duty, it is of more moment than the two sacraments, or than praying to God in the name and by the mediation of Christ. This freethinking archbishop could not allow a miracle sufficient to give credit to a prophet who taught anything contrary to our natural notions; by which it is plain he rejected at once all the mysteries of Christianity.

I could name one-and-twenty more great men, who were all freethinkers, but that I fear to be tedious; for it is certain that all men of sense depart from the opinions commonly received, and are consequently more or less men of sense according as they depart more or less from the opinions commonly received; neither can you name an enemy to freethinking, however he be dignified or distinguished, whether archbishop, bishop, priest, or deacon, who has not been either "a crack-brained enthusiast, a diabolical villain, or a most profound ignorant brute."

Thus, sir, I have endeavoured to execute your commands, and you may print this letter if you please; but I would have you conceal my name. For my opinion of virtue is, that we ought not to venture doing ourselves harm by endeavouring to do good.

I am yours, &c.

CONCLUSION.

I have here given the public a brief but faithful abstract of this most excellent essay; wherein I have all along religiously adhered to our author's notions, and generally to his words, without any other addition than that of explaining a few necessary consequences for the sake of ignorant readers; for to those who have the least degree of learning I own they will be wholly useless. I hope I have not in any single instance misrepresented the thoughts of this admirable writer. If I have happened to mistake through inadvertency, I entreat he will condescend to inform me and point out the place; upon which I will immediately beg pardon both of him and the world. The design of his piece is to recommend freethinking; and one chief motive is the example of many excellent men who were of that sect. He produces, as the principal points of their freethinking, that they denied the being of a God, the torments of hell, the immortality of the soul, the Trinity, incarnation, the history of the creation by Moses, with many other such "fabulous and blasphemous stories," as he judiciously calls them: and he asserts that whoever denies the most of these is the completest freethinker, and consequently the wisest and most virtuous man.

The author, sensible of the prejudices of the age, does not directly affirm himself an atheist; he goes no further than to pronounce that atheism is the most perfect degree of freethinking, and leaves the reader to form the conclusion. However, he seems to allow that a man may be a tolerable freethinker, though he does believe a God, provided he utterly rejects "providence, revelation, the Old and New Testament, future rewards and punishments, the immortality of the soul," and other the like impossible absurdities. Which mark of superabundant caution, sacrificing truth to the superstition of priests, may perhaps be forgiven, but ought not to be imitated by any who would arrive (even in this author's judgment) at the true perfection of freethinking.

SOME THOUGHTS ON FREE-THINKING,

WRITTEN IN ENGLAND, BUT LEFT UNFINISHED.

Discoursing one day with a prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, who is a person of excellent wit and learning, he offered a notion applicable to the subject we were then upon, which I took to be altogether new and right. He said that the difference betwixt a madman and one in his wits in what related to speech, consisted in this; that the former spoke out whatever came into his mind, and just in the confused manner as his imagination presented the ideas: the latter only expressed such thoughts as his judgment directed him to choose, leaving the rest to die away in his memory; and that if the wisest man would at any time utter his thoughts in the crude indigested manner as they come into his head, he would be looked upon as raving mad. And, indeed when we consider our thoughts, as they are the seeds of words and actions, we cannot but agree that they ought to be kept under the strictest regulation; and that in the great multiplicity of ideas which one's mind is apt to form, there is nothing more difficult than to select those which are most proper for the conduct of life. So that I cannot imagine what is meant by the mighty zeal in some people for asserting the freedom of thinking; because if such thinkers keep their thoughts within their own breasts, they can be of no consequence further than to themselves. If they publish them to the world, they ought to be answerable for the effects their thoughts produce upon others. There are thousands in this kingdom who in their thoughts prefer a republic or absolute power of a prince before a limited monarchy; yet if any of these should publish their opinions, and go about by writing or discourse to persuade the people to innovations in government, they would be liable to the severest punishments the law can inflict; and therefore they are usually so wise as to keep their sentiments to themselves. But with respect to religion, the matter is quite otherwise; and the public, at least here in England, seems to be of opinion with *Tiberius* that *Deorum injuriæ diis curæ*. They leave it to God Almighty to vindicate the injuries done to himself, who is no doubt sufficiently able, by perpetual miracles, to revenge the affronts of impious men. And it should seem that is what princes expect from him, though I cannot readily conceive the grounds they go upon; nor why, since they are God's vicegerents, they do not think themselves at least equally obliged to preserve their master's honour as their own; since this is what they expect from those they depute, and since they never fail to represent the disobedience of their subjects as offences against God. It is true, the visible reason of this neglect is obvious enough: the consequences of atheistical opinions published to the world are not so immediate, or so sensible as doctrines of rebellion and sedition spread in a proper season. However, I cannot but think the same consequences are as natural and probable from the former, though more remote: and whether these have not been in view among our great planters of infidelity in England, I shall hereafter examine.

A LETTER

TO A YOUNG CLERGYMAN,

LATELY ENTERED INTO HOLY ORDERS.

Sir Dublin, Jan 9, 1719-20.

Although it was against my knowledge or advice that you entered into holy orders, under the present dispositions of mankind toward the church, yet since it is now supposed too late to recede (at least according to the general practice and opinion), I cannot forbear offering my thoughts to you upon this new condition of life you are engaged in.

I could heartily wish that the circumstances of your fortune had enabled you to have continued some years longer in the university, at least till you were ten years, standing; to have laid in a competent stock of human learning, and some knowledge in divinity, before you attempted to appear in the world; for I cannot but lament the common course which at least nine in ten of those who enter into the ministry are obliged to run. When they have taken a degree, and are consequently grown a burden to their friends, who now think themselves fully discharged, they get into orders as soon as they can, (upon which I shall make no remarks,) first solicit a readership, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in time to a curacy here in town, or else are sent to be assistants in the country, where they probably continue several years, (many of them their whole lives,) with 30*l.* or 40*l.* a-year for their support; till some bishop, who happens to be not overstocked with relations, or attached to favourites, or is content to supply his diocese without colonies from England, bestows upon them some inconsiderable benefice, when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous family. I should be glad to know, what intervals of life such persons can possibly set apart for the improvement of their minds; or which way they could be furnished with books, the library they brought with them from their college being usually not the most numerous, or judiciously chosen. If such gentlemen arrive to be great scholars, it must, I think, be

either by means supernatural, or by a method altogether out of any road yet known to the learned. But I conceive the fact directly otherwise, and that many of them lose the greatest part of the small pittance they receive at the university.

I take it for granted that you intend to pursue the beaten tract, and are already desirous to be seen in a pulpit: only I hope you will think it proper to pass your quarantine among some of the desolate churches five miles round this town, where you may at least learn to read and to speak before you venture to expose your parts in a city congregation: not that these are better judges, but because, if a man must needs expose his folly, it is more safe and discreet to do so before few witnesses, and in a scattered neighbourhood. And you will do well if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious friend to be your constant hearer, and allow him with the utmost freedom to give you notice of whatever he shall find amiss, either in your voice or gesture; for want of which early warning, many clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the end of their lives. Neither is it rare to observe among excellent and learned divines, a certain ungracious manner, or an unhappy tone of voice, which they never have been able to shake off.

I should likewise have been glad, if you had applied yourself a little more to the study of the English language than I fear you have done; the neglect whereof is one of the most general defects among the scholars of this kingdom, who seem not to have the least conception of a style, but run on in a flat kind of phraseology, often mingled with barbarous terms and expressions, peculiar to the nation; neither do I perceive that any person either finds or acknowledges his wants upon this head, or in the least desires to have them supplied. Proper words in proper places make the true definition of a style. But this would require too ample a disquisition to be now dwelt on: however, I shall venture to name one or two faults, which are easy to be remedied with a very small portion of abilities.

The first is the frequent use of obscure terms, which by the women are called hard words, and, by the better sort of vulgar, fine language; than which I do not know a more universal, inexcusable, and unnecessary mistake, among the clergy of all distinctions, but especially the younger practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a list of several hundred words in a sermon of a new beginner, which not one of his hearers among a hundred could possibly understand; neither can I easily call to mind any clergyman of my own acquaintance who is wholly exempt from this error, although many of them agree with me in the dislike of the thing. But I am apt to put myself in the place of the vulgar, and think many words difficult or obscure, which the preacher will not allow to be so because those words are obvious to scholars. I believe the method observed by the famous lord Falkland,[a] in some of his writings, would not be an ill one for young divines: I was assured by an old person of quality, who knew him well, that when he doubted whether a word was perfectly intelligible or not, he used to consult one of his lady's chambermaids (not the waiting-woman, because it was possible she might be conversant in romances), and by her judgment was guided whether to receive or reject it. And if that great person thought such a caution necessary in treatises offered to the learned world, it will be sure at least as proper in sermons, where the meanest hearer is supposed to be concerned, and where very often a lady's chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the congregation, both as to quality and understanding. But I know not how it comes to pass, that professors in most arts and sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their meanings to those who are not of their tribe: a common farmer shall make you understand in three words that his foot is out of joint, or his collar-bone broken; wherein a surgeon, after a hundred terms of art, if you are not a scholar, shall leave you to seek. It is frequently the same case in law, physic, and even many of the meaner arts.

And upon this account it is, that among hard words I number likewise those which are peculiar to divinity, as it is a science, because I have observed several clergymen, otherwise little fond of obscure terms, yet in their sermons very liberal of those which they find in ecclesiastical writers, as if it were our duty to understand them—which I am sure it is not. And I defy the greatest divine to produce any law, either of God or man, which obliges me to comprehend the meaning of *omniscience*, *omnipresence*, *ubiquity*, *attribute*, *beatific vision*, with a thousand others so frequent in pulpits, any more than that of *eccentric*, *idiosyncracy*, *entity*, and the like. I believe I may venture to insist further, that many terms used in holy writ, particularly by St. Paul, might with more discretion be changed into plainer speech except when they are introduced as part of a quotation.

I am the more earnest in this matter, because it is a general complaint, and the justest in the world. For a divine has nothing to say to the wisest congregation of any parish in this kingdom, which he may not express in a manner to be understood by the meanest among them. And this assertion must be true, or else God requires from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a logician might possibly put a case that would serve for an exception, I will appeal to any man of letters, whether at least nineteen in twenty of those perplexing words might not be changed into easy ones, such as naturally first occur to ordinary men, and probably did so at first to those very gentlemen, who are so fond of the former.

We are often reproved by divines, from the pulpits, on account of our ignorance in things sacred, and perhaps with justice enough; however, it is not very reasonable for them to expect that common men should understand expressions which are never made use of in common life. No gentleman thinks it safe or prudent to send a servant with a message, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into terms brought down to the capacity of the bearer; yet, after all this care, it is frequent for servants to mistake, and sometimes occasion misunderstandings among friends. Although the common domestics in some gentlemen's families have more opportunities of improving their minds than the ordinary sort of tradesmen.

It is usual for clergymen, who are taxed with this learned defect, to quote Dr. Tillotson, and other famous divines, in their defence, without considering the difference between elaborate discourses upon important occasions, delivered to princes or parliaments, written with a view of being made public, and a plain sermon intended for the middle or lower size of people. Neither do they seem to remember the many alterations, additions, and expungings, made by great authors in those treatises, which they prepare for the public. Besides, that excellent prelate above mentioned was known to preach after a much more popular manner in the city congregations; and if in those parts of his works he be anywhere too obscure for the understandings of many, who may be supposed to have been his hearers, it ought to be numbered among his omissions.

[a] Lucius Cary, viscount Falkland, who fell in the great civil war, now better known by the character drawn by lord Clarendon, than by his own compositions.

The fear of being thought pedants, has been of pernicious consequence to young divines. This has wholly taken many of them off from their severer studies in the university; which they have exchanged for plays, poems, and pamphlets, in order to qualify them for tea-tables and coffee-houses. This they usually call "polite conversation, knowing the world, and reading men instead of books." These accomplishments, when applied to the pulpit, appear by a quaint, terse, florid style, rounded into periods and cadences commonly without either propriety or meaning. I have listened with my utmost attention for half an hour to an orator of this species, without being able to understand, much less to carry away, one single sentence out of a whole sermon. Others, to show that their studies have not been confined to sciences or ancient authors, will talk in the style of a gaming ordinary, and White Friars,[a] when I suppose the hearers can be little edified by the terms of "*palming, shuffling, biting, bamboozling*," and the like, if they have not been sometimes conversant among pickpockets and sharpers. And truly, as they say a man is known by his company, so it should seem that a man's company may be known by his manner of expressing himself, either in public assemblies or private conversation.

It would be endless to run over the several defects of style among us: I shall therefore say nothing of the mean and paltry, (which are usually attended by the fustian,) much less of the slovenly or indecent. Two things I will just warn you against: the first is, the frequency of flat unnecessary epithets; and the other is, the folly of using old threadbare phrases, which will often make you go out of your way to find and apply them, are nauseous to rational hearers, and will seldom express your meaning, as well as your own natural words.

Although, as I have already observed, our English tongue is too little cultivated in this kingdom, yet the faults are nine in ten owing to affectation, and not to the want of understanding. When a man's thoughts are clear, the properest words will generally offer themselves first, and his own judgment will direct him in what order to place them, so as they may be best understood. Where men err against this method, it is usually on purpose, and to show their knowledge of the world. In short, that simplicity, without which no human performance can arrive to any great perfection, is nowhere more eminently useful than in this.

I have been considering that part of oratory which relates to the moving of the passions; this I observe is in esteem and practice among some church divines as well as among all the preachers and hearers of the fanatic or enthusiastic strain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more freedom than prudence) my opinion upon the point:—

The two great orators of Greece and Rome, Demosthenes and Cicero, though each of them a leader (or, as the Greeks called it, a demagogue) in a popular state, yet seem to differ in their practice upon this branch of their art: the former, who had to deal with a people of much more politeness, learning, and wit, laid the greatest weight of his oratory upon the strength of his arguments, offered to their understanding and reason: whereas Tully considered the dispositions of a sincere, more ignorant, and less mercurial nation, by dwelling almost entirely on the pathetic part.

But the principal thing to be remembered is, that the constant design of both these orators, in all their speeches, was, to drive some one particular point; either the condemnation or acquittal of an accused person, a persuasive to war, the enforcing of a law, and the like: which was determined upon the spot, according as the orators on either side prevailed. And here it was often found of absolute necessity to inflame or cool the passions of the audience; especially at Rome, where Tully spoke, and with whose writings young divines (I mean those among them who read old authors) are more conversant than with those of Demosthenes, who by many degrees excelled the other, at least as an orator. But I do not see how this talent of moving the passions can be of any great use toward directing Christian men in the conduct of their lives; at least, in these northern climates, where I am confident the strongest eloquence of that kind will leave few impressions upon any of our spirits deep enough to last till the next morning, or rather, to the next meal.

But what has chiefly put me out of conceit with this moving manner of preaching, is the frequent disappointment it meets with. I know a gentleman who made it a rule in reading, to skip over all sentences where he spied a note of admiration at the end. I believe those preachers who abound in *epiphonemas*, if they look about them, would find one part of their congregation out of countenance, and the other asleep; except perhaps an old female beggar or two in the aisles, who (if they be sincere) may probably groan at the sound.

Nor is it a wonder that this expedient should so often miscarry, which requires so much art and genius to arrive at any perfection in it; as every man will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting Cicero himself.

I therefore entreat you to make use of this faculty (if you ever be so unfortunate as to think you have it) as seldom and with as much caution as you can, else I may probably have occasion to say of you, as a great person said of another upon this very subject: a lady asked him, coming out of church, whether it were not a very moving discourse? "Yes," says he, "I was extremely sorry, for the man is my friend."

If in company you offer something for a jest, and nobody seconds you in your own laughter, or seems to relish what you said, you may condemn their taste, if you please, and appeal to better judgments; but, in the mean time, it must be agreed, you make a very indifferent figure. and it is at least equally ridiculous to be disappointed in endeavouring to make other folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

A plain convincing reason may possibly operate upon the mind, both of a learned and ignorant hearer, as long as they live, and will edify a thousand times more than the art of wetting the handkerchiefs of a whole congregation, if you were sure to attain it.

If your arguments be strong, in God's name offer them in as moving a manner as the nature of the subject will properly admit, wherein reason and good advice will be your safest guides; but beware of letting the pathetic part swallow up the rational: for I suppose philosophers have long agreed, that passion should never prevail over reason.

As I take it, the two principal branches of preaching are, first, to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is so. The topics for both these, we know, are brought from Scripture and reason. Upon the former, I wish it were often practised to instruct the hearers in the limits, extent, and compass of every duty, which requires a good deal of skill and judgment; the other branch is, I think, not so difficult. But what I would offer upon both is this, that it seems to be in the power of a reasonable clergyman, if he will be at the pains, to make the most ignorant man comprehend what is his duty, and to convince him by arguments drawn to the level of his understanding, that he ought to perform it.

But I must remember that my design in this paper was not so much to instruct you in your business,

[a] A place of asylum for debtors, frequented by sharpers and debauchees.

either as a clergyman or a preacher, as to warn you against some mistakes, which are obvious to the generality of mankind as well as to me: and we, who are hearers, may be allowed to have some opportunities in the quality of being standers by. Only, perhaps, I may now again trangress, by desiring you to express the heads of your divisions in as few and clear words as you possibly can; otherwise I, and many thousand others, will never be able to retain them, and consequently to carry away a syllable of the sermon.

I shall now mention a particular wherein your whole body will be certainly against me, and the laity, almost to a man, on my side. However it came about, I cannot get over the prejudice of taking some little offence at the clergy, for perpetually reading their sermons; perhaps my frequent hearing of foreigners, who never made use of notes, may have added to my disgust. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read differs as much from what is repeated without book, as a copy does from an original. At the same time I am highly sensible what an extreme difficulty it would be upon you to alter this method; and that in such a case your sermons would be much less valuable than they are, for want of time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a compromise with you in this matter. I knew a clergyman of some distinction, who appeared to deliver his sermon without looking into his notes, which when I complimented him upon, he assured me he could not repeat six lines; but his method was to write the whole sermon in a large plain hand, with all the forms of margin, paragraph, marked page, and the like; then on Sunday morning he took care to run it over five or six times, which he could do in an hour; and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his face from one side to the other, he would (in his own expression) pick up the lines, and cheat his people, by making them believe he had it all by heart. He further added, that whenever he happened by neglect to omit any of these circumstances, the vogue of the parish was, "Our doctor gave us but an indifferent sermon to-day." Now, among us, many clergyman act so directly contrary to this method, that from a habit of saving time and paper, which they acquired at the university, they write in so diminutive a manner, with such frequent blots and interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual hesitations, or extemporary expletives: and I desire to know what can be more inexcusable than to see a divine and a scholar at a loss in reading his own compositions, which it is supposed he has been preparing with much pains and thought for the instruction of his people? The want of a little more care in this article is the cause of much ungraceful behaviour. You will observe some clergymen with their heads held down from the beginning to the end, within an inch of the cushion, to read what is hardly legible; which, besides the untoward manner, hinders them from making the best advantage of their voice: others again have a trick of popping up and down every moment from their paper to the audience, like an idle schoolboy on a repetition day.

Let me entreat you, therefore, to add one half-crown a year to the article of paper; to transcribe your sermons in as large and plain a manner as you can; and either make no interlineations, or change the whole leaf; for we, your hearers, would rather you should be less correct than perpetually stammering, which I take to be one of the worst solecisms in rhetoric. And, lastly, read your sermon once or twice a-day, for a few days before you preach it: to which you will probably answer some years hence, "that it was but just finished when the last bell rang to church;" and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you.

I cannot forbear warning you, in the most earnest manner, against endeavouring at wit in your sermons, because, by the strictest computation, it is very near a million to one that you have none; and because too many of your calling have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember several young men in this town, who could never leave the pulpit under half a dozen conceits; and this faculty adhered to those gentlemen a longer or shorter time, exactly in proportion to their several degrees of dulness: accordingly, I am told that some of them retain it to this day. I heartily wish the brood were at an end.

Before you enter into the common insufferable cant of taking all occasions to disparage the heathen philosophers, I hope you will differ from some of your brethren, by first inquiring what those philosophers can say for themselves. The system of morality to be gathered out of the writings or sayings of those ancient sages falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the gospel, and wants, besides, the divine sanction which our Saviour gave his. Whatever is further related by the evangelists contains chiefly matters of fact, and consequently of faith; such as the birth of Christ, his being the Messiah, his miracles, his death, resurrection, and ascension: none of which can properly come under the appellation of human wisdom, being intended only to make us wise unto salvation. And therefore in this point nothing can be justly laid to the charge of the philosophers, further than that they were ignorant of certain facts that happened long after their death. But I am deceived if a better comment could be anywhere collected upon the moral part of the gospel than from the writings of those excellent men; even that divine precept of loving our enemies is at large insisted on by Plato, who puts it, as I remember, into the mouth of Socrates. And as to the reproach of heathenism, I doubt they had less of it than the corrupted Jews, in whose time they lived. For it is a gross piece of ignorance among us to conceive that, in those polite and learned ages, even persons of any tolerable education, much less the wisest philosophers, did acknowledge or worship any more than one almighty power, under several denominations, to whom they allowed all those attributes we ascribe to the Divinity; and, as I take it, human comprehension reaches no further; neither did our Saviour think it necessary to explain to us the nature of God, because, as I suppose, it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other faculties than we possess at present. But the true misery of the heathen world appears to be, what I before mentioned, the want of a divine sanction, without which the dictates of the philosophers failed in the point of authority: and consequently the bulk of mankind lay indeed under a great load of ignorance, even in the article of morality; but the philosophers themselves, did not. Take the matter in this light, it will afford field enough for a divine to enlarge on, by showing the advantages which the Christian world has over the heathen, and the absolute necessity of divine revelation to make the knowledge of the true God, and the practice of virtue more universal in the world.

I am not ignorant how much I differ in this opinion from some ancient fathers in the church, who, arguing against the heathens, made it a principal topic to decry their philosophy as much as they could: which, I hope, is not altogether our present case. Besides, it is to be considered that those fathers lived in the decline of literature; and in my judgment (who should be unwilling to give the least offence) appear to be rather most excellent holy persons than of transcendent genius and learning. Their genuine writings (for many of them have extremely suffered by spurious editions) are of admirable use for confirming the truth of ancient doctrines and discipline, by showing the state

and practice of the primitive church. But among such of them as have fallen in my way, I do not remember any whose manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily recommend to the imitation of a young divine, when he is to speak from the pulpit. Perhaps I judge too hastily, there being several of them in whose writings I have made very little progress, and in others none at all. For I perused only such as were recommended to me, at a time when I had more leisure and a better disposition to read than have since fallen to my share.

To return, then, to the heathen philosophers: I hope you will not only give them quarter, but make their works a considerable part of your study. To these I will venture to add the principal orators and historians, and perhaps a few of the poets; by the reading of which, you will soon discover your mind and thoughts to be enlarged, your imagination extended and refined, your judgment directed, your admiration lessened, and your fortitude increased; all which advantages must needs be of excellent use to a divine, whose duty it is to preach and practise the contempt of human things.

I would say something concerning quotations, wherein I think you cannot be too sparing, except from Scripture, and the primitive writers of the church. As to the former, when you offer a text as a proof of an illustration, we your hearers expect to be fairly used, and sometimes think we have reason to complain, especially of you younger divines; which makes us fear that some of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a concordance, and there, having found the principal word, introduce as much of the verse as will serve your turn, though in reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether disapprove the manner of interweaving texts of Scripture through the style of your sermons, wherein, however, I have sometimes observed great instances of indiscretion and impropriety, against which I therefore venture to give you a caution.

As to quotations from ancient fathers, I think they are best brought in to confirm some opinion controverted by those who differ from us: in other cases we give you full power to adopt the sentence for your own, rather than tell us, "as St. Austin excellently observes." But to mention modern writers by name, or use the phrase of "a [illegible]e excellent prelate of our church," and the like, is altogether intolerable, and, for what reason I know not, makes every rational hearer ashamed. Of no better a stamp is your "heathen philosopher," and "famous poet," and "Roman historian," at least in common congregations, who will rather believe you on your own word than on that of Plato or Homer.

I have lived to see Greek and Latin almost entirely driven out of the pulpit, for which I am heartily glad. The frequent use of the latter was certainly a remnant of popery, which never admitted Scripture in the vulgar language; and I wonder that practice was never accordingly objected to us by the fanatics.

The mention of quotations puts me in mind of commonplace books, which have been long in use by industrious young divines, and, I hear, do still continue so: I know they are very beneficial to lawyers and physicians, because they are collections of facts or cases, whereupon a great part of their several faculties depend: of these I have seen several, but never yet any written by a clergyman; only from what I am informed, they generally are extracts of theological and moral sentences, drawn from ecclesiastical and other authors, reduced under proper heads, usually begun, and perhaps finished, while the collectors were young in the church, as being intended for materials, or nurseries to stock future sermons. You will observe the wise editors of ancient authors, when they meet a sentence worthy of being distinguished, take special care to have the first word printed in capital letters, that you may not overlook it: such, for example, as the inconstancy of fortune, the goodness of peace, the excellency of wisdom, the certainty of death: that prosperity makes men insolent, and adversity humble; and the like eternal truths, which every ploughman knows well enough, though he never heard of Aristotle or Plato. If theological commonplace books be no better filled, I think they had better be laid aside; and I could wish that men of tolerable intellectuals would rather trust their own natural reason, improved by a general conversation with books, to enlarge on a point which they are supposed already to understand. If a rational man reads an excellent author with just application, he shall find himself extremely improved, and, perhaps, insensibly led to imitate that author's perfections, although in a little time he should not remember one word in the book, nor even the subject it handled: for books give the same turn to our thoughts and way of reasoning that good and ill company do to our behaviour and conversation; without either loading our memories, or making us even sensible of the change. And particularly I have observed in preaching, that no men succeed better than those who trust entirely to the stock or fund of their own reason, advanced indeed, but not overlaid, by commerce with books. Whoever only reads in order to transcribe wise and shining remarks, without entering into the genius and spirit of the author, as it is probable he will make no very judicious extract, so he will be apt to trust to that collection in all his compositions, and be misled out of the regular way of thinking, in order to introduce those materials which he has been at the pains to gather: and the product of all this will be found a manifest incoherent piece of patchwork.

Some gentlemen, abounding in their university erudition, are apt to fill their sermons with philosophical terms and notions of the metaphysical or abstracted kind; which generally have one advantage, to be equally understood by the wise, the vulgar, and the preacher himself. I have been better entertained, and more informed, by a few pages in the "Pilgrim's Progress," than by a long discourse upon the will and the intellect, and simple or complex ideas. Others again are fond of dilating on matter and motion, talk of the fortuitous concourse of atoms, of theories, and phenomena, directly against the advice of St. Paul, who yet appears to have been conversant enough in those kinds of studies.

I do not find that you are anywhere directed in the canons or articles, to attempt explaining the mysteries of the Christian religion. And indeed, since Providence intended there should be mysteries, I do not see how it can be agreeable to piety, orthodoxy, or good sense to go about such a work. For to me there seems to be a manifest dilemma in the case; if you explain them, they are mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no purpose. What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do upon this occasion, is, upon solemn days, to deliver the doctrine as the church holds it, and confirm it by Scripture. For my part, having considered the matter impartially, I can see no great reason, which those gentlemen you call the free-thinkers can have, for their clamour against religious mysteries, since it is plain they were not invented by the clergy, to whom they bring no profit, nor acquire any honour. For every clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmost he knows, or to confess that he does not understand them: neither is it strange that there should be mysteries in divinity, as well as in the commonest operations of nature.

And here I am at a loss what to say upon the fre-

quent custom of preaching against atheism, deism, freethinking, and the like, as young divines are particularly fond of doing, especially when they exercise their talent in churches frequented by persons of quality; which, as it is but an ill compliment to the audience, so I am under some doubt whether it answers the end: because persons under those imputations are generally no great frequenters of churches, and so the congregation is but little edified for the sake of three or four fools, who are past grace: neither do I think it any part of prudence to perplex the minds of well-disposed people with doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their heads. But I am of opinion, and dare be positive in it, that not one in a hundred of those who pretend to be freethinkers are really so in their hearts. For there is one observation, which I never knew to fail, and I desire you will examine it in the course of your life, that no gentleman of a liberal education, and regular in his morals, did ever profess himself a freethinker: where then are these kind of people to be found? among the worst part of the soldiery, made up of pages, younger brothers of obscure families, and others of desperate fortunes; or else among idle town fops, and now and then a drunken 'squire of the country. Therefore nothing can be plainer than that ignorance and vice are two ingredients absolutely necessary in the composition of those you generally call freethinkers, who, in propriety of speech, are no thinkers at all. And since I am in the way of it, pray consider one thing further: as young as you are, you cannot but have already observed what a violent run there is among too many weak people against university education: be firmly assured that the whole cry is made up by those who were either never sent to college, or, through their irregularities and stupidity, never made the least improvement while they were there. I have above forty of the latter sort now in my eye; several of them in this town, whose learning, manners, temperance, probity, good-nature, and politics are all of a piece; others of them in the country, oppressing their tenants, tyrannizing over the neighbourhood, cheating the vicar, talking nonsense, and getting drunk at the sessions. It is from such seminaries as these that the world is provided with the several tribes and denominations of freethinkers; who, in my judgment, are not to be reformed by arguments offered to prove the truth of the Christian religion, because reasoning will never make a man correct an ill opinion, which by reasoning he never acquired: for in the course of things men always grow vicious before they become unbelievers: but if you would once convince the town or country profligate by topics drawn from the view of their own quiet, reputation, health, and advantage, their infidelity would soon drop off: this, I confess, is no easy task, because it is almost, in a literal sense, to fight with beasts. Now to make it clear that we are to look for no other original of this infidelity, whereof divines so much complain, it is allowed on all hands that the people of England are more corrupt in their morals than any other nation at this day under the sun: and this corruption is manifestly owing to other causes, both numerous and obvious, much more than to the publication of irreligious books, which indeed are but the consequence of the former. For all the writers against Christianity since the Revolution, have been of the lowest rank among men in regard to literature, wit, and good sense, and upon that account wholly unqualified to propagate heresies unless among a people already abandoned.

In an age, where everything disliked by those who think with the majority is called disaffection, it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this universal depravation of manners is owing to the perpetual bandying of factions among us for thirty years past, when, without weighing the motives of justice, law, conscience, or honour, every man adjusts his principles to those of the party he has chosen, and among whom he may best find his own account; but by reason of our frequent vicissitudes, men who were impatient of being out of play have been forced to recant, or at least to reconcile their former tenets with every new system of administration. Add to this, that the old fundamental custom of annual parliaments being wholly laid aside, and elections growing chargeable, since gentlemen found that their country seats brought them in less than a seat in the house, the voters, that is to say, the bulk of the common people, have been universally seduced into bribery, perjury, drunkenness, malice, and slander.

Not to be further tedious, or rather invidious, these are a few, among other causes, which have contributed to the ruin of our morals, and consequently to the contempt of religion: for, imagine to yourself, if you please, a landed youth, whom his mother would never suffer to look into a book for fear of spoiling his eyes, got into parliament, and observing all enemies to the clergy heard with the utmost applause, what notions he must imbibe, how readily he will join in the cry, what an esteem he will conceive of himself, and what a contempt he must entertain, not only for his vicar at home, but for the whole order.

I therefore again conclude, that the trade of infidelity has been taken up only for an expedient to keep in countenance that universal corruption of morals which many other causes first contributed to introduce and to cultivate. And thus Mr. Hobbes's saying upon reason may be much more properly applied to religion—that if religion will be against a man, a man will be against religion. Though after all I have heard a profligate offer much stronger arguments against paying his debts than ever he was known to do against Christianity; indeed, the reason was, because in that juncture he happened to be closer pressed by the bailiff than the parson.

Ignorance may perhaps be the mother of superstition, but experience has not proved it to be so of devotion; for Christianity always made the most easy and quickest progress in civilized countries. I mention this, because it is affirmed that the clergy are in most credit where ignorance prevails, (and surely this kingdom would be called the paradise of clergymen if that opinion were true,) for which they instance England in the times of popery. But whoever knows anything of three or four centuries before the Reformation, will find the little learning then stirring was more equally divided between the English clergy and laity than it is at present. There were several famous lawyers in that period, whose writings are still in the highest repute, and some historians and poets, who were not of the church. Whereas, now-a-days, our education is so corrupted, that you will hardly find a young person of quality with the least tincture of knowledge, at the same time that many of the clergy were never more learned, or so scurvily treated. Here, among us at least, a man of letters out of the three professions is almost a prodigy. And those few who have preserved any rudiments of learning are (except perhaps one or two smatterers) the clergy's friends to a man; and I dare appeal to any clergyman in this kingdom, whether the greatest dunce in the parish be not always the most proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his flock.

I think the clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves and their hearers with abstruse points of predestination, election, and the like; at least it is time they should; and therefore I shall not trouble you further upon this head.

I have now said all I could think convenient with relation to your conduct in the pulpit: your behaviour

in the world is another scene, upon which I shall readily offer you my thoughts if you appear to desire them from me by your approbation of what I have here written; if not, I have already troubled you too much.—I am, sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

AN ESSAY ON THE FATES OF CLERGYMEN.

There is no talent so useful toward rising in the world, or which puts men more out of the reach of fortune, than that quality generally possessed by the dullest sort of men, and in common speech called discretion; a species of lower prudence, by the assistance of which people of the meanest intellectuals, without any other qualification, pass through the world in great tranquillity and with universal good treatment, neither giving nor taking offence. Courts are seldom unprovided of persons under this character, on whom, if they happen to be of great quality, most employments, even the greatest, naturally fall when competitors will not agree; and in such promotions nobody rejoices or grieves. The truth of this I could prove by several instances within my own memory; for I say nothing of present times.

And, indeed, as regularity and forms are of great use in carrying on the business of the world, so it is very convenient that persons endued with this kind of discretion should have that share which is proper to their talents in the conduct of affairs, but by no means meddle in matters which require genius, learning, strong comprehension, quickness of conception, magnanimity, generosity, sagacity, or any other superior gift of human minds. Because this sort of discretion is usually attended with a strong desire of money, and few scruples about the way of obtaining it; with servile flattery and submission; with a want of all public spirit or principle; with a perpetual wrong judgment, when the owners come into power and high place, how to dispose of favour and preferment; having no measure for merit and virtue in others but those very steps by which themselves ascended; nor the least intention of doing good or hurt to the public further than either one or t'other is likely to be subservient to their own security or interest. Thus, being void of all friendship and enmity, they never complain or find fault with the times, and indeed never have reason to do so.

Men of eminent parts and abilities, as well as virtues, do sometimes rise in the court, sometimes in the law, and sometimes even in the church. Such were the lord Bacon, the earl of Strafford, archbishop Laud, in the reign of king Charles I., and others in our own times, whom I shall not name; but these, and many more, under different princes and in different kingdoms, were disgraced or banished, or suffered death, merely in envy to their virtues and superior genius, which emboldened them in great exigencies and distresses of state (wanting a reasonable infusion of this aldermanly discretion) to attempt the service of their prince and country out of the common forms.

This evil fortune, which generally attends extraordinary men in the management of great affairs, has been imputed to divers causes that need not be here set down, when so obvious a one occurs, if what a certain writer observes be true, that when a great genius appears in the world, the dunces are all in confederacy against him. And if this be his fate when he employs his talents wholly in his closet, without interfering with any man's ambition or avarice, what must he expect when he ventures out to seek for preferment in a court but universal opposition when he is mounting the ladder, and every hand ready to turn him off when he is at the top? and in this point fortune generally acts directly contrary to nature; for in nature we find that bodies full of life and spirits mount easily and are hard to fall, whereas heavy bodies are hard to rise, and come down with greater velocity in proportion to their weight; but we find fortune every day acting just the reverse of this.

This talent of discretion, as I have described it in its several adjuncts and circumstances, is nowhere so serviceable as to the clergy, to whose preferment nothing is so fatal as the character of wit, politeness in reading or manners, or that kind of behaviour which we contract by having too much conversation with persons of high station and eminency; these qualifications being reckoned, by the vulgar of all ranks, to be marks of levity, which is the last crime the world will pardon in a clergyman; to this I may add a free manner of speaking in mixed company, and too frequent an appearance in places of much resort, which are equally noxious to spiritual promotion.

I have known, indeed, a few exceptions to some parts of these observations. I have seen some of the dullest men alive aiming at wit, and others, with as little pretensions, affecting politeness in manners and discourse; but never being able to persuade the world of their guilt, they grew into considerable stations, upon the firm assurance which all people had of their discretion, because they were of a size too low to deceive the world to their own disadvantage. But this, I confess, is a trial too dangerous often to engage in.

There is a known story of a clergyman, who was recommended for a preferment by some great men at court, to an archbishop [Tenison.] His grace said, "he had heard that the clergyman used to play at whist and swobbers; that as to playing now and then a sober game at whist for pastime, it might be pardoned, but he could not digest those wicked swobbers;" and it was with some pains that my lord Somers could undeceive him. I ask, by what talents we may suppose that great prelate ascended so high, or what sort of qualifications he would expect in those whom he took into his patronage, or would probably recommend to court for the government of distant churches?

Two clergymen, in my memory, stood candidates for a small free-school in Yorkshire, where a gentleman of quality and interest in the county, who happened to have a better understanding than his neighbours, procured the place for him who was the better scholar and more gentlemanly person of the two, very much to the regret of all the parish: the other being disappointed, came up to London, where he became the greatest pattern of this lower discretion that I have known, and possessed it with as heavy intellectuals, which, together with the coldness of his temper and gravity of his deportment, carried him safe through many difficulties, and he lived and died in a great station; while his competitor is too obscure for fame to tell us what became of him.

This species of discretion, which I so much celebrate and do most heartily recommend, has one advantage not yet mentioned: it will carry a man safe through all the malice and variety of parties so far, that, whatever faction happens to be uppermost, his claim is usually allowed for a share of what is going. And the thing seems to be highly reasonable; for in all great changes the prevailing side is usually so tempestuous that it wants the ballast of those whom the world calls moderate men, and I call men of discretion; whom people in power may, with little ceremony, load as heavy as they please, drive them through the hardest and deepest roads without danger of foundering or breaking their backs, and will be sure to find them neither resty nor vicious.

I will here give the reader a short history of two clergymen in England, the characters of each, and

the progress of their fortunes in the world; by which the force of worldly discretion, and the bad consequences from the want of that virtue, will strongly appear:—

Corusodes, an Oxford student and a farmer's son, was never absent from prayers or lecture, nor once out of his college after Tom had tolled. He spent every day ten hours in his closet, in reading his courses, dozing, clipping papers, or darning his stockings; which last he performed to admiration. He could be soberly drunk at the expense of others, with college ale, and at those seasons was always most devout. He wore the same gown five years without draggling or tearing. He never once looked into a play-book or a poem. He read Virgil and Ramus in the same cadence, but with a very different taste. He never understood a jest, or had the least conception of wit.

For one saying he stands in renown to this day. Being with some other students over a pot of ale, one of the company said so many pleasant things, that the rest were much diverted, only Corusodes was silent and unmoved. When they parted, he called this merry companion aside, and said, "Sir, I perceive by your often speaking, and our friends laughing, that you spoke many jests; and you could not but observe my silence; but, sir, this is my humour: I never make a jest myself, nor ever laugh at another man's."

Corusodes, thus endowed, got into holy orders; having by the most extreme parsimony, saved 34*l.* out of a very beggarly fellowship, he went up to London, where his sister was waiting-woman to a lady, and so good a solicitor that by her means he was admitted to read prayers in the family twice a-day, at 10*s.* a-month. He had now acquired a low, obsequious, awkward bow, and a talent of gross flattery both in and out of season; he would shake the butler by the hand; he taught the page his catechism, and was sometimes admitted to dine at the steward's table. In short, he got the good word of the whole family, and was recommended by my lady for chaplain to some other noble houses, by which his revenue (besides vales) amounted to about 30*l.* a-year; his sister procured him a scarf from my lord, who had a small design of gallantry upon her; and by his lordship's solicitation he got a lectureship in town of 60*l.* a-year; where he preached constantly in person, in a grave manner, with an audible voice, a style ecclesiastic, and the matter (such as it was) was suited to the intellectuals of his hearers. Some time after, a country living fell in my lord's disposal; and his lordship, who had now some encouragement given him of success in his amour, bestowed the living on Corusodes, who still kept his lectureship and residence in town; where he was a constant attendant at all meetings relating to charity, without ever contributing further than his frequent pious exhortations. If any woman of better fashion in the parish happened to be absent from church, they were sure of a visit from him in a day or two, to chide and to dine with them.

He had a select number of poor constantly attending at the street-door of his lodging, for whom he was a common solicitor to his former patroness, dropping in his own half-crown among the collections, and taking it out when he disposed of the money. At a person of quality's house, he would never sit down till he was thrice bid, and then upon the corner of the most distant chair. His whole demeanour was formal and starch, which adhered so close, that he could never shake it off in his highest promotion.

His lord was now in high employment at court, and attended by him with the most abject assiduity; and his sister being gone off with child to a private lodging, my lord continued his graces to Corusodes, got him to be a chaplain in ordinary, and in due time a parish in town, and a dignity in the church.

He paid his curates punctually, at the lowest salary, and partly out of the communion money; but gave them good advice in abundance. He married a citizen's widow, who taught him to put out small sums at ten per cent., and brought him acquainted with jobbers in Change-alley. By her dexterity he sold the clerkship of his parish when it became vacant.

He kept a miserable house, but the blame was laid wholly upon madam; for the good doctor was always at his books, or visiting the sick, or doing other offices of charity and piety in his parish.

He treated all his inferiors of the clergy with a most sanctified pride; was rigorously and universally censorious upon all his brethren of the gown, on their first appearance in the world, or while they continued meanly preferred; but gave large allowance to the laity of high rank or great riches, using neither eyes nor ears for their faults: he was never sensible of the least corruption in courts, parliaments, or ministries, but made the most favourable constructions of all public proceedings; and power in whatever hands or whatever party, was always secure of his most charitable opinion. He had many wholesome maxims ready to excuse all miscarriages of state; men are but men, *erunt vitia donec homines;* and *quod supra nos, nil ad nos;* with several others of equal weight.

It would lengthen my paper beyond measure to trace out the whole system of his conduct; his dreadful apprehensions of popery; his great moderation towards dissenters of all denominations, with hearty wishes that, by yielding somewhat on both sides, there might be a general union among Protestants; his short, inoffensive sermons in his turns at court, and the matter exactly suited to the present juncture of prevailing opinions; the arts he used to obtain a mitre, by writing against Episcopacy; and the proofs he gave of his loyalty, by palliating or defending the murder of a martyred prince.

Endued with all these accomplishments, we leave him in the full career of success, mounting fast toward the top of the ladder ecclesiastical, which he has a fair probability to reach; without the merit of one single virtue, moderately stocked with the least valuable parts of erudition, utterly devoid of all taste, judgment or genius; and, in his grandeur, naturally choosing to haul up others after him whose accomplishments most resembled his own, except his beloved sons, nephews, or other kindred, be in competition; or, lastly, except his inclinations be diverted by those who have power to mortify or further advance him.

Eugenio set out from the same university and about the same time with Corusodes; he had the reputation of an arch lad at school, and was unfortunately possessed with a talent for poetry; on which account he received many chiding letters from his father and grave advice from his tutor. He did not neglect his college learning, but his chief study was the authors of antiquity, with a perfect knowledge in the Greek and Roman tongues. He could never procure himself to be chosen fellow; for it was objected against him that he had written verses, and particularly some wherein he glanced at a certain reverend doctor famous for dulness; that he had been seen bowing to ladies as he met them in the street; and it was proved that once he had been found dancing in a private family with half a dozen of both sexes.

He was the younger son to a gentleman of good birth but small estate; and his father dying, he was driven to London to seek his fortune; he got into orders, and became reader in a parish church at 20*l.* a-year; was carried by an Oxford friend to Will's coffee-house, frequented in those days by men of wit,

where in some time he had the bad luck to be distinguished. His scanty salary compelled him to run deep in debt for a new gown and cassock, and now and then forced him to write some paper of wit or humour, or preach a sermon for 10s. to supply his necessities. He was a thousand times recommended by his poetical friends to great persons as a young man of excellent parts who deserved encouragement, and received a thousand promises; but his modesty, and a generous spirit, which disdained the slavery of continual application and attendance, always disappointed him, making room for vigilant dunces, who were sure to be never out of sight.

He had an excellent faculty in preaching, if he were not sometimes a little too refined, and apt to trust too much to his own way of thinking and reasoning.

When, upon the vacancy of a preferment, he was hardly drawn to attend upon some promising lord, he received the usual answer, "That he came too late, for it had been given to another the very day before." And he had only this comfort left, that everybody said, "It was a thousand pities something could not be done for poor Mr. Eugenio."

The remainder of his story will be despatched in a few words: wearied with weak hopes and weaker pursuits, he accepted a curacy in Derbyshire of 30*l.* a-year, and when he was 45, had the great felicity to be preferred by a friend of his father's to a vicarage worth annually 60*l.*, in the most desert parts of Lincolnshire; where, his spirit quite sunk with those reflections that solitude and disappointments bring, he married a farmer's widow, and is still alive, utterly undistinguished and forgotten; only some of the neighbours have accidentally heard that he had been a notable man in his youth.

CONCERNING THAT

UNIVERSAL HATRED

WHICH PREVAILS

AGAINST THE CLERGY.

May 24, 1736.

I HAVE been long considering and conjecturing what could be the causes of that great disgust of late against the clergy of both kingdoms, beyond what was ever known till that monster and tyrant Henry VIII., who took away from them, against law, reason, and justice, at least two-thirds of their legal possessions; and whose successors (except queen Mary) went on with their rapine till the accession of king James I. That detestable tyrant Henry VIII., although he abolished the pope's power in England as universal bishop, yet what he did in that article, however just it were in itself, was the mere effect of his irregular appetite, to divorce himself from a wife he was weary of, for a younger and more beautiful woman whom he afterwards beheaded. But, at the same time, he was an entire defender of all the popish doctrines, even those which were the most absurd. And while he put the people to death for denying him to be head of the church, he burned every offender against the doctrines of the Roman faith; and cut off the head of sir Thomas More, a person of the greatest virtue this kingdom ever produced, for not directly owning him to be head of the church. Among all the princes who ever reigned in the world, there was never so infernal a beast as Henry VIII., in every vice of the most odious kind, without any one appearance of virtue: but cruelty, lust, rapine, and atheism, were his peculiar talents. He rejected the power of the pope for no other reason than to give his full swing to commit sacrilege, in which no tyrant since Christianity became national did ever equal him by many degrees. The abbeys, endowed with lands by the mistaken notion of well-disposed men, were indeed too numerous and hurtful to the kingdom; and therefore the legislature might, after the Reformation, have justly applied them to some pious or public uses.

In a very few centuries after Christianity became national in most parts of Europe, although the church of Rome had already introduced many corruptions in religion; yet the piety of early Christians, as well as the new converts, was so great, and particularly princes, as well as noblemen and other wealthy persons, that they built many religious houses for those who were inclined to live in a recluse or solitary manner, endowing those monasteries with land. It is true we read of monks some ages before, who dwelt in caves and cells in desert places. But when public edifices were erected and endowed, they began gradually to degenerate into idleness, ignorance, avarice, ambition, and luxury, after the usual fate of all human institutions. The popes, who had already aggrandized themselves, laid hold of the opportunity to subject all religious houses, with their priors and abbots, to their peculiar authority; whereby those religious orders became of an interest directly different from the rest of mankind, and wholly at the pope's devotion. I need say no more on this article, so generally known and so frequently treated, or of the frequent endeavours of some other princes, as well as our own, to check the growth, and wealth, and power, of the regulars.

In later times this mistaken piety of erecting and endowing abbeys began to decrease. And therefore, when some new-invented sects of monks and friars began to start up, not being able to procure grants of land, they got leave from the pope to appropriate the tithes and glebes of certain parishes, as contiguous or near as they could find, obliging themselves to send out some of their body to take care of the people's souls; and if some of those parishes were at too great a distance from the abbey, the monks appointed to attend them were paid for the cure either a small stipend of a determined sum, or sometimes a third part, or what are now called the vicarial tithes.

As to the church-lands, it hath been the opinion of many writers that in England they amounted to a third part of the whole kingdom. And therefore, if that wicked prince above mentioned, when he had cast off the pope's power, had introduced some reformation in religion, he could not have been blamed for taking away the abbey-lands by authority of parliament. But, when he continued the most cruel persecution of all those who differed in the least article of the popish religion, which was then the national and established faith, his seizing on those lands, and applying them to profane uses, was absolute sacrilege in the strongest sense of the word; having been bequeathed by princes and pious men to sacred uses.

In the reign of this prince the church and court of Rome had arrived to such a height of corruption in doctrine and discipline as gave great offence to many wise, learned, and pious men, through most parts of Europe; and several countries agreed to make some reformation in religion. But although a proper and just reformation were allowed to be necessary, even to preserve Christianity itself, yet the passions and vices of men had mingled themselves so far as to pervert and confound all the good endeavours of those who intended well: and thus the reformation, in every country where it was attempted, was carried on in the most impious and scandalous manner that can possibly be conceived. To which unhappy proceedings we owe all the just reproaches that Romon Catholics have cast upon us ever since. For when the northern kingdoms and states grew weary of the pope's tyranny, and when

their preachers, beginning with the scandalous abuses of indulgences, and proceeding further to examine several points of faith, had credit enough with their princes, who were in some fear lest such a change might affect the peace of their countries, because their bishops had great influence on the people by their wealth and power; these politic teachers had a ready answer to this purpose: "Sir, your majesty need not be in any pain or apprehension: take away the lands, and sink the authority of the bishops: bestow those lands on your courtiers, on your nobles, and on your great officers in your army; and then you will be secure of the people." This advice was exactly followed. And in the Protestant monarchies abroad little more than the shadow of Episcopacy is left; but in the republics it is wholly extinct.

In England, the reformation was brought in after a somewhat different manner, but upon the same principle of robbing the church. However, Henry VIII., with great dexterity, discovered an invention to gratify his insatiable thirst for blood on both religions. * * * *

THE SENTIMENTS
OF A
CHURCH-OF-ENGLAND MAN

With respect to Religion and Government.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1708.

Dr. Swift wrote this treatise in the quality of a moderator between the two parties that then divided the nation, because he could not possibly think so well or ill of either party as they would endeavour to persuade the world of each other and of themselves. For instance, he did "not charge it upon the body of the Whigs or the Tories that their several principles led them to introduce presbytery and the religion of the church of Rome, or a commonwealth and arbitrary power." As for himself, he says, "I believe I am no bigot in religion; and I am sure I am none in government. I converse in full freedom with many considerable men of both parties; and if not in equal number it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance there more under one ministry than another." —This appears to be an apology for the Tories, and a justification of them against the ill representations of the Whigs, who were then in the ministry, and used every artifice to perpetuate their power. Mr. Harley, afterwards lord Oxford, had, by the influence of the duke of Marlborough and lord-treasurer Godolphin, been lately removed from his post of principal secretary of state; and Mr. St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, resigned his place of secretary at war, and sir Simon Harcourt that of attorney-general.*

SECTION THE FIRST.

Whoever has examined the conduct and proceedings of both parties for some years past, whether in or out of power, cannot well conceive it possible to go far toward the extremes of either without offering some violence to his integrity or understanding. A wise and a good man may indeed be sometimes induced to comply with a number whose opinion he generally approves, though it be perhaps against his own. But this liberty should be made use of upon very few occasions, and those of small importance, and then only with a view of bringing over his own side another time to something of greater and more public moment. But to sacrifice the innocency of a friend, the good of our country, or our own conscience, to the humour, or passion, or interest of a party, plainly shows that either our heads or our hearts are not as they should be: yet this very practice is the fundamental law of each faction among us, as may be obvious to any who will impartially and without engagement be at the pains to examine their actions, which, however, is not so easy a task: for it seems a principle in human nature to incline one way more than another, even in matters where we are wholly unconcerned. And it is a common observation that in reading a history of facts done a thousand years ago, or standing by at play among those who are perfect strangers to us, we are apt to find our hopes and wishes engaged on a sudden in favour of one side more than another. No wonder then that we are all so ready to interest ourselves in the course of public affairs, where the most inconsiderable have some real share, and, by the wonderful importance which every man is of to himself, a very great imaginary one.

And, indeed, when the two parties that divide the whole commonwealth come once to a rupture, without any hopes left of forming a third with better principles to balance the others, it seems every man's duty to choose one of the two sides, though he cannot entirely approve of either; and all pretences to neutrality are justly exploded by both, being too stale and obvious, only intending the safety and ease of a few individuals, while the public is embroiled. This was the opinion and practice of the latter Cato, whom I esteem to have been the wisest and best of all the Romans. But before things proceed to open violence, the truest service a private man may hope to do his country is, by unbiassing his mind as much as possible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the rival powers; which must needs be owned a fair proceeding with the world, because it is, of all others, the least consistent with the common design of making a fortune by the merits of an opinion.

I have gone as far as I am able in qualifying myself to be such a moderator: I believe I am no bigot in religion, and I am sure I am none in government. I converse in full freedom with many considerable men of both parties; and if not in equal number it is purely accidental and personal, as happening to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance there, more under one ministry than another. Then, I am not under the necessity of declaring myself by the prospect of an employment. And, lastly, if all this be not sufficient, I industriously conceal my name, which wholly exempts me from any hopes and fears in delivering my opinion.

In consequence of this free use of my reason, I can not possibly think so well or so ill of either party as they would endeavour to persuade the world of each other and of themselves. For instance; I do not charge it upon the body of the Whigs or the Tories that their several principles lead them to introduce Presbytery and the religion of the church of Rome, or a commonwealth and arbitrary power. For why should any party be accused of a principle which they solemnly disown and protest against? But to this they have a mutual answer ready: they both assure us that their adversaries are not to be believed; that they disown their principles out of fear, which are manifest enough when we examine their practices. To prove this, they will produce instances, on one side, either of avowed presbyterians, or persons of libertine and atheistical tenets; and on the other, of professed papists, or such as are openly in the interest of the abdicated family. Now it is very natural for all subordinate sects and denominations in a state to side with some general party, and to choose that which they find to agree with themselves in some general principle. Thus, at the restoration, the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and other sects, did all, with very good reason, unite and solder up their several schemes to join against the church; who, without regard to their distinctions, treated them all as equal adversaries. Thus, our present dissenters do very naturally close in with the Whigs, who profess moderation, declare they abhor all thoughts of persecution, and think it hard that those who differ only in a few ceremonies and speculations should be denied the privilege and profit of serving their country in the highest employments of state.

* This tract is written with great coolness, moderation, ease, and perspicuity.—Johnson.

Thus, the atheists, libertines, despisers of religion and revelation in general, that is to say, all those who usually pass under the name of freethinkers, do properly join with the same body: because they likewise preach up moderation, and are not so overnice to distinguish between an unlimited liberty of conscience and an unlimited freedom of opinion. Then, on the other side, the professed firmness of the Tories for episcopacy, as an apostolical institution; their aversion to those sects who lie under the reproach of having once destroyed their constitution, and who, they imagine, by too indiscreet a zeal for reformation, have defaced the primitive model of the church; next, their veneration for monarchical government in the common course of succession, and their hatred to republican schemes: these, I say, are principles which not only the nonjuring zealots profess, but even papists themselves fall readily in with. And every extreme here mentioned flings a general scandal upon the whole body it pretends to adhere to.

But surely no man whatsoever ought, in justice or good manners, to be charged with principles he actually disowns, unless his practices do openly, and without the least room for doubt, contradict his profession; not upon small surmises, or because he has the misfortune to have ill men sometimes agree with him in a few general sentiments. However, though the extremes of Whig and Tory seem, with little justice, to have drawn religion into their controversies, wherein they have small concern, yet they both have borrowed one leading principle from the abuse of it: which is, to have built their several systems of political faith, not upon inquiries after truth, but upon opposition to each other, upon injurious appellations, charging their adversaries with horrid opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of charity; *et neuter falso.*

In order to remove these prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual than to describe the sentiments of a church-of-England man with respect to religion and government. This I shall endeavour to do in such a manner as may not be liable to the least objection from either party, and which I am confident would be assented to by great numbers in both, if they were not misled to those mutual misrepresentations by such motives as they would be ashamed to own.

I shall begin with religion.

And here, though it makes an odd sound, yet it is necessary to say that whoever professes himself a member of the church of England ought to believe a God and his providence, together with revealed religion and the divinity of Christ. For beside those many thousands who (to speak in the phrase of divines) do practically deny all this by the immorality of their lives, there is no small number who, in their conversation and writings, directly or by consequence, endeavour to overthrow it; yet all these place themselves in the list of the national church, though at the same time (as it is highly reasonable) they are great sticklers for liberty of conscience.

To enter upon particulars: a church-of-England man has a true veneration for the scheme established among us of ecclesiastic government; and though he will not determine whether episcopacy be of divine right, he is sure it is most agreeable to primitive institution, fittest of all others for preserving order and purity, and, under its present regulations, best calculated for our civil state: he should therefore think the abolishment of that order among us would prove a mighty scandal and corruption to our faith, and manifestly dangerous to our monarchy; nay, he would defend it by arms against all the powers on earth, except our own legislature; in which case he would submit, as to a general calamity, a dearth, or a pestilence.

As to rites and ceremonies and forms of prayer he allows there might be some useful alterations, and more which, in the prospect of uniting Christians, might be very supportable, as things declared in their own nature indifferent; to which he therefore would readily comply, if the clergy, or (though this be not so fair a method) if the legislature should direct: yet, at the same time, he cannot altogether blame the former for their unwillingness to consent to any alteration; which besides the trouble, and perhaps disgrace, would certainly never produce the good effects intended by it. The only condition that could make it prudent and just for the clergy to comply in altering the ceremonial, or any other indifferent part, would be a firm resolution in the legislature to interpose, by some strict and effectual laws, to prevent the rising and spreading of new sects, how plausible soever, for the future; else there must never be an end: and it would be to act like a man who should pull down and change the ornaments of his house, in compliance to every one who was disposed to find fault as he passed by; which, besides the perpetual trouble and expense, would very much damage, and perhaps in time destroy, the building. Sects in a state seem only tolerated with any reason because they are already spread; and because it would not be agreeable with so mild a government, or so pure a religion as ours, to use violent methods against great numbers of mistaken people, while they do not manifestly endanger the constitution of either. But the greatest advocates for general liberty of conscience will allow that they ought to be checked in their beginnings, if they will allow them to be an evil at all; or, which is the same thing, if they will only grant it were better for the peace of the state that there should be none. But while the clergy consider the natural temper of mankind in general, or of our own country in particular, what assurances can they have that any compliances they shall make will remove the evil of dissension, while the liberty still continues of professing whatever new opinion we please? Or how can it be imagined, that the body of dissenting teachers, who must be all undone by such a revolution, will not cast about for some new objections to withhold their flocks, and draw in fresh proselytes, by some further innovations or refinements?

Upon these reasons he is for tolerating such different forms in religious worship as are already admitted, but by no means for leaving it in the power of those who are tolerated to advance their own models upon the ruin of what is already established; which it is natural for all sects to desire, and which they cannot be justified by any consistent principles if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot succeed in without the utmost danger to the public peace.

To prevent these inconveniences, he thinks it highly just that all rewards of trust, profit, or dignity, which the state leaves in the disposal of the administration, should be given only to those whose principles direct them to preserve the constitution in all its parts. In the late affair of occasional conformity, the general argument of those who were against it was, not to deny it an evil in itself, but that the remedy proposed was violent, untimely, and improper; which is the bishop of Salisbury's opinion in the speech he made and published against the bill: but however just their fears or complaints might have been upon that score, he thinks it a little too gross and precipitate to employ their writers already in arguments for repealing the sacramental test, upon no wiser maxim than that no man should on the account of conscience be deprived the liberty of serving his country; a topic which may be equally applied to admit Papists, Atheists, Mahometans, Heathens, and Jews. If the church wants members of its own to employ in the service of the public, or be so

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unhappily contrived as to exclude from its communions such persons who are likeliest to have great abilities, it is time it should be altered, and reduced into some more perfect, or at least more popular form: but in the mean while, it is not altogether improbable, that when those who dislike the constitution are so very zealous in their offers for the service of their country, they are not wholly unmindful of their party or of themselves.

The Dutch, whose practice is so often quoted to prove and celebrate the great advantages of a general liberty of conscience, have yet a national religion professed by all who bear office among them: but why should they be a precedent for us either in religion or government? our country differs from theirs, as well in situation, soil, and productions of nature, as in the genius and complexion of inhabitants. They are a commonwealth founded on a sudden, by a desperate attempt in a desperate condition, not formed or digested into a regular system by mature thought and reason, but huddled up under the pressure of sudden exigencies; calculated for no long duration, and hitherto subsisting by accident, in the midst of contending powers, who cannot yet agree about sharing it among them. These difficulties do indeed preserve them from any great corruptions, which their crazy constitution would extremely subject them to in a long peace. That confluence of people, in a persecuting age, to a place of refuge nearest at hand, put them upon the necessity of trade, to which they wisely gave all ease and encouragement: and if we could think fit to imitate them in this last particular, there would need no more to invite foreigners among us; who seem to think no further than how to secure their property and conscience, without projecting any share in that government which gives them protection, or calling it persecution if it be denied them. But, I speak it for the honour of our administration, although our sects are not so numerous as those in Holland, which I presume is not our fault, and I hope is not our misfortune, we much excel them, and all Christendom besides, in our indulgence to tender consciences. One single compliance with the national form of receiving the sacrament is all we require to qualify any sectary among us for the greatest employments in the state, after which he is at liberty to rejoin his own assemblies for the rest of his life. Besides, I will suppose any of the numerous sects in Holland to have so far prevailed as to have raised a civil war, destroyed their government and religion, and put their administrators to death; after which, I will suppose the people to have recovered all again, and to have settled on their old foundation. Then I would put a query whether that sect which was the unhappy instrument of all this confusion could reasonably expect to be entrusted for the future with the greatest employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them?

To go on with the sentiments of a church-of-England man: he does not see how that mighty passion for the church, which some men pretend can well consist with those indignities, and that contempt they bestow on the persons of the clergy. It is a strange mark whereby to distinguish high-church-men, that they are such who imagine the clergy can never be too low. He thinks the maxim these gentlemen are so fond of, that they are for an humble clergy, is a very good one: and so is he, and for an humble laity too, since humility is a virtue that perhaps equally befits and adorns every station of life.

But then, if the scribblers on the other side freely speak the sentiments of their party, a divine of the church of England cannot look for much better quarter thence. You shall observe nothing more frequent in their weekly papers than a way of affecting to confound the terms of clergy and high church, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the calumny they can invent. They will tell you they honour a clergyman; but talk at the same time as if there were not three in the kingdom who could fall in with their definition. After the like manner they insult the universities, as poisoned fountains and corrupters of youth.

Now it seems clear to me that the Whigs might easily have procured and maintained a majority among the clergy, and perhaps in the universities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this intemperance of speech and virulence of pen in the worst and most prostitute of their party; among whom there has been for some years past such a perpetual clamour against the ambition, the implacable temper, and the covetousness of the priesthood; such a cant of high church, and persecution, and being priestridden; so many reproaches about narrow principles or terms of communion; then such scandalous reflections on the universities for infecting the youth of the nation with arbitrary and Jacobite principles, that it was natural for those who had the care of religion and education to apprehend some general design of altering the constitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary because it could not easily be forgot that whatever opposition was made to the usurpations of king James proceeded altogether from the church of England, and chiefly from the clergy and one of the universities. For, if it were of any use to recall matters of fact, what is more notorious than that prince's applying himself first to the church of England? and upon their refusal to fall in with his measures, making the like advances to the dissenters of all kinds, who readily and almost universally complied with him, affecting, in their numerous addresses and pamphlets, the style of our brethren the Roman Catholics; whose interests they put on the same foot with their own; and some of Cromwell's officers took posts in the army raised against the Prince of Orange. These proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the provocations they had met from the church in king Charles's reign; which, though perhaps excusable upon the score of human infirmity, are not by any means a plea of merit equal to the constancy and sufferings of the bishops and clergy, or of the head and fellows of Magdalen College, that furnished the prince of Orange's declaration with such powerful arguments to justify and promote the revolution.

Therefore a church-of-England man abhors the humour of the age in delighting to fling scandals upon the clergy in general; which, besides the disgrace to the Reformation and to religion itself, cast an ignominy upon the kingdom that it does not deserve. We have no better materials to compound the priesthood of than the mass of mankind which, corrupted as it is, those who receive orders must have some vices to leave behind them when they enter into the church; and if a few do still adhere it is no wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worse. Therefore he cannot think ambition or love of power more justly laid to their charge than to other men's; because that would be to make religion itself, or at least the best constitution of church government, answerable for the errors and depravity of human nature.

Within these last two hundred years all sorts of temporal power have been wrested from the clergy and much of their ecclesiastic, the reason or justice of which proceeding I shall not examine; but that the remedies were a little too violent, with respect to their possessions, the legislature has lately confessed by the remission of their first fruits. Neither do the common libellers deny this, who in their invectives only tax the church with an insatiable desire of power and wealth (equally

common to all bodies of men as well as individuals), but thank God that the laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth observing the justice of parties; the sects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard usage to be reproached now after fifty years for overturning the state, for the murder of a king, and the indignity of a usurpation; yet these very men and their partisans are continually reproaching the clergy, and laying to their charge, the pride, the avarice, the luxury, the ignorance and superstition of popish times for a thousand years past.

He thinks it a scandal to government that such an unlimited liberty should be allowed of publishing books against those doctrines in religion wherein all Christians have agreed; much more to connive at such tracts as reject all revelation, and by their consequences often deny the very being of a God. Surely it is not a sufficient atonement for the writers that they profess much loyalty to the present government, and sprinkle up and down some arguments in favour of the dissenters; that they dispute as strenuously as they can for liberty of conscience, and inveigh largely against all ecclesiastics under the name of high church; and, in short, under the shelter of some popular principles in politics and religion, undermine the foundations of all piety and virtue.

As he does not reckon every schism of that damnable nature which some would represent, so he is very far from closing with the new opinion of those who would make it no crime at all; and argue at a wild rate that God Almighty is delighted with the variety of faith and worship, as he is with the varieties of nature. To such absurdities are men carried by the affectation of freethinking and removing the prejudices of education; under which head they have for some time begun to list morality and religion. It is certain that, before the rebellion in 1642, though the number of puritans (as they were then called) was as great as it is with us, and though they affected to follow pastors of that denomination, yet those pastors had episcopal ordination, possessed preferments in the church, and were sometimes promoted to bishoprics themselves. But a breach in the general form of worship was in those days reckoned so dangerous and sinful in itself, and so offensive to Roman catholics at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted; neither, I believe, was the expedient then found out of maintaining separate pastors out of private purses.

When a schism is once spread in a nation, there grows at length a dispute which are the schismatics. Without entering on the arguments used by both sides among us to fix the guilt on each other, it is certain that, in the sense of the law, the schism lies on that side which opposes itself to the religion of the state. I leave it among the divines to dilate upon the danger of schism as a spiritual evil; but I would consider it only as a temporal one. And I think it clear that any great separation from the established worship, though to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an occasion of endangering the public peace; because it will compose a body always in reserve, prepared to follow any discontented heads, upon the plausible pretext of advancing true religion, and opposing error, superstition, or idolatry. For this reason Plato lays it down as a maxim, that men ought to worship the gods according to the laws of the country; and he introduces Socrates, in his last discourse, utterly disowning the crime laid to his charge, of teaching new divinities or methods of worship. Thus the poor Huguenots of France were engaged in a civil war by the specious pretences of some who, under the guise of religion, sacrificed so many thousand lives to their own ambition and revenge. Thus was the whole body of puritans in England drawn to be instruments or abettors of all manner of villany, by the artifices of a few men, whose designs from the first were levelled to destroy the constitution both of religion and government. And thus, even in Holland itself, where it is pretended that the variety of sects live so amicably together and in such perfect obedience to the magistrate, it is notorious how a turbulent party, joining with the Arminians, did, in the memory of our fathers, attempt to destroy the liberty of that republic. So that, upon the whole, where sects are tolerated in a state, it is fit they should enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and every other privilege of freeborn subjects to which no power is annexed. And to preserve their obedience upon all emergencies, a government cannot give them too much ease nor trust them with too little power.

The clergy are usually charged with a persecuting spirit, which they are said to discover by an implacable hatred to all dissenters: and this appears to be more unreasonable, because they suffer less in their interests by a toleration than any of the conforming laity: for while the church remains in its present form, no dissenter can possibly have any share in its dignities, revenues, or power; whereas, by once receiving the sacrament, he is rendered capable of the highest employments in the state. And it is very possible that a narrow education, together with a mixture of human infirmity, may help to beget among some of the clergy in possession, such an aversion and contempt for all innovators as physicians are apt to have for empirics, or lawyers for pettifoggers, or merchants for pedlers; but since the number of sectaries does not concern the clergy, either in point of interest or conscience, (it being an evil not in their power to remedy,) it is more fair and reasonable to suppose their dislike proceeds from the dangers they apprehend to the peace of the commonwealth, in the ruin whereof they must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers.

To conclude this section, it must be observed that there is a very good word which has of late suffered much by both parties,—I mean moderation; which the one side very justly disowns, and the other as unjustly pretends to. Beside what passes every day in conversation, any man who reads the papers published by Mr. Lesley, and others of his stamp, must needs conclude that, if this author could make the nation see his adversaries under the colours he paints them in, we have nothing else to do but rise as one man and destroy such wretches from the face of the earth. On the other side, how shall we excuse the advocates for moderation? among whom I could appeal to a hundred papers of universal approbation by the cause they were writ for, which lay such principles to the whole body of the Tories as, if they were true and believed, our next business should in prudence be to erect gibbets in every parish and hang them out of the way. But I suppose it is presumed the common people understand raillery, or at least rhetoric, and will not take hyperboles in too literal a sense; which, however, in some junctures, might prove a desperate experiment. And this is moderation in the modern sense of the word, to which, speaking impartially, the bigots of both parties are equally entitled.

SECTION THE SECOND.

The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man with respect to Government.

We look upon it as a very just reproach, though we cannot agree where to fix it, that there should be so much violence and hatred in religious matters among men who agree in all fundamentals, and only differ in some ceremonies, or, at most, mere speculative points. Yet, is not this frequently the case between contending

parties in a state? For instance: do not the generality of Whigs and Tories among us profess to agree in the same fundamentals, their loyalty to the queen, their abjuration of the pretender, the settlement of the crown in the protestant line, and a revolution principle? their affection to the church established, with toleration of dissenters? nay, sometimes they go further, and pass over into each other's principles; the Whigs become great assertors of the prerogative, and the Tories of the people's liberty; these, crying down almost the whole set of bishops, and those defending them; so that the differences, fairly stated, would be much of a sort with those in religion among us, and amount to little more than who should take place, or go in and out first, or kiss the queen's hand; and what are these but a few court ceremonies? or who should be in the ministry; and what is that to the body of the nation but a mere speculative point? yet I think it must be allowed that no religious sects ever carried their mutual aversions to greater heights than our state parties have done; who, the more to inflame their passions, have mixed religions and civil animosities together; borrowing one of their appellations from the church, with the addition of high and low, how little soever their disputes relate to the term as it is generally understood.

I now proceed to deliver the sentiments of a church-of-England man with respect to government.

He does not think the church of England so narrowly calculated that it cannot fall in with any regular species of government, nor does he think any one regular species of government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the schools have all of them their several perfections, and are subject to their several depravations. However, few states are ruined by any defect in their institution, but generally by the corruption of manners; against which the best institution is no longer a security; and without which a very ill one may subsist and flourish; whereof there are two pregnant instances now in Europe. The first is, the aristocracy of Venice, which, founded upon the wisest maxims and digested by a great length of time, has in our age admitted so many abuses through the degeneracy of the nobles, that the period of its duration seems to approach. The other is, the united republics of the states-general, where a vein of temperance, industry, parsimony, and a public spirit, running through the whole body of the people, has preserved an infant commonwealth, of an untimely birth and sickly constitution, for above a hundred years, through so many dangers and difficulties as a much more healthy one could never have struggled against without those advantages.

Where security of person and property are preserved by laws which none but the whole can repeal, there the great ends of government are provided for, whether the administration be in the hands of one or of many. Where any one person or body of men, who do not represent the whole, seize into their hands the power in the last resort, there is properly no longer a government, but what Aristotle and his followers call the abuse and corruption of one. This distinction excludes arbitrary power, in whatever numbers; which notwithstanding all that Hobbes, Filmer, and others, have said to its advantage, I look upon as a greater evil than anarchy itself, as much as a savage is in a happier state of life than a slave at the oar.

It is reckoned ill manners, as well as unreasonable, for men to quarrel upon difference in opinion; because that is usually supposed to be a thing which no man can help in himself: but this I do not conceive to be a universal infallible maxim, except in those cases where the question is pretty equally disputed among the learned and the wise: where it is otherwise, a man of tolerable reason, some experience, and willing to be instructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong opinion, though the whole course of his mind and inclination would persuade him to believe it true; he may be convinced that he is in an error, though he does not see where it lies, by the bad effects of it in the common conduct of his life, and by observing those persons for whose wisdom and goodness he has the greatest deference to be of a contrary sentiment. According to Hobbes's comparison of reasoning with casting up accounts, whoever finds a mistake in the sum total must allow himself out, though, after repeated trials, he may not see in which article he has misreckoned. I will instance in one opinion, which I look upon every man obliged in conscience to quit or in prudence to conceal; I mean that, whoever argues in defence of absolute power in a single person, though he offers the old plausible plea that it is his opinion, which he cannot help unless he be convinced, ought in all free states to be treated as the common enemy of mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy charge upon the clergy of the two reigns before the revolution, who, under the terms of passive obedience and nonresistance, are said to have preached up the unlimited power of the prince, because they found it a doctrine that pleased the court and made way for their preferment. And I believe there may be truth enough in this accusation to convince us that human frailty will too often interpose itself among persons of the holiest function. However, it may be offered in excuse for the clergy, that in the best societies there are some ill members which a corrupted court and ministry will industriously find out and introduce. Besides, it is manifest that the greater number of those who held and preached this doctrine were misguided by equivocal terms, and by perfect ignorance in the principles of government, which they had not made any part of their study. The question originally put, and, as I remember to have heard it disputed in public schools, was this, Whether, under any pretence whatsoever, it may be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate? which was held in the negative; and this is certainly the right opinion. But many of the clergy, and other learned men, deceived by dubious expression, mistook the object to which passive obedience was due. By the supreme magistrate, is properly understood the legislative power, which in all governments must be absolute and unlimited. But the word magistrate seeming to denote a single person and to express the executive power, it came to pass that the obedience due to the legislature was, for want of knowing or considering this easy distinction, misapplied to the administration. Neither is it any wonder that the clergy or other well-meaning people should fall into this error, which deceived Hobbes himself so far as to be the foundation of all the political mistakes in his books; where he perpetually confounds the executive with the legislative power, though all well-instituted states have ever placed them in different hands, as may be obvious to those who know anything of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other republics of Greece, as well as the greater ones of Carthage and Rome.

Besides, it is to be considered that when these doctrines began to be preached among us, the kingdom had not quite worn out the memory of that horrid rebellion under the consequences of which it had groaned almost twenty years. And a weak prince, in conjunction with a succession of most prostitute ministers, began again to dispose the people to new attempts, which it was, no doubt, the clergy's duty to endeavour to prevent; though some of them, for want of knowledge in temporal affairs, and others perhaps from a worse principle, proceeded upon a topic that, strictly followed, would enslave all mankind.

Among other theological arguments made use of in

those times in praise of monarchy and justification of absolute obedience to a prince, there seemed to be one of a singular nature: it was urged that Heaven was governed by a monarch who had none to control his power, but was absolutely obeyed: then it followed, that earthly governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated the government in Heaven. All which I look upon as the strongest argument against despotic power that ever was offered; since no reason can possibly be assigned, why it is best for the world that God Almighty has such a power which does not directly prove that no mortal man should ever have the like.

But, though a church-of-England man thinks every species of government equally lawful, he does not think them equally expedient, or for every country indifferently. There may be something in the climate naturally disposing men toward one sort of obedience; as is manifest all over Asia, where we never read of any commonwealth, except some small ones on the western coasts, established by the Greeks. There may be a great deal in the situation of a country and in the present genius of the people. It has been observed that the temperate climates usually run into moderate governments, and the extremes into despotic power. It is a remark of Hobbes, that the youth of England are corrupted in their principles of government by reading the authors of Greece and Rome, who writ under commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the honour of liberty, that, while the rest of the known world was overrun with the arbitrary government of single persons, arts and sciences took their rise and flourished only in those few small territories where the people were free. And though learning may continue after liberty is lost, as it did in Rome for a while upon the foundations laid under the commonwealth and the particular patronage of some emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a tyranny in any nation; because slavery is of all things the greatest clog and obstacle to speculation. And, indeed, arbitrary power is but the first natural step from anarchy or the savage life; the adjusting of power and freedom being an effect and consequence of maturer thinking: and this is nowhere so duly regulated as in a limited monarchy: because I believe it may pass for a maxim in state, that the administration cannot be placed in too few hands, nor the legislature in too many. Now, in this material point, the constitution of the English government far exceeds all others at this time on the earth; to which the present establishment of the church does so happily agree, that I think whoever is an enemy to either, must of necessity be so to both.

He thinks, as our monarchy is constituted, an hereditary right is much to be preferred before election. Because the government here, especially by some late amendments, is so regularly disposed in all its parts, that it almost executes itself. And therefore, upon the death of a prince among us, the administration goes on without any rub or interruption. For the same reasons, we have less to apprehend from the weakness or fury of our monarchs, who have such wise councils to guide the first and laws to restrain the other. And therefore this hereditary right should be kept so sacred as never to break the succession, unless where the preserving of it may endanger the constitution; which is not from any intrinsic merit, or unalienable right, in a particular family, but to avoid the consequences that usually attend the ambition of competitors, to which elective kingdoms are exposed; and which is the only obstacle to hinder them from arriving at the greatest perfection that government can possibly reach. Hence appears the absurdity of that distinction between a king *de facto* and one *de jure*, with respect to us. For every limited monarch is a king *de jure*, because he governs by the consent of the whole, which is authority sufficient to abolish all precedent right. If a king come in by conquest, he is no longer a limited monarch; if he afterward consent to limitations, he becomes immediately king *de jure* for the same reason.

The great advocates for succession, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any regard or consideration whatsoever, do insist much upon one argument, that seems to carry little weight. They would have it that a crown is a prince's birthright, and ought at least to be as well secured to him and his posterity as the inheritance of any private man; in short, that he has the same title to his kingdom which every individual has to his property: now the consequence of this doctrine must be, that, as a man may find several ways to waste, misspend, or abuse his patrimony, without being answerable to the laws; so a king may in like manner do what he will with his own; that is, he may squander and misapply his revenues, and even alienate the crown, without being called to an account by his subjects. They allow such a prince to be guilty, indeed, of much folly and wickedness, but for these he is answerable to God, as every private man must be, that is guilty of mismanagement in his own concerns. Now, the folly of this reasoning will best appear by applying it in a parallel case. Should any man argue that a physician is supposed to understand his own art best; that the law protects and encourages his profession; and therefore, although he should manifestly prescribe poison to all his patients, whereof they should immediately die, he cannot be justly punished, but is answerable only to God: or should the same be offered in behalf of a divine, who would preach against religion and moral duties; in either of these two cases, everybody would find out the sophistry, and presently answer that, although common men are not exactly skilled in the composition or application of medicines, or in prescribing the limits of duty, yet the difference between poisons and remedies is easily known by their effects; and common reason soon distinguishes between virtue and vice: and it must be necessary to forbid both these the further practice of their professions, because their crimes are not purely personal to the physician or the divine, but destructive to the public. All which is infinitely stronger in respect to a prince, in whose good or ill conduct the happiness or misery of a whole nation is included: whereas it is of small consequence to the public, further than example, how any private person manages his property.

But granting that the right of a lineal successor to a crown were upon the same foot with the property of a subject, still it may at any time be transferred by the legislative power, as other properties frequently are. The supreme power in a state can do no wrong, because whatever that does is the action of all: and when the lawyers apply this maxim to the king, they must understand it only in that sense as he is administrator of the supreme power; otherwise it is not universally true, but may be controlled in several instances easy to produce.

And these are the topics we must proceed upon to justify our exclusion of the young pretender in France; that of his suspected birth being merely popular, and therefore not made use of, as I remember, since the revolution, in any speech, vote, or proclamation, where there was an occasion to mention him.

As to the abdication of king James, which the advocates on that side look upon to have been forcible and unjust, and consequently void in itself, I think a man may observe every article of the English church without being in much pain about it. It is not unlikely that all doors were laid open for his departure, and perhaps not without the privity of the prince of Orange, as reasonably concluding that the kingdom

might be better settled in his absence; but to affirm he had any cause to apprehend the same treatment with his father is an improbable scandal flung upon the nation by a few bigoted French scribblers, or the invidious assertion of a ruined party at home in the bitterness of their souls; not one material circumstance agreeing with those in 1648; and the greatest part of the nation having preserved the utmost horror for that ignominious murder: but whether his removal were caused by his own fears or other men's artifices, it is manifest to me that, supposing the throne to be vacant, which was the foot the nation went upon, the body of the people were thereupon left at liberty to choose what forms of government they pleased, by themselves or their representatives.

The only difficulty of any weight against the proceedings at the revolution is an obvious objection to which the writers upon that subject have not yet given a direct or sufficient answer, as if they were in pain at some consequences which they apprehend those of the contrary opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this objection as it was offered me some time ago, with all its advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy gentleman of the nonjuring party.

The force of his argument turned upon this; that the laws made by the supreme power cannot otherwise than by the supreme power be annulled: that this consisting in England of a king, lords, and commons, whereof each have a negative voice, no two of them can repeal or enact a law without consent of the third; much less may any one of them be entirely excluded from its part of the legislature by a vote of the other two. That all these maxims were openly violated at the revolution; where an assembly of the nobles and people, not summoned by the king's writ (which was an essential part of the constitution), and consequently no lawful meeting, did, merely upon their own authority, declare the king to have abdicated, the throne vacant, and gave the crown by a vote to a nephew, when there were three children to inherit; though by the fundamental laws of the realm the next heir is immediately to succeed. Neither does it appear how a prince's abdication can make any other sort of vacancy in the throne than would be caused by his death; since he cannot abdicate for his children (who claim their right of succession by act of parliament) otherwise than by his own consent in form to a bill from the two houses.

And this is the difficulty that seems chiefly to stick with the most reasonable of those who, from a mere scruple of conscience, refuse to join with us upon the revolution principle; but for the rest, are I believe as far from loving arbitrary government as any others can be who are born under a free constitution and are allowed to have the least share of common good sense.

In this objection there are two questions included: first, Whether, upon the foot of our constitution, as it stood in the reign of the late king James, a king of England may be deposed? The second is, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority after the king had withdrawn himself in the manner he did, had power to alter the succession?

As for the first, it is a point I shall not presume to determine; and shall therefore only say, that to any man who holds the negative I would demand the liberty of putting the case as strongly as I please. I will suppose a prince limited by laws like ours, yet running into a thousand caprices of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula; I will suppose him to murder his mother and his wife; to commit incest, to ravish matrons, to blow up the senate, and burn his metropolis; openly to renounce God and Christ, and worship the devil: these and the like exorbitances are in the power of a single person to commit, without the advice of a ministry or assistance of an army. And if such a king as I have described cannot be deposed but by his own consent in parliament, I do not well see how how he can be resisted, or what can be meant by a limited monarchy; or what signifies the people's consent in making and repealing laws, if the person who administers has no tie but conscience, and is answerable to none but God. I desire no stronger proof that an opinion must be false than to find very great absurdities annexed to it, and there cannot be greater than in the present case; for it is not a bare speculation that kings may run into such enormities as are above mentioned: the practice may be proved by examples, not only drawn from the first Cæsars or later emperors, but many modern princes of Europe; such as Peter the Cruel, Philip II. of Spain, John Basilovitz of Muscovy, and in our own nation, king John, Richard III., and Henry VIII. But there cannot be equal absurdities supposed in maintaining the contrary opinion; because it is certain that princes have it in their power to keep a majority on their side, by any tolerable administration, till provoked by continual oppressions; no man indeed can then answer where the madness of the people will stop.

As to the second part of the objection, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority upon king James's precipitate departure, had power to alter the succession?

In answer to this, I think it is manifest, from the practice of the wisest nations, and who seem to have had the truest notions of freedom, that, when a prince was laid aside for mal-administration, the nobles and people, if they thought it necessary for the public weal, did resume the administration of the supreme power (the power itself having been always in them), and did not only alter the succession, but often the very form of government too, because they believed there was no natural right in one man to govern another, but that all was by institution, force, or consent. Thus the cities of Greece, when they drove out their tyrannical kings, either chose others from a new family or abolished the kingly government and became free states. Thus the Romans, upon the expulsion of Tarquin, found it inconvenient for them to be subject any longer to the pride, the lust, the cruelty, and arbitrary will of single persons, and therefore, by general consent, entirely altered the whole frame of their government. Nor do I find the proceedings of either, in this point, to have been condemned by any historian of the succeeding ages.

But a great deal has been already said by other writers upon this invidious and beaten subject; therefore I shall let it fall, though the point is commonly mistaken, especially by the lawyers, who, of all others seem least to understand the nature of government in general; like under-workmen, who are expert enough at making a single wheel in a clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjust the several parts or regulate the movements.

To return, therefore, from this digression: It is a church-of-England man's opinion that the freedom of a nation consists in an absolute unlimited legislative power, wherein the whole body of the people are fairly represented, and in an executive duly limited; because on this side likewise there may be dangerous degrees and a very ill extreme. For, when two parties in a state are pretty equal in power, pretensions, merit and virtue (for these two last are, with relation to parties and a court, quite different things), it has been the opinion of the best writers upon government that a prince ought not in any sort to be under the guidance or influence of either; because he declines by this means from his office of presiding over the whole, to be the head of a

party; which, besides the indignity, renders him answerable for all public mismanagements, and the consequences of them; and in whatever state this happens, there must either be a weakness in the prince or ministry; or else the former is too much restrained by the nobles or those who represent the people.

To conclude: a church-of-England man may, with prudence and a good conscience, approve the professed principles of one party more than the other, according as he thinks they best promote the good of church and state; but he will never be swayed by passion or interest to advance an opinion merely because it is that of the party he most approves; which one single principle he looks upon as the root of all our civil animosities. To enter into a party, as into an order of friars, with so resigned an obedience to superiors, is very unsuitable both with the civil and religious liberties we so zealously assert. Thus the understandings of a whole senate are often ensloved by three or four leaders on each side, who, instead of intending the public weal, have their hearts wholly set upon ways and means how to get or to keep employments. But to speak more at large, how has this spirit of faction mingled itself with the mass of the people, changed their nature and manners, and the very genius of the nation? broke all the laws of charity, neighbourhood, alliance, and hospitality? destroyed all ties of friendship, and divided families against themselves? and no wonder it should be so, when, in order to find out the character of a person, instead of inquiring whether he be a man of virtue, honour, piety, wit, good sense, or learning, the modern question is only, whether he be a Whig or a Tory: under which terms all good and ill qualities are included.

Now, because it is a point of difficulty to choose an exact middle between two ill extremes, it may be worth inquiring in the present case which of these a wise and good man would rather seem to avoid; taking therefore their own good and ill characters, with due abatements and allowances for partiality and passion, I should think that, in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever has a true value for both would be sure to avoid the extremes of Whig for the sake of the former, and the extremes of Tory on account of the latter.

I have now said all that I could think convenient upon so nice a subject, and find I have the ambition common with other reasoners, to wish at least that both parties may think me in the right; which would be of some use to those who have any virtue left, but are blindly drawn into the extravagancies of either, upon false representations, to serve the ambition or malice of designing men, without any prospect of their own. But if that is not to be hoped for, my next wish should be, that both might think me in the wrong; which I would understand as an ample justification of myself, and a sure ground to believe that I have proceeded at least with impartiality, and perhaps with truth.

SOME ARGUMENTS
AGAINST ENLARGING THE POWER OF BISHOPS IN LETTING LEASES.

Mihi credite, major hereditas venit unicuique vestrûm in istiem bonis a jure et a legibus quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt.—Cicero *pro A. Cæcina.*

October 21, 1723.

In handling this subject I shall proceed wholly upon the supposition that those of our party who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, do desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity, at least in as good a condition as it is at present; because as this discourse is not calculated for dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiments of those persons who, with the denomination of churchmen, are oppressors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be near 200 years since almost three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, beside the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other land, by the confusion of times, the fraud of encroaching neighbours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the Reformation many popish bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leases and fee-farms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed directly contrary to many ancient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became Protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy, on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means episcopal revenues were so low reduced that three or four sees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil, king James I., by a bounty that became a good Christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the northern bishoprics: but in all other parts of the kingdom the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king Charles I.'s reign the legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any further alienations; and so a law was enacted prohibiting all bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations from setting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reserved to be one-half of the real value of such lands at the time they were set, without which condition the lease to be void.

Soon after the restoration of king Charles II. the parliament, taking into consideration the miserable estate of the church, certain lands, by way of augmentation, were granted to eight bishops in the act of settlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three sees were in a great measure defeated; but by what accidents it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at present is the condition of the church in Ireland with regard to episcopal revenues; which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for some information to those whose thoughts do not lead them to such considerations.

By virtue of the statute already mentioned, under king Charles I., limiting ecclesiastical bodies to the term of twenty-one years under the reserved rent of half real value, the bishops have had some share in the gradual rise of lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common decency that might become their station. It is above eighty years since the passing of that act: the see of Meath, one of the best in the kingdom, was then worth about 400*l.* per annum; the poorer ones in the same proportion. If this were their present condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their successors, if such a bill should pass as they say is now intended, which I will suppose; and of which I believe many persons who may give a vote for it are not aware.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at least eluded; some are for giving bishops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them

to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause by which the bishops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reasons for the rise of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the first kind are long peace and settlement after the devastations of war; plantations, improvements of bad soil, recovery of bogs and marshes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increase of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reason for the rise of land, more gradual, constant, and certain; which will have its effects in countries that are very far from flourishing in any of the advantages I have just mentioned: I mean the perpetual decrease in the value of gold and silver. I shall discourse upon these two different kinds with a view toward the bill now attempted.

As to the first: I cannot see how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for thirty years past have been real disimprovements; nine in ten of the quick-set hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to forest trees, they being often taken out of woods and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said that the soil of Ireland is improved to its full height while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There has indeed been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation made in the country by engrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no well-wisher to his country without a little hope that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in some of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in public advantages, which yet can never happen without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God sends rain equally upon the just and the unjust, why should those who wait at his altars, and are instructors of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age, I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver.

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history above 2000 years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an obolus, and of every other coin, between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the increase of bullion in the world by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their conquest, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy the riches of the east and west.

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning, and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the northern people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce that vast sums of money were buried to escape the plundering of the conquerors, and what remained was carried off by those ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkish and other writers since the Conquest have put the matter in a clearer light by the several accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows that king John's whole portion before he came to the crown was but 5000*l.*, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's account of an ancient noble family in England, written in Latin between 300 and 400 years ago, with the several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about 400 years past. Henry duke of Lancaster, who lived about that period, founded an hospital at Leicester for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a-week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In those times a penny was equal to ten pence halfpenny and somewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight-ninths difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon many estates in England to let for leases of lives (renewable at pleasure), where the reserved rent is usually about 12*d.* in 1*l.*, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above 3*s.* in 1*l.*, of the worth of his land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or, if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants, by all manner of injuries, will make that foreigner so uneasy that he must be forced to quit the farm; as the late earl of Bath felt by the experience of above 10,000*l.* loss.

The gradual decrease for about two hundred years after was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by some historians, that Harry VII. left behind him 1,800,000*l.*; for although the West Indies were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting money ever possessed by any prince since the time of Vespasian, (whom he resembled in many particulars,) yet I conceive that in his days the whole coin of England could hardly amount to such a sum. For, in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir Thomas Cokayne, of Derbyshire, the best housekeeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady 50*l.* a-year for maintaining the family, 1*l.* a-year wages to each servant, and 2*l.* to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality who had seen the original account of his economy. Now this sum of 50*l.*, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about 500*l.* a-year at present, or somewhat more than four-fifths.

The great plenty of silver in England began in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vast quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards, either upon their own American coasts or in their return to Spain. However, so much has been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England and most parts of Europe is sunk above one half within the space of a hundred years, notwithstanding the great export of silver for about eighty years past to the East Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold, not being liable to the same accident, and by new discoveries growing every day more plentiful, seems in danger of becoming a drug.

This has been the progress of the value of money in former ages, and must of necessity continue so for the future, without some new invasion of Goths and Vandals, to destroy law, property, and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upside down.

I must repeat that what I am to say upon the

subject is intended only for the conviction of those among our own party who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it should continue in a tolerable degree of prosperity to the end of the world.

The church is supposed to last for ever, both in its discipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who must likewise observe the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's estate, which now yields him 1000*l.* a-year, had been set for ever at the highest value, even in the flourishing days of king Charles II., would it now amount to above 400*l.* or 500*l.* at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chiefry? Suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to 1000*l.* a-year, how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer a half, a quarter, or an eighth part of the sum? which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds good in all corporations whatsoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about a hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn, to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinsic value, which gold and silver are not: and by this invention these colleges have preserved a tolerable subsistence for their fellows and students to this day.

The present bishops will, indeed, be no sufferers by such a bill; because, their ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great decrease in the value of money; or at worst they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than usual upon the change of leases into fee-farms or lives, or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such advantages, (considering the nature of human kind,) when the question is only whether the money shall be put into their own or another man's pocket, so they will never be excusable before God or man if they do not to their death oppose, declare and protest against, any such bill as must in its consequences complete the ruin of the church and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private person be diminished by the weakness or inadvertency of his ancestors in letting leases for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his industry for purchasing more: but the church is barred by a dead hand; or, if it were otherwise, yet the custom of making bequests to it has been out of practice for almost two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary has been its fortune.

I have been assured by a person of some consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the account of some other facts already related, that the late bishop of Salisbury [Dr. Burnet] (the greatest Whig of that bench in his days) confessed to him that the liberty which bishops in England have of letting leases for lives would in his opinion be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? have not two English prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the sake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which, however, they cannot be justly censured. I know, indeed, some persons who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they allege that, as things have gone for some years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms; and, besides, when bishoprics here grow too small to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench, in an age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble suppliants and dependents upon the court for a morsel of bread, and ready to serve every turn that shall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting some *commendam* tacked to their sees; which must then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great discouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years since the passing of that limiting act, and there is but one instance in the memory of man of a bishop's lease broken upon the plea of not being statutable; which, in everybody's opinion, could have been lost by no other person than he who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the present bishop of Meath's case that plea did not avail, although the lease were notoriously unstatutable; the rent reserved being, as I have been told, not a seventh part of the real value; yet the jury, upon their oaths, very gravely found it to be according to the statute; and one of them was heard to say that he would eat his shoes before he would give a verdict for the bishop. A very few more have made the same attempt with as little success. Every bishop and other ecclesiastical body reckon 40*l.* in a 100*l.* to be a reasonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it seldom or never breeds any difference between landlord or tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts less than the worth, the bishop, if he consults the good of his see, will be apt to expostulate; and the tenant, if he be an honest man, will have some regard to the reasonableness and justice of the demand, so as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a suit where law and equity are directly against him. By these means the bishops have been so true to their trusts as to procure some small share in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* a-year being in the hands of a Protestant bishop, any more than of a lay person. The former, generally speaking, lives as piously and hospitably as the other; pays his debts as honestly, and spends as much of his revenue among his tenants; besides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may distinguish them at first sight by their habits and horses; or, if you go to their houses, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that such immediate tenants, generally speaking, have

others under them, and so a third and fourth in subordination, till it comes to the welder (as they call him), who sits at a rack-rent, and lives as miserably as an Irish farmer upon a new lease from a lay landlord. But, suppose a bishop happens to be avaricious (as being composed of the same stuff with other men), the consequence to the public is no worse than if he were a squire; for he leaves his fortune to his son or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no disadvantage to the public in a Protestant country that a man should hold lands as a bishop any more than if he were a temporal person, so it is of great advantage to the community where a bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conscience to reside in his diocese, and by a solemn promise to keep hospitality; his estate is spent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppose him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed that some bishops of this kingdom, within twenty years past, have done very signal and lasting acts of public charity; great instances whereof are the late [Dr. Marsh] and present [Dr. Lindsay] primate, and the lord archbishop of Dublin [Dr. King] that now is, who has left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the bishop of Raphoe [Dr. Forster], and several others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who bestowed 1000*l.* upon the university; which foundation, (that I may observe by the way,) if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum appointed by the statutes for commons being not half sufficient, by the fall of money, to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit better than it has been done by grandees of impropriate tithes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To allege that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops' lands is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? and what should hinder the same course to be taken in church leases, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the bishop? In riding through the country, how few improvements do we see upon the estates of laymen, further than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune, as well to the public as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great squires, who, in reason, were never designed to be tenants, and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent as a subserviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with cheerfulness, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of 1000*l.* a-year talk with great contempt of bishops' leases, as being on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and he had certainly reason: my answer was, that such leases were originally intended only for the benefit of industrious husbandmen, who would think it a great blessing to be provided for, instead of having their farms screwed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find shoes for their children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by such a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen and false dealings in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to a highwayman before he attempts to take it by force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the sin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end, when a bookseller sent me a small pamphlet entitled "The Case of the Laity, with some Queries;" full of the strongest malice against the clergy that I have anywhere met with since the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. These kinds of advocates do infinite mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving grounds to the unjust reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear a hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majesty king George, and the house of Hanover, not shaken in the least by the hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a prince; if I sincerely abjure the pretender, and all popish successors; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king William, who preserved these kingdoms from popery and slavery with the expense of his blood and hazard of his life; and, lastly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all dissenters, I think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of me as a WHIG, and that my political catechism is full and complete. But whoever, under the shelter of that party denomination, and of many great professions of loyalty, would destroy or undermine, or injure the church established, I utterly disown him, and think he ought to choose another name of distinction for himself and his adherents. I came into the cause upon other principles, which, by the grace of God, I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the accusations of our adversaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.* The Tories and Jacobites will behold us with a malicious pleasure, determined upon the ruin of our friends. For is not the present set of bishops almost entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy? And a short time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned: he will be convinced that the reason still strongly exists for which that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder where can be the insufferable grievances that an ecclesiastical landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is at least as ancient and as legal as that of a layman, who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has the nation been thrown into confusion, and have many poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does the nation cry out to have a law that must in time send their bishops a-begging? but, God be thanked, the clamour of enemies to the church is not yet the cry, and I hope will never prove the voice, of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that the people maintain them, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those who are for preserving the happy constitution in church and state. Whoever were the proposers of such queries, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by showing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops at least are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the episcopal rent-roll almost one-half, let me suppose that all the church-lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in such a case sit

easier in their rents than they do now? or would the money be equally spent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards of absentees, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole income of Ireland is annually returned, to answer that single article of maintenance for Irish landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against pluralities and non-residence. As to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well understood. The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the glebes being generally lost, the tithes in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished, and the country depopulated, in order to preserve a face of Christianity, it was necessary to unite small vicarages sufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a minister. The profit of ten or a dozen of these unions seldom amounts to above 80*l.* or 100*l.* a-year. If there be a very few dignitaries whose preferments are perhaps more liable to this accusation, it is to be supposed they may be favourites of the time, or persons of superior merit, for whom there has ever been some indulgence in all governments.

As to non-residence, I believe there is no Christian country upon earth where the clergy have less to answer for upon that article. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom who, properly speaking, can be termed non-residents; for surely we are not to reckon in that number those who for want of glebes are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a cabin to put their heads in: the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the minister with an acre of ground. And, indeed, considering the difficulties the clergy lie under upon this head, it has been frequent matter of wonder to me how they are able to perform that part of their duty so well as they do.

There is a noble author, [Lord Molesworth,] who has lately addressed to the house of commons an excellent discourse for the encouragement of agriculture; full of most useful hints, which I hope that honourable assembly will consider as they deserve. I am no stranger to his lordship; and excepting in what relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniences in the payment of tithes upon the clergy and their proctors. His lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meanest farmer has all manner of advantages against the most powerful clergyman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the minister were ever so ill disposed; the whole system of teasing, perplexing, and defrauding the proctor or his master, being as well known to every ploughman as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides the leading man in the parish must have his tithes at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful observers, whose interest was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive, throughout the kingdom, one-half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordship's discontent against the bishops' court, I shall not interpose further than in venturing my private opinion that the clergy would be very glad to recover their just dues by a more short, decisive, and compulsive method, than such a cramped, limited jurisdiction will allow.

His lordship is not the only person disposed to give the clergy the honour of being the sole encouragers of all new improvements. If hops, hemp, flax, and twenty things more, are to be planted, the clergy alone must reward the industrious farmer by abatement of the tithe. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would please to abate proportionably in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man just dropped from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at least as reasonable?

I believe no man will dispute his lordship's title to his estate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of tithes, which he mentions with some emotion. I suppose the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the same reason that a maxim in law has more weight in the world than an article of faith. And yet I think there may be such a thing as sacrilege; because it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as described in Holy Writ. This I am sure of, that his lordship would at any time excuse a parliament for not concerning itself in his properties without his own consent.

The observations I have made upon his lordship's discourse have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my subject: however, since he has been pleased therein to offer some proposals to the house of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the desire of defending liberty and property, that he has so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law empowering the bishops to set fee-farms; and says, "Whoever intimates that they will deny their consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church." Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that I think whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument has either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half value contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli* for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical; which was grounded upon reasons that do still and must for ever subsist.

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN, &c.

THE HUMBLE REPRESENTATION OF THE CLERGY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

January, 1724.

My Lord.—Your grace having been pleased to communicate to us a certain brief by letters-patent for the relief of one Charles M'Carthy, whose house in College-green, Dublin, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having desired us to consider of the said brief, and give our opinions thereof to your grace:

We, the clergy of the city of Dublin, in compliance with your grace's desire, and with great acknowledgments for your paternal tenderness toward us, having maturely considered the said brief by letters-patent, compared the several parts of it with what is enjoined us by the Rubric, (which is confirmed by act of parliament,) and consulted persons skilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourselves and of the rest of our brethren, the clergy of the diocese of Dublin, most humbly represent to your grace:

First, That by this brief your grace is required and commanded to recommend and command all the parsons, vicars, &c., to advance so great an act of charity.

We shall not presume to determine how far your grace may be commanded by the said brief, but we

humbly conceive that the clergy of your diocese can not, by any law now in being, be commanded by your grace to advance the said act of charity any otherwise than by reading the said brief in our several churches, as prescribed by the Rubric.

Secondly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, "That the parsons, vicars, &c., upon the first Lord's-day or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the said brief, shall deliberately and affectionately publish and declare the tenour thereof to his majesty's subjects, and earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir them up to contribute freely and cheerfully toward the relief of the said sufferer:"

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or some solemn days legally appointed; neither is it possible for the strongest constitution among us to obey this command, (which includes no less than a whole sermon,) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every house where the parishes are very populous, consisting sometimes here in town of nine hundred or one thousand houses, would take up the space of a year, although we should preach in two families every day; and almost as much time in the country, where the parishes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the people too poor to receive us and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that these exhortations are commanded to be made in the church upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion that it is left to the discretion of the clergy to choose what subjects they think most proper to preach on, and at what times; and if they preach either false doctrines or seditious principles, they are liable to be punished.

It may possibly happen that the sufferer recommended may be a person not deserving the favour intended by the brief; in which case, no minister who knows the sufferer to be an undeserving person, can with a safe conscience deliberately and affectionately publish the brief, much less earnestly persuade, exhort, and stir up the people to contribute freely and cheerfully toward the relief of such a sufferer.*

Thirdly, Whereas, in the said brief, the ministers and curates are required, "on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from house to house, with their churchwardens, to ask and receive from all persons the said charity." We cannot but observe here that the said ministers are directly made collectors of the said charity, in conjunction with the churchwardens, which, however, we presume was not intended, as being against all law and precedent; and therefore we apprehend there may be some inconsistency, which leaves us at a loss how to proceed: for in the next paragraph the ministers and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the churchwardens, or procure some other of the chief inhabitants to do the same. And in a following paragraph the whole work seems left entirely to the churchwardens, who are required to use their utmost diligence to gather and collect the said charity, and to pay the same, in ten days after, to the parson, vicar, &c.

In answer to this, we do represent to your grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our churchwardens can be legally commanded or required to go from house to house to receive the said charity; because your grace has informed us in your order, at your visitation, A.D. 1712, "That neither we nor our churchwardens are bound to make any collections for the poor save in the church;" which also appears plainly by the Rubric, that appoints both time and place, as your grace has observed in your said order.

We do likewise assure your grace that it is not in our power to procure some of the chief inhabitants of our parishes to accompany the churchwardens from house to house in these collections; and we have reason to believe that such a proposal made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land) would be received in a manner very little to our own satisfaction or to the advantage of the said collections.

Fourthly, The brief does will, require, and command the bishops, and all other dignitaries of the church, "That they make their contributions distinctly, to be returned in the several provinces to the several archbishops of the same."

Upon which we take leave to observe that the terms of expression here are of the strongest kind, and in a point that may subject the said dignitaries (for we shall say nothing of the bishops) to great inconveniences.

The said dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions distinctly: by which it should seem that they are absolutely commanded to make contributions, (for the word *distinctly* is but a circumstance,) and may be understood not very agreeable to a voluntary, cheerful contribution. And therefore, if any bishop or dignitary should refuse to make his contribution, (perhaps for very good reasons,) he may be thought to incur the crime of disobedience to his majesty, which all good subjects abhor when such a command is according to law.

Most dignities of this kingdom consist only of parochial tithes, and the dignitaries are ministers of parishes. A doubt may therefore arise whether the said dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded to make their contributions in both capacities, distinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parsons or vicars.

Many dignities in this kingdom are the poorest kind of benefices; and it should seem hard to put poor dignitaries under the necessity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of exposing themselves to the censure of wanting charity by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to "let not our left hand know what our right hand doth;" which cannot well consist with our being willed, required, and commanded, by any earthly power, where no law is prescribed, to publish our charity to the world if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is said in the said brief, "That the parson, vicar, &c., of every parish shall, in six days after the receipt of the said charity, return it to his respective chancellor, &c." This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expense to the said parson, in remote and desolate parts of the country; where often an honest messenger (if such a one can be got) must be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably cost more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs should happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We observe in the said brief that the provost and fellows of the university, judges, officers of the court, and professors of laws, common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded to make their contributions, but that so good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we conceive that all his majesty's subjects are equally obliged, with or without his majesty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their ecclesiastical capacity, are only liable to such commands as the Rubric, or any other law, shall

* This M'Carthy's house was burnt in the month of August, 1723: and the universal opinion of mankind was, that M'Carthy himself was the person who set fire to the house.

enjoin, being born to the same privileges of freedom with the rest of his majesty's subjects.

We cannot but observe to your grace that in the English act of the fourth year of queen Anne, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters-patent, &c., the ministers are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from house to house with the churchwardens, nor to send the money collected to their respective chancellors, but to pay it to the undertaker or agent of the sufferer. So that we humbly hope the clergy of this kingdom shall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardships in this case than their brethren in England, where the legislature, intending to prevent the abuses in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of those difficulties we now complain of in the present brief by letters-patent for the relief of Charles M'Carthy aforesaid.

The collections upon the Lord's day are the principal support of our own numerous poor in our several parishes; and therefore every single brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, must deprive several thousands of poor of their weekly maintenance, for the sake only of one person, who often becomes a sufferer by his own folly or negligence, and is sure to overvalue his losses double or treble; so that if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the present brief should succeed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two persons, whereof not one in ten is deserving, and for the interest of a dozen dexterous clerks and secretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to starve.

We are credibly informed that neither the officers of the lord primate in preparing the report of his grace's opinion, nor those of the great seal in passing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a considerable sum: and thus the good intentions of well-disposed people are, in a great measure, disappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Lastly, We cannot but represent to your grace our great concern and grief to see the pains and labour of our churchwardens so much increased by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great disadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loss of time; to which great additions have been already made by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poorhouse, which they bear with great unwillingness; and if they shall find themselves further laden with such briefs as this of M'Carthy, it will prove so great a discouragement that we shall never be able to provide honest and sufficient persons for that weighty office of churchwarden, so necessary to the laity as well as the clergy in all things that relate to the order and regulation of parishes.

Upon all these considerations, we humbly hope that your grace, of whose fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderness we have had so many and great instances, will represent the case to his most excellent majesty, or the chief governor in this kingdom, in such a manner that we may be neither under the necessity of declining his majesty's commands in his letters-patent, or of taking new and grievous burdens upon ourselves and our churchwardens, to which neither the Rubric nor any other law in force obliges us to submit.

ON THE BILL

FOR THE CLERGY RESIDING ON THEIR LIVINGS.

Those gentlemen who have been promoted to bishoprics in this kingdom for several years past are of two sorts: first, certain private clergymen from England, who, by the force of friends, industry, solicitation, or other means and merits to me unknown, have been raised to that character by the *mero motu* of the crown.

Of the other sort are some clergymen born in this kingdom, who have most distinguished themselves by their warmth against popery, their great indulgence to dissenters and all true loyal Protestants; by their zeal for the house of Hanover, abhorrence of the pretender, and an implicit readiness to fall into any measures that will make the government easy to those who represent his majesty's person.

Some of the former kind are such as are said to have enjoyed tolerable preferments in England; and it is therefore much to their commendation that they have condescended to leave their native country, and come over hither to be bishops, merely to promote Christianity among us; and therefore, in my opinion, both their lordships and the many defenders they bring over may justly claim the merit of missionaries sent to convert a nation from heresy and heathenism.

Before I proceed further it may be proper to relate some particulars wherein the circumstances of the English clergy differ from those of Ireland.

The districts of parishes throughout England continue much the same as they were before the Reformation; and most of the churches are of the gothic architecture, built some hundred years ago; but the tithes of great numbers of churches having been applied by the pope's pretended authority to several abbeys, and even before the Reformation bestowed by that sacrilegious tyrant Henry VIII. on his ravenous favourites, the maintenance of an incumbent in most parts of the kingdom is contemptibly small: and yet a vicar there of 40*l.* a-year can live with more comfort than one of three times the nominal value with us. For his 40*l.* are duly paid him, because there is not one farmer in a hundred who is not worth five times the rent he pays to his landlord, and fifty times the sum demanded for the tithes; which, by the small compass of his parish, he can easily collect or compound for; and if his behaviour and understanding be supportable, he will probably receive presents, now and then, from his parishioners, and perhaps from the squire; who, although he may sometimes be apt to treat his parson a little superciliously, will probably be softened by a little humble demeanour. The vicar is likewise generally sure to find upon his admittance to his living a convenient house and barn in repair, with a garden, and a field or two to graze a few cows, and one horse for himself and his wife. He has probably a market very near him, perhaps in his own village. No entertainment is expected by his visitor beyond a pot of ale and a piece of cheese. He has every Sunday the comfort of a full congregation of plain, cleanly people of both sexes, well to pass, and who speak his own language. The scene about him is fully cultivated (I mean for the general) and well inhabited. He dreads no thieves for anything but his apples, for the trade of universal stealing is not so epidemic there as with us. His wife is little better than Goody, in her birth, education, or dress; and as to himself, we must let his parentage alone. If he be the son of a farmer it is very sufficient, and his sister may very decently be chambermaid to the squire's wife. He goes about on working days in a grazier's coat, and will not scruple to assist his workmen in harvest time. He is usually wary and thrifty,

and often more able to provide for a numerous family than some of ours can do with a rectory called 300*l.* a-year. His daughters shall go to service, or be sent apprentice to the sempstress of the next town; and his sons are put to honest trades. This is the usual course of an English country vicar, from 20*l.* to 60*l.* a-year.

As to the clergy of our own kingdom, their livings are generally larger. Not originally, or by the bounty of princes, parliaments, or charitable endowments, for the same degradations (and as to glebes, a much greater) have been made here, but, by the destruction and desolation in the long wars between the invaders and the natives; during which time a great part of the bishops' lands and almost all the glebes were lost in the confusion. The first invaders had almost the whole kingdom divided among them. New invaders succeeded, and drove out their predecessors as native Irish. These were expelled by others who came after, and upon the same pretensions. Thus it went on for several hundred years, and in some degree even to our own memories. And thus it will probably go on, although not in a martial way, to the end of the world. For not only the purchasers of debentures forfeited in 1641 were all of English birth, but those after the Restoration, and many who came hither even since the Revolution, are looked upon as perfect Irish; directly contrary to the practice of all wise nations, and particularly of the Greeks and Romans, in establishing their colonies, by which name Ireland is very absurdly called.

Under these distractions the conquerors always seized what lands they could with little ceremony, whether they belonged to the church or not: thus the glebes were almost universally exposed to the first seizers, and could never be recovered, although the grants, with the particular denominations, are manifest and still in being. The whole lands of the see of Waterford were wholly taken by one family; the like is reported of other bishoprics.

King James I., who deserves more of the church of Ireland than all other princes put together, having the forfeitures of vast tracts of land in the northern parts, (I think commonly called the escheated counties,) having granted some hundred thousand acres of these lands to certain Scotch and English favourites, was prevailed on by some great prelates to grant to some sees in the north, and to many parishes there, certain parcels of land for the augmentation of poor bishoprics, did likewise endow many parishes with glebes for the incumbents, whereof a good number escaped the depredations of 1641 and 1688. These lands, when they were granted by king James, consisted mostly of woody ground, wherewith those parts of this island were then overrun. This is well known, universally allowed, and by some in part remembered; the rest being, in some places, not stubbed out to this day. And the value of the lands was consequently very inconsiderable till Scotch colonies came over in swarms upon great encouragement to make them habitable, at least for such a race of strong-bodied people, who came hither from their own bleak barren highlands, as it were into a paradise; who soon were able to get straw for their bedding, instead of a bundle of heath spread on the ground and sprinkled with water. Here by degrees they acquired some degree of politeness and civility from such neighbouring Irish as were still left after Tyrone's last rebellion, and are since grown almost entire possessors of the north. Thus, at length, the woods being rooted up, the land was brought in and tilled, and the glebes, which could not before yield two-pence an acre, are equal to the best, sometimes affording the minister a good demesne, and some land to let.

These wars and desolations in their natural consequences were likewise the cause of another effect, I mean that of uniting several parishes under one incumbent. For, as the lands were of little value by the want of inhabitants to cultivate them, and many of the churches levelled to the ground, particularly by the fanatic zeal of those rebellious saints who murdered their king, destroyed the church, and overthrew monarchy; (for all which there is a humiliation-day appointed by law, and soon approaching;) so, in order to give a tolerable maintenance to a minister, and the country being too poor, as well as devotion too low, to think of building new churches, it was found necessary to repair some one church which had least suffered, and join sometimes three or more, enough for a bare support to some clergyman who knew not where to provide himself better. This was a case of absolute necessity, to prevent heathenism, as well as popery, from overrunning the nation. The consequence of these unions was very different in different parts; for, in the north, by the Scotch settlement, their numbers daily increasing by new additions from their own country, and their prolific quality peculiar to northern people; and, lastly, by their universally feeding upon oats, (which grain, under its several preparations and denominations, is the only natural luxury of that hardy people,) the value of tithes increased so prodigiously, that at this day, I confess, several united parishes ought to be divided, taking in so great a compass that it is almost impossible for the people to travel timely to their own parish church, or their little churches to contain half their number, though the revenue would be sufficient to maintain two, or perhaps three, worthy clergymen with decency; provided the times mend, or that they were honestly dealt with, which I confess is seldom the case. I shall name only one, and it is the deanery of Derry; the revenue whereof, if the dean could get his dues, exceeding that of some bishoprics, both by the compass and fertility of the soil, the number as well as industry of the inhabitants, the conveniency of exporting their corn to Dublin and foreign parts; and, lastly, by the accidental discovery of marl in many places of the several parishes. Yet all this revenue is wholly founded upon corn, for I am told there is hardly an acre of glebe for the dean to plant and build on.

I am therefore of opinion that a real undefalcated revenue of 600*l.* a-year is a sufficient income for a country dean in this kingdom; and since the rents consist wholly of tithes, two parishes, to the amount of that value, should be united, and the dean reside as minister in that of Down, and the remaining parishes be divided among worthy clergymen to about 300*l.* a-year to each. The deanery of Derry, which is a large city, might be left worth 800*l.* a-year, and Raphoe according as it shall be thought proper. These three are the only opulent deaneries in the whole kingdom, and, as I am informed, consist all of tithes, which was an unhappy expedient in the church, occasioned by the sacrilegious robberies during the several times of confusion and war; insomuch that at this day there is hardly any remainder left of dean and chapter lands in Ireland, that delicious morsel swallowed so greedily in England under the fanatic usurpations.

As to the present scheme of a bill for obliging the clergy to residence, now or lately in the privy council, I know no more of the particulars than what has been told me by several clergymen of distinction, who say that a petition in the name of them all has been presented to the lord-lieutenant and council, that they might be heard by their council against the bill, and that the petition was rejected, with some reasons why it was rejected; for the bishops are supposed to know best what is proper for the clergy. It seems the bill consists of two parts: first, a power in the bishops, with consent of the archbishop and the patron, to take off from any parish whatever it is worth above 300*l.* a-year; and this to be done without the incumbent's

consent, which before was necessary in all divisions. The other part of the bill obliges all clergymen, from 40*l.* a-year and upwards, to reside and build a house in his parish. But those of 40*l.* are remitted till they shall receive 100*l.* out of the revenue of first-fruits granted by her late majesty.

CONSIDERATIONS
UPON
TWO BILLS,

SENT DOWN FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF LORDS TO THE HONOURABLE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN IRELAND RELATING TO THE CLERGY.

Dublin, Feb. 24, 1731-2.

I HAVE often, for above a month past, desired some few clergymen who are pleased to visit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by some of the bishops, and both of them since passed in the house of lords: but I could never obtain what I desired, whether by the forgetfulness or negligence of those whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itself. Therefore, if I should happen to mistake in any fact of consequence, I desire my remarks upon it may pass for nothing; for my information is no better than what I received in words from several divines, who seemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one single prelate of the kingdom, and am a stranger to their characters, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on; therefore I cannot be supposed to act upon a principle of resentment. I esteem their functions (if I may be allowed to say so without offence) as truly apostolical, and absolutely necessary to the perfection of a Christian church.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of human kind than an indifference or insensibility for other men's sufferings, and a sudden forgetfulness of their own former humble state when they rise in the world. These two dispositions have not, I think, anywhere so strongly exerted themselves as in the order of bishops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reasons but such as naturally should seem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a most miserable race of beggarly farmers; at whose mercy every minister lies to be defrauded. His office, as rector or vicar, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As soon as he is promoted to a bishopric the scene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large and as surely paid as those of the king; his whole business is once a-year to receive the attendance, the submission, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the diocese he shall please to think most convenient for himself. Neither is his personal presence necessary, for the business may be done by a vicar-general. The fatigue of ordination is just what the bishops please to make it; and as matters have been for some time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The rest of their visible office consists in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and bestowing preferments in their own gifts; in which last employment, and in their spiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their vicars-general, secretaries, proctors, apparitors, seneschals, and the like. Now, I say, in so quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their subjects, it would be reasonable at least to hope that the labour, confinement, and subjection, from which they have so lately escaped, like a bird out of the snare of the fowler, might a little incline them to remember the condition of those who were but last week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and possibly as reasonable expectants. There is a known story of colonel Tidcomb, who, while he continued a subaltern officer, was every day complaining against the pride, oppression, and hard treatment of colonels toward their officers; yet, in a very minute after he had received his commission for a regiment, walking with a friend on the Mall, he confessed that the spirit of colonelship was coming fast upon him: which spirit is said to have daily increased to the hour of his death.

It is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are promoted to bishoprics, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but, however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion were known by their plain Christian names among their old companions, the middling rate of clergymen; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it has too often happened.

I confess I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert as our clergy have done in a point where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church, in their spiritual functions. This has been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hopes of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings; yet we know what expert solicitors the Quakers, the Dissenters, and even the Papists, have sometimes found, to drive a point of advantage or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bills introduced by the bishops in the privy council; where the clergy, upon some failure in favour, or through the timorousness of many among their brethren, were refused to be heard by the council. It seems these bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in England; and the house of lords has, with great expedition, passed them both; and it is said they are immediately to be sent down to the commons for their consent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:—

By one of the bills the bishops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a mansion-house upon whatever part of their glebes their lordships shall command; and if the living be above 50*l.* a-year, the minister is bound to build, after three years, a house that shall cost one year and a half's rent of his income. For instance, if a clergyman with a wife and seven children gets a living of 55*l.* per annum, he must, after three years, build a house that shall cost 77*l.* 10*s.* and must support his family, during the time the bishop shall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50*l.* a-year, the minister shall be allowed 100*l.* out of the first-fruits.

But there is said to be one circumstance a little extraordinary; that if there be a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church, or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building, the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration, an office which ever falls into the most knavish hands,) upon whatever point his lordship shall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his due.

I believe, under the present distresses of the kingdom, (which inevitably without a miracle must increase for ever,) there are not ten country clergymen in Ireland reputed to possess a parish of 100*l.* per annum, who

for some years past have actually received 60*l.*, and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loss what kind of valuators the bishops will make use of; and whether the starving vicar shall be forced to build his house with the money he never received.

The other bill, which passed in two days after the former, is said to concern the division of parishes into as many parcels as the bishop shall think fit, only leaving 300*l.* a-year to the mother church; which 300*l.*, by another act passed some years ago, they can divide likewise, and crumble as low as their will and pleasure will dispose them. So that, instead of six hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the usual computation, we may have, in a small compass of years, almost as many thousands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hospitality.

But it is very reasonable to hope, and heartily to be wished by all those who have the least regard to our holy religion, as hitherto established, or to a learned, pious, diligent, conversable clergyman, or even to common humanity, that the honourable house of commons will, in their great wisdom, justice, and tenderness to innocent men, consider these bills in another light. It is said they well know this kingdom not to be so overstocked with neighbouring gentry; but a discreet learned clergyman, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a useful, and sometimes a necessary companion. That, although such a clergyman may not be able constantly to find beef and wine for his own family, yet he may be allowed sometimes to afford both to a neighbour without distressing himself; and the rather, because he may expect at least as good a return. It will probably be considered that in many desolate parts there may not be always a sufficient number of persons considerable enough to be trusted with commissions of the peace, which several of the clergy now supply, much better than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate vicar from 20*l.* to 50*l.* a-year, the son of a weaver, pedler, tailor, or miller, can be presumed to do.

The landlords and farmers, by this scheme, can find no profit; but will certainly be losers. For instance, if the large northern livings be split into a dozen parishes or more, it will be very necessary for the little threadbare gownman, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harvest-time, for fear of losing a single sheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's starving; for, according to the Scotch proverb, a hungry louse bites sore. This would of necessity breed an infinite number of wrangles and litigious suits in the spiritual courts; and put the wretched pastor at perpetual variance with his whole parish. But as they have hitherto stood, a clergyman established in a competent living is not under the necessity of being so sharp, vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it is well known and allowed that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated if they lose only one single third of their legal demands.

The honourable house may perhaps be inclined to conceive that my lords the bishops enjoy as ample a power, both spiritual and temporal, as will fully suffice to answer every branch of their office; that they want no laws to regulate the conduct of those clergymen over whom they preside; that if non-residence be a grievance, it is the patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or caused the plurality. That if the general impartial character of persons chosen into the church had been more regarded, and the motive of party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill judgment, or personal favour regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blamable behaviour, or any other part of misconduct; not to mention ignorance and stupidity.

I could name certain gentlemen of the gown, whose awkward, spruce, prim, sneering, and smirking countenances, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly strut in their walk, without one single talent for any one office, having contrived to get good preferment by the mere force of flattery and cringing: for which two virtues (the only two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, utterly unqualified; and whom, if I were in power, although they were my nephews or had married my nieces, I could never, in point of good conscience or honour, have recommended to a curacy in Connaught.

The honourable house of commons may likewise perhaps consider that the gentry of this kingdom differ from all others upon earth, being less capable of employments in their own country than any others who come from abroad; and that most of them have little expectation of providing for their younger children otherwise than by the church, in which there might be some hopes of getting a tolerable maintenance. For, after the patrons should have settled their sons, their nephews, their nieces, their dependents, and their followers invited over from the other side, there would still remain an overplus of smaller church preferments, to be given to such clergy of the nation who shall have their quantum of whatever merit may be then in fashion. But by these bills they will be all as absolutely excluded as if they had passed under the denomination of Tories, unless they can be contented at the utmost with 50*l.* a-year; which, by the difficulties of collecting tithes in Ireland and the daily increasing miseries of the people, will hardly rise to half that sum.

It is observed that the divines sent over hither to govern this church have not seemed to consider the difference between both kingdoms with respect to the inferior clergy. As to themselves, indeed, they find a large revenue in lands, let at one quarter value, which consequently must be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public distress so little affects their interests, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themselves to suppose that whatever a parish is said to be worth comes all into the parson's pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England has been the continual complaint of all men who wish well to the church, and many schemes have been thought of to redress it; yet an English vicar of 40*l.* a-year lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally speaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he has a decent church of ancient standing, filled every Lord's-day with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themselves as if they believed in God and Christ. He has a house and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No guest expects more from him than a pot of ale; he lives like an honest, plain farmer, as his wife is dressed but little better than Goody. He is sometimes graciously invited by the squire, where he sits at a humble distance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little useful presents; he is happy by being born to no higher expectation; for he is usually the son of some ordinary tradesman or middling farmer. His learning is much of a size with his birth and education; no more of either than what a poor hungry servitor can be expected to bring with him from his college. It would be tedious to show the reverse of all this in our distant poorer parishes through most parts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the comparison.

Lastly, the honourable house of commons may consider whether the scheme of multiplying beggarly clergymen through the whole kingdom, who must all have

votes for choosing parliament-men, (provided they can prove their freeholds to be worth 40s. per annum, *ultra reprisas*,) may not, by their numbers, have great influence upon elections, being entirely under the dependence of their bishops. For, by a moderate computation, after all the divisions and subdivisions of parishes that my lords the bishops have power to make by their new laws, there will, as soon as the present set of clergy goes off, be raised an army of ecclesiastical militants, able enough for any kind of service except that of the altar.

I am indeed in some concern about a fund for building a thousand or two churches, wherein these probationers may read their wall lectures; and begin to doubt they must be contented with barns, which barns will be one great advancing step toward an accommodation with our true Protestant brethren the dissenters.

The scheme of encouraging clergymen to build houses, by dividing a living of 500*l.* a-year into ten parts, is a contrivance the meaning whereof has got on the wrong side of my comprehension; unless it may be argued that bishops build no houses because they are so rich, and therefore the inferior clergy will certainly build if you reduce them to beggary. But I knew a very rich man of quality in England who could never be persuaded to keep a servant out of livery, because such servants would be expensive, and apt in time to look like gentlemen; whereas the others were ready to submit to the basest offices, and at a cheaper penny-worth might increase his retinue.

I hear it is the opinion of many wise men that before these bills pass both houses they should be sent back to England with the following clauses inserted:

First, that whereas there may be about a dozen double bishoprics in Ireland, those bishoprics should be split, and given to different persons; and those of a single denomination be also divided into two, three, or four parts, as occasion shall require; otherwise there may be a question started whether twenty-two prelates can effectually extend their paternal care and unlimited power for the protection and correction of so great a number of spiritual subjects. But this proposal will meet with such furious objections that I shall not insist upon it; for I well remember to have read what a terrible fright the frogs were in upon a report that the sun was going to marry.

Another clause should be, that none of these twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be suffered to marry, under the penalty of immediate deprivation, their marriages declared null, and their children bastards; for some desponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging so numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clause will be necessary, that these humble gentry should be absolutely disqualified from giving votes in elections for parliament-men.

Others add a fourth; which is, a clause of indulgence, that these reduced divines may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their spiritual offices; for, unless I misapprehend, they are supposed to have episcopal ordination. For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor; they may let blood or apply plasters for three miles round; they may get a dispensation to hold the clerkship and sextonship of their own parish *in commendam*. Their wives and daughters may make shirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a barrack be near, for the soldiers: in linen countries they may card and spin, and keep a few looms in the house; they may let lodgings, and sell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unless to sober company and at regular hours. It is by some thought a little hard that in an affair of the last consequence to the very being of the clergy in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the established instructors of the nation in Christianity and moral virtues, and are the only persons concerned, should be the sole persons not consulted. Let any scholar show the like precedent in Christendom for twelve hundred years past. An act of parliament for settling or selling an estate in a private family is never passed until all parties give consent. But in the present case the whole body of the clergy is, as themselves apprehend, determined to utter ruin, without once expecting or asking their opinion; and this by a scheme contrived only by one part of the convocation, while the other part, which has been chosen in the usual forms, wants only the regal permission to assemble and consult about the affairs of the church, as their predecessors have always done in former ages; where it is presumed the lower house has a power of proposing canons, and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (say these objectors) that there should be a real separate interest between the bishops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or Christ and his church.

It seems there is a provision in the bill that no parish shall be cut into scraps without the consent of several persons, who can be no sufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the clergy lay much weight on this caution; because they argue that the very persons from whom these bills took their rise will have the greatest share in the decision.

I do not by any means conceive the crying sin of the clergy in this kingdom to be that of non-residence. I am sure it is many degrees less so here than in England, unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed: I believe upon a fair inquiry (and I hear an inquiry is to be made) they will appear to be most pardonably few; especially considering how many parishes have not an inch of glebe, and how difficult it is upon any reasonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore God knows whether my lords the bishops will be soon able to convince the clergy, or those who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their lordships' minds by procuring these bills was to prevent the sin of non-residence; while the universal opinion of almost every clergyman in the kingdom, without distinction of party, taking in even those who are not likely to be sufferers, stands directly against them.

If some livings in the north may be justly thought too large a compass of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remotest inhabitants to attend the service of the church, which in some instances may be true, no reasonable clergyman would oppose a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus, for instance, the deanery of Down, a country deanery I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon a union of parishes joined together in a time when the land lay waste and thinly inhabited, since those circumstances are so prodigiously changed for the better, may properly be lessened, leaving a decent competency to the dean, and placing rectories in the remaining churches, which are now served only by stipendiary curates.

The case may be probably the same in other parts: and such a proceeding, discreetly managed, would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be observed that the dean and chapter lands, which in England were all seized under the fanatic usurpation, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long ravished from the church by a succession of confusions, and tithes applied in their stead to support that ecclesiastical dignity.

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The late archbishop of Dublin [Dr. Wm. King] had a very different way of encouraging the clergy of his diocese to residence: when a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent, and with no great abatement of the fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not that almost every bishop in the kingdom may do the same generous act, with less damage to their sees than his late grace of Dublin, much of whose lands were nut in fee-farms, or leases for lives; and I am sorry that the good example of such a prelate has not been followed.

But a great majority of the clergy's friends cannot hitherto reconcile themselves to this project, which they call a levelling principle, that must inevitably root out the seeds of all honest emulation, the legal parent of the greatest virtue and most generous actions among men; but which, in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own), will never more have room to exert itself in the breast of any clergyman whom this kingdom shall produce.

But whether the consequences of these bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future bishops sent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I shall not presume to determine, since God can work the former out of the latter. However, one thing I can venture to assert, that from the earliest ages of Christianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of such a proceeding; much less was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended, from such hands in any Christian country; and so it may pass for more than a phœnix, because it has risen without any assistance from the ashes of its sire.

The appearance of so many dissenters at the hearing of this cause, is what, I am told, has not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; because that action has been censured as a mark of triumph and insult before the victory is complete: since neither of these bills has yet passed the house of commons, and some are pleased to think it not impossible that they may be rejected. Neither do I hear that there is an enacting clause in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or subdivided tithes toward increasing the stipends of the sectaries. So that these gentlemen seem to be gratified like him who, after having been kicked down stairs, took comfort when he saw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections against several particulars of both these bills; but they are of a high nature, and carry such dreadful innuendoes, that I dare not mention them; resolving to give no offence, because I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of those who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the score of disaffection; whereof I am at least as innocent as the loudest of my detractors.

SOME REASONS

AGAINST THE BILL FOR SETTLING THE TITHE OF HEMP, FLAX, &c., BY A MODUS [a]

The clergy did little expect to have any cause of complaint against the present house of commons, who in the last session were pleased to throw out a bill sent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them if it passed into a law; and who, in the present session, defeated the arts and endeavours of schismatics to repeal the sacramental test.

For although it has been allowed on all hands, that the former of those bills might, by its necessary consequences, be very displeasing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom, for many reasons purely secular, and that this last attempt for repealing the test did much more affect at present the temporal interest than the spiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both these occasions, expressed equal gratitude to that honourable house for their justice and steadiness, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It must needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that such an assembly as the present house of commons should now, with an expedition more than usual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, with a clause whereby the church is to lose two parts in three of the legal tithe in flax and hemp.

Some reasons why the clergy think such a law will be a great hardship upon them are, I conceive, those that follow. I shall venture to enumerate them, with all deference due to that honourable assembly:—

First, the clergy suppose that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the displeasure of the nation's representatives; neither can the declared loyalty of the present set, from the highest prelate to the lowest vicar, be in the least disputed; because there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom, residing some part of the year at his country-seat, who is not in his own conscience fully convinced that the tithes of his minister have gradually sunk for some years past one-third, or at least one-fourth of their former value, exclusive of all non-solvencies.

The payment of tithes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from Papists and Dissenters, but even from those who profess themselves Protestants, that, by the expense, the trouble, and vexation of collecting and bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tithes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains; and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, they alone must be the sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of 3000*l.* a-year paid by the public for a further encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge with the rest of their fellow-subjects? What satisfactory reason can be therefore given why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alleged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men? They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours, the landlords, possess their estates; and have been always supposed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title

[a] A bill was presented in the Irish house of commons for encouraging the growth of flax, by which it was provided that the tithe upon that production should be commuted for a certain sum, or composition in money. But the opposition to the bill (principally caused by this pamphlet) proved so effectual that it was dropped.

[a] For the bishops to divide livings.

for no families now in being can show a more ancient. Indeed, if it be true that some persons (I hope they were not many) were seen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this case an opinion may possibly be soon advanced that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground in proportion as the contempt of all religion shall increase, which is already in a very forward way.

It is said there will be also added to this bill a clause for diminishing the tithe of hops, in order to cultivate that useful plant among us; and here likewise the load is to lie entirely on the shoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be easy to foresee where such proceedings are likely to stop; or whether by the same authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as justly challenge the same power in reducing all things titheable not below the tenth part of the product (which is, and ever will be, the clergy's equitable right), but from a tenth part to a sixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by skilful persons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament, without their own consent, is a new thing, not much above the date of seventy years; before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themselves. But things are extremely altered at present: it is not now sufficient to tax them in common with their fellow-subjects, without imposing an additional tax upon them, from which, or from anything equivalent, all their fellow-subjects are exempt: and this in a country professing Christianity.

The greatest part of the clergy throughout this kingdom have been stripped of their glebes by the confusion of times, by violence, fraud, oppression, and other unlawful means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords, for a small piece of ground in their parishes, at a most exorbitant rent, and usually for a short term of years, whereon to build a house and enable them to reside. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, I am a witness that they are generally more constant residents than their brethren in England; where the meanest vicar has a convenient dwelling, with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle; besides the certainty of his little income from honest farmers, able and willing, not only to pay him his dues, but likewise to make him presents, according to their ability, for his better support. In all which circumstances the clergy of Ireland meet with a treatment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable house will consider that it is impossible for the most ill-minded, avaricious, or cunning clergyman, to do the least injustice to the meanest cottager in his parish, in any bargain for tithes, or other ecclesiastical dues. He can at the utmost only demand to have his tithes fairly laid out; and does not once in an hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the poorest cottager to the most substantial farmer, can, and generally does impose upon the minister, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by insolence, and sometimes by force; notwithstanding the utmost vigilance and skill of himself and his proctor; insomuch, that it is allowed that the clergy in general receive little more than one-half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land-rents of Ireland are computed to about 2,000,000*l.*, whereof one-tenth amounts to 200,000*l.* The beneficed clergymen, excluding those of this city, are not reckoned to be above 500; by which computation they should each of them possess 200*l.* a-year, if those tithes were equally divided, although in well-cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one-half of that sum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are, indeed, a few glebes in the north pretty considerable; but if these, and all the rest, were in like manner equally divided, they would not add 5*l.* a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be justly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility, nor gentry, nor tradesmen, nor farmers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I say, is submitted to the honourable house.

One terrible circumstance in this bill is that of turning the tithe of flax and hemp into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain sum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many parishes by ancient custom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almost incredible sufferers. Thus, in the present case, the tithe of a tolerable acre of flax, which by a medium is worth 12*s.*, is by the present bill reduced to 4*s.* Neither is this the worst part in a *modus*; every determinate sum must in process of time sink from a-fourth to a four-and-twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that necessary fall attending the value of money; which is now at least nine-tenths lower all over Europe than it was 400 years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a-third part at least, within our own memories, in purchasing almost everything required for the necessities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can attest who has kept house for twenty years past. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impossibility that this kingdom should ever thrive under its present disadvantages, which, without a miracle, must still increase, yet when the whole cash of the nation shall sink to 50,000*l.*, we must, in all our traffic abroad, either of import or export, go by the general rate at which money is valued in those countries that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reason no corporation (if the clergy may presume to call themselves one) should by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity, upon any consideration whatsoever, which is a rock that many corporations have split upon, to their great impoverishment, and sometimes to their utter undoing; because they are supposed to subsist for ever, and because no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinsic value. This is known enough in England, where estates let for ever, some hundred years ago, by several ancient noble families, do not at this present pay their posterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an easy rate.

A tax affecting one part of a nation which already bears its full share in all parliamentary impositions, cannot possibly be just, except it be inflicted as a punishment upon that body of men which is taxed for some great demerit or danger to the public apprehended from those upon whom it is laid; thus the Papists and Nonjurors have been doubly taxed for refusing to give proper securities to the government, which cannot be objected against the clergy. And therefore, if this bill should pass, I think it ought to be with a preface, showing wherein they have offended, and for what disaffection or other crime they are punished.

If an additional excise upon ale, or a duty upon flesh and bread, were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, nor baker would bear any more of the charge than for what themselves consumed, but it would be an equal general tax through the whole kingdom: whereas, by this bill, the clergy alone are avowedly condemned to be deprived of their ancient, inherent, undisputed rights, in order to encourage a manufacture, by which all the rest of the kingdom are supposed to be gainers.

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This bill is directly against *Magna Charta*; whereof the first clause is, for confirming the inviolable rights of holy church; as well as contrary to the oath taken by all our kings at their coronation, where they swear to defend and protect the church in all its rights.

A tax laid upon employments is a very different thing. The possessors of civil and military employments are no corporation; neither are they any part of our constitution; their salaries, pay, and perquisites are all changeable at the pleasure of the prince who bestows them, although the army be paid from funds raised and appropriated by the legislature. But the clergy, as they have little reason to expect, so they desire no more then their ancient legal dues, (only indeed with the removal of many grievous impediments in the collection of them,) which it is to be feared they must wait for until more favourable times. It is well known that they have already, of their own accord, shown great indulgence to their people upon this very article of flax, seldom taking above a-fourth part of their tithe for small parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners, waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until greater quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never suspecting that their good intentions should be perverted in so singular a manner, to their detriment, by that very assembly which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our constitution ever since Christianity became national among us) are thought fit to be suspended, God knows for what reason or from what provocations: I say, from that very assembly who, during the intervals of convocations, should rather be supposed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the least attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon inquiry, that any of those gentlemen, who among us without doors are called the court party, discover the least zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpose, it might be conceived they would show their displeasure against this bill, which must very much lessen the value of the king's patronage upon promotion to vacant sees, in the disposal of deaneries, and other considerable preferments in the church which are in the donation of the crown, whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to bestow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a sufficient stock of that sort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times most prevail.

The dissenters, by not succeeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the test, have lost nothing, but continue in full enjoyment of their toleration, while the clergy, without giving the least offence, are by this bill deprived of a considerable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the schismatical party will have the pleasure of gratifying their revenge—*hoc Graii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, because when his present lease shall expire his landlord will infallibly raise the rent in an equal proportion, upon every part of land where flax is sown, and have so much a better security for payment at the expense of the clergy.

If we judge by things past, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever consent that a law shall expire by which he finds himself a gainer; and of this there are many examples, as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill is, by proper encouragement, to extend the linen manufacture into those counties where it has hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of lessening the tithe of flax and hemp is one of such a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Because, if I am rightly informed, no set of men has, for their number and fortunes, been more industrious and successful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it; by persuading their people to sow flax and hemp, by procuring seed for them, and by having them instructed in the management thereof; and this they did, not without reasonable hopes of increasing the value of their parishes after some time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the public. But if this *modus* should take place, the clergy will be so far from gaining, that they will become losers by their extraordinary care, by having their best arable lands turned to flax and hemp which are reckoned great impoverishers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed if they should show as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their parishes as they hitherto have shown in the introducing and improving of it. This, I am told, some of them have already declared; at least so far as to resolve not to give themselves any more trouble than other men about promoting a manufacture, by the success of which they only, of all men, are to be sufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law does, as it now stands, to a set of men, who might on many accounts be so useful to this purpose, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually answered; but this is what they are far from desiring: all they petition for is no more than to continue on the same footing with the rest of their fellow-subjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to pass into a law, it were to be wished that the same law would not only appoint one or more sworn surveyors in each parish to measure the lands on which flax and hemp are sown, but also settle the price of surveying and determine whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual survey. Without something of this kind there must constantly be disputes between them, and the neighbouring justices of peace must be teased as often as those disputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was sent to me with several reasons against the bill, some whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the rest did not occur to me. I shall deliver them in the author's own words:—

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; and, if not of divine original, yet at least of great antiquity.

II. That all purchases and leases of titheable lands, for many centuries past, have been made and taken, subject to the demand of tithes, and those lands sold and taken just so much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of such tithes lessened by act of parliament, so much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and vested in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending person can be so deprived of his property, without the greatest violation of common justice.

V. That to do this upon a prospect of encouraging the linen, or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very mistaken and unjust supposition, inasmuch as the price of the lands so occupied will be no way lessened to the farmer by such a law.

VI. That the clergy are content cheerfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow-subjects, either for the support of his majesty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation; but think it very hard that they should be singled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time when, by the decrease of the value of their parishes, they are less able to bear them.

VII. That the legislature has heretofore distin-

guished the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the present clergy of the kingdom hope they have not deserved worse of the legislature than their predecessors.

VIII. That by the original constitution of these kingdoms the clergy had the sole right of taxing themselves, and were in possession of that right as low as the Restoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons by the cession of the clergy, the commons can be considered, in this case, in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That besides those tithes always in the possession of the clergy, there are some portions of tithes lately come into their possession by purchase; that if this clause should take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of these purchases, upon an equal footing of advantage with the rest of their fellow-subjects. And that some tithes, in the hands of impropriators, are under settlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this house should consider that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children; with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer, to give to the elder and richer; and,

Lastly, That if it were at any time just and proper to do this, it would, however, be too severe to do it now, when all the tithes of the kingdom are known, for some years past, to have sunk above one-third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy is at least as useful to the public as the same income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reasonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional support than to diminish their present subsistence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Englishmen; nothing left for the younger sons of Irishmen, but vicarages, tide-waiters' places, &c.; therefore no reason to make them worse.

The *modus* upon the flax in England affects only lands reclaimed since the year 1690, and is at the rate of 5*s*. the English acre, which is equivalent to 8*s*. 8*d*. Irish, and that to be paid before the farmer removes it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little consequence in England, but is the staple in Ireland; and if it increases (as it probably will) must, in many places, jostle out corn, because it is more gainful.

The clergy of the established church have no interest, like those of the church of Rome, distinct from the true interest of their country; and therefore ought to suffer under no distinct impositions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for settling the *modus* of flax in England was brought in the first year of the reign of king George I., when the clergy lay very unjustly under the imputation of some disaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of some fens in Lincolnshire, which were not to be continued under flax; but it left all lands, where flax had been sown before that time, under the same condition of tithing in which they were before the passing of that bill; whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually possessed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the staple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland: yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tithe of wool, for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture has already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with less than half, some with 6*d*. a garden, and some have taken nothing.

Employments, they say, have been taxed, the reasons for which taxation will not hold with regard to property, at least till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had so tender a regard to property, that they never would suffer any law to pass whereby any particular persons might be aggrieved, without their own consent.

N. B. Some alterations have been made in the bill about the *modus*, since the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.

A LETTER

FROM A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN IRELAND TO A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN ENGLAND, CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTAL TEST.

In the "Miscellanies," published by Morphew, in 1711, the following advertisement, evidently dictated by Dr. Swift, is prefixed:—

"The following letter is supposed, by some judicious persons, to be of the same author, and if their conjectures be right, it will be of no disadvantage to him to have it revived, considering the time when it was writ, the persons then at the helm, and the designs in agitation, against which this paper so boldly appeared. I have been assured that the suspicion which the supposed author lay under for writing this letter absolutely ruined him with the late ministry. I have taken leave to omit about a page, which was purely personal, and of no use to the subject."

The pamphlet materially contributed to the loss of the bill for repeal of the Test Act, during the earl of Pembroke's viceroyalty.

SIR, Dublin, December 4, 1708.

I RECEIVED your letter, wherein you tell me of the strange representations made of us on your side of the water. The instance you are pleased to mention is that of the Presbyterian missionary, who, according to your phrase, has been lately persecuted at Drogheda for his religion; but it is easy to observe how mighty industrious some people have been, for three or four years past, to hand about stories of the hardships, the merits, the number, and the power of the Presbyterians in Ireland: to raise formidable ideas of the dangers of Popery there, and to transmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with special care to have them inserted with comments, in those infamous weekly papers that infest your coffee-houses. So when the clause enacting a Sacramental Test was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the justices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commissions; whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and those generally of the lowest rate in fortune and understanding, and some of them superannuated. So when the earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament sitting, a formal story was very gravely carried to his excellency by some zealous members, of a priest newly arrived from abroad to the north-west parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people, to fall a murdering the Protestants; which, though invented to serve an end they were then upon, and are still driving at, was presently handed over, and printed with shrewd remarks by your worthy scribblers. In like manner the account of that person, who was lately expelled our university for reflecting on the memory of king William: what a dust it raised, and how foully it was related, is fresh enough in memory.[a] Neither would people be convinced, till the university was at the pains of publishing a Latin paper to justify themselves. And to mention no more, this story of the persecution at Drogheda, how it has been spread and aggravated, what consequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on those who have least deserved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a secret and mystery, I should not pretend to give it an interpreta-

[a] The provost and fellows of Trinity College expelled Edward Forbes for the cause mentioned.

tion; but sufficient care has been taken to explain it, first by addresses artificially (if not illegally) procured to show the miserable state of the dissenters in Ireland, by reason of the Sacramental Test, and to desire the queen's intercession that it might be repealed. Then, it is manifest that our Speaker,[a] when he was last year in England, solicited in person several members of both houses to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot possibly interfere with the trade and interest of England; and though he himself appeared formerly the most zealous of all men, against the injustice of binding a nation by laws to which they do not consent. And, lastly, those weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application against the Sacramental Test, and the absolute necessity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakness to say anything of such trifles as are below a serious man's notice; much less would I disparage the understanding of any party, to think they would choose the vilest and most ignorant among mankind to employ them for the assertors of a cause. I shall only say, that the scandalous liberty those wretches take would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that some men would be glad to advance. Besides, how insipid soever those papers are, they seem to be levelled to the understandings of a great number; they are grown a necessary part in coffee-house furniture, and some time or other may happen to be read by customers of all ranks, for curiosity and amusement, because they lie always in the way. One of these authors (the fellow that was pillored, I have forgot his name) [Daniel Defoe] is indeed so grave, sententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the Observator [Mr. John Tutchin] is much the brisker of the two, and I think further gone of late in lies and impudence, than his Presbyterian brother. The reason why I mention him is, to have an occasion of letting you know, that you have not dealt so gallantly with us as we did with you in a parallel case. Last year a paper was brought here from England, called "A Dialogue between the archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Higgins," which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deserved, though we have no more to do with his grace of Canterbury [Dr. Thomas Tenison] than you have with the archbishop of Dublin [Dr. William King]; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely suffer to be abused openly, and by name, by that paltry rascal of an Observator; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern, I mean the business of the missionary of Drogheda, wherein our excellent primate was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and discretion. But because the lord archbishop of Dublin has been upon several occasions of late years misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character.[b] For his great sufferings and eminent services he was, by the late king, promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the Revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the king, as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture.[c] And as his grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the Protestant line, and for ever excluding the pretender; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence toward dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect; yet, upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deeply into any party, but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards: in short, in the practice of all virtues that can become a public or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by such mean and dirty hands as those of the Observator, or such as employ him.

[a] Allan Broderick, esq., formerly solicitor-general of Ireland.

[b] This character of archbishop King is retained in the "Miscellany" of 1727, edited by Pope, but erased in the Dublin edition.

[c] Dr. King was twice imprisoned in the castle of Dublin after the landing of king James in Ireland, in 1699, and narrowly escaped assassination.

I now come to answer the other part of your letter, and shall give you my opinion freely about repealing the Sacramental Test; only, whereas you desire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I must assure you they are exactly the same in both capacities.

I must begin by telling you we are generally surprised at your wonderful kindness to us on this occasion, it being so very industrious to teach us to see our interest in a point where we are so unable to see it ourselves. This has given us some suspicion; and though in my own particular I am hugely bent to believe that whenever you concern yourselves in our affairs it is certainly for our good, yet I have the misfortune to be something singular in this belief; and therefore I never attempt to justify it, but content myself to possess my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words than I have to spare.

We at this distance, who see nothing of the spring of actions, are forced, by mere conjecture, to assign two reasons for your desiring us to repeal the Sacramental Test. One is, because you are said to imagine it will be a step toward the like good work in England; the other more immediate, that it will open a way for rewarding several persons who have well deserved upon a great occasion, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, especially English; but I remember there is in some of Mr. Cowley's love verses a strain that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often since imagined it to be spoken by Ireland:—

> "Forbid it, heaven, my life should be
> Weigh'd with her least convenience."

In short, whatever advantage you propose to yourselves by repealing the Sacramental Test, speak it out plainly; it is the best argument you can use, for we value your interest much more than our own; if your little finger be sore, and you think a poultice made of our vitals will give it any ease, speak the word and it shall be done: the interest of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to strike to that of your poorest fishing towns; it is hard you will not accept our services, unless we believe at the same time that you are only consulting our profit and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at some distance, and I immediately blow up my house before there be occasion, because you are a man of quality and apprehend some danger to a corner of your stable, yet why should you require me to attend next morning at your levee with my humble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourselves, we had abundance of benefit by the Sacramental Test, and foresee a number of mischiefs would be the consequence

of repealing it; and we conceive the objections made against it by the dissenters are of no manner of force. They tell us of their merits in the late war in Ireland, and how cheerfully they engaged for the safety of the nation; that if they had thought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal, and that for the future they shall sit down quietly and let us do our work ourselves; nay, that it is necessary they should do so, since they cannot take up arms under the penalty of high treason.

Now supposing them to have done their duty, as I believe they did, (and not to trouble them about the fly on the wheel,) I thought liberty, property, and religion had been the three subjects of the quarrel; and have not all those been amply secured to them? had they not at that time a mental reservation for power and employments? and must these two articles be added henceforward in our national quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among some men to melt down the phrase of a church established by law into that of the religion of the magistrate; of which appellation it is easier to find the reason than the sense: if by the magistrate they mean the prince, the expression includes a falsehood; for when king James was prince, the established church was the same as it is now. If by the same word they mean the legislature, we desire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one established by law, and are willing by the same law to give a toleration to Dissenters; but if once we repeal our Sacramental Test and grant a toleration, or suspend the execution of the penal laws, I do not see how we can be said to have any established church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many established churches as there are sects of dissenters. No, say they, yours will still be the national church, because your bishops and clergy are maintained by the public; but that I suppose will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjust it should, because, to speak in Tindal's phrase, it is not reasonable that revenues should be annexed to one opinion more than another when all are equally lawful; and it is the same author's maxim, that no freeborn subject ought to pay for maintaining speculations he does not believe. But why should any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived of the opportunity of serving his queen and country? Their zeal is commendable, and when employments go a-begging for want of hands, they shall be sure to have the refusal, only upon condition they will not pretend to them upon maxims which equally include atheists, Turks, Jews, infidels, and heretics; or, which is still more dangerous, even Papists themselves: the former you allow, the other you deny; because these last own a foreign power, and therefore must be shut out. But there is no great weight in this; for their religion can suit with free states, with limited or absolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the pope's power in France is but a shadow; so that, upon this foot, there need be no great danger to the constitution by admitting Papists to employments. I will help you to enough of them who shall be ready to allow the pope as little power here as you please: and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Christ is but a speculative point, for which no man it seems ought to be deprived of the capacity of serving his country.

But, if you please, I will tell you the great objection we have against repealing this same Sacramental Test. It is that we are verily persuaded the consequence will be an entire alteration of religion among us in no great compass of years. And pray observe how we reason here in Ireland upon this matter.

We observe the Scots, in our northern parts, to be a brave, industrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an undisturbed affection toward each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the soil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Loquabar, by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Down and Antrim, so productive of that grain which, at little trouble and less expense, finds diet and lodging for themselves and their cattle. These people, by their extreme parsimony, wonderful dexterity in dealing, and firm adherence to one another, soon grow into wealth from the smallest beginnings, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increase daily by new supplies: besides, when they are the superior number in any tract of ground, they are not over patient of mixture; but such, whom they cannot assimilate, soon find it their interest to remove. I have done all in my power on some land of my own to preserve two or three English fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, though one of them thought he had sufficiently made his court by turning Presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a most formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at least three degrees worse than Popery; and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that spirit which taught them to abolish Episcopacy at home.

Then we proceed further, and observe that the gentlemen of employments here make a very considerable number in the house of commons, and have no other merit but that of doing their duty in their several stations; therefore when the Test is repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give place to those who have much greater services to plead. The commissions of the revenue are soon disposed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout this kingdom are generally appointed by the commissioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be said of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let dissenters into the commissions of the peace, to make them high-sheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their industry and our supineness, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the house of commons, and consequently make themselves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this should happen as I describe, yet the Presbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, because our bishops are so great a number in the house of lords, and without a majority there the church could not be abolished. But I have two very good expedients for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare swear our speaker here has often thought on, especially having endeavoured at one of them so lately. To convince you that this design is not so foreign from some people's thoughts, I must let you know that an honest bellwether of our house[a] (you have him now in England; I wish you could keep him there) had the impudence some years ago, in parliament time, to shake my lord bishop of Kilalou[b] by his lawn sleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, "that he hoped to live to see the day when there should not be one of his order in the kingdom."

These last lines perhaps you think a digression; therefore to return: I have told you the consequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the Sacramental Test, which, although the greatest number of such as are for doing it are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not 3*d*. whether there be any church or not, yet, because they pretend to argue from conscience, as well as policy and interest, I thought it proper to understand and answer them accordingly.

[a] Supposed to be Mr. Broderick.
[b] Dr. Lindsay, afterwards lord-primate.

Now, sir, in answer to your question, whether, if any attempt should be made here for repealing the Sacramental Test, it would be likely to succeed? the number of professed dissenters in this parliament was, as I remember, something under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above 30 others who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the Presbyterian party, having with great industry mustered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occasion of a hint in my lord Pembroke's speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the Test clause, when there appeared at least four to one odds against them; and the ablest of those, who were reckoned the most stanch and thorough-paced Whigs upon all other occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of Whig and Tory do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king, "that the highest Tories we had with us would make tolerable Whigs there." This was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics which did not come within our definition. Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of king William, as our great deliverer from Popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an indulgence for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a Whig: and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up, on one side, of moderate Whigs, and, on the other, of Presbyterians and their abettors; by which last I mean such who can equally go to a church or conventicle, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or, lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour toward the clergy: these last are a set of men not of our own growth, their principles at least have been imported of late years; yet this whole party put together will scarce, I am confident, amount to above 50 men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of 300.

As to the house of lords, the difficulty there is conceived at least as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the bishops are generally pretty near a par of the house, and we reckon they will be all to a man against repealing the Test; and yet their lordships are generally thought as good Whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay lords who appear to have no great devotion for Episcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom certain powerful motives might be used, for removing any difficulty whatsoever; but these are, in no sort, a number to carry any point against the conjunction of the rest, and the whole bench of bishops.

Besides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly against repealing the Test, though they are entirely devoted to her majesty, and hardly 1 in 100 who are not very good Whigs, in our acceptation of the word. And I must let you know that we of Ireland are not yet come up to other folk's refinements, for we generally love and esteem our clergy, and think they deserve it; nay, we are apt to lay some weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly disoblige them, at least unless it were upon some greater point of interest than this. And their judgment in the present affair is the more to be regarded, because they are the last persons who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the interest of the kingdom. Because the act which repeals the Test will only qualify a layman for an employment, but not a Presbyterian or Anabaptist preacher for a church-living. Now I must take leave to inform you, that several members of our house, and myself among the rest, knowing some time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any distinction, and desired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a most wonderful agreement, there being but one divine that we could hear of in the whole kingdom who appeared of a contrary sentiment: wherein he afterward stood alone in the convocation, very little to his credit, though, as he hoped, very much to his interest.

I will now consider a little the arguments offered to show the advantages, or rather the necessity, of repealing the Test in Ireland. We are told, the popish interest is here so formidable, that all hands should be joined to keep it under: that the only names of distinction among us ought to be those of Protestant and Papist; and that this expedient is the only means to unite all Protestants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but misrepresentation and mistake.

If we were under any real fear of the Papists in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us so stupid as not to be equally apprehensive with others, since we are likely to be the greatest and more immediate sufferers; but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more, and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against Popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned Protestants, and so, in all probability, will many more. Then the Popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors; so that the Protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline or natural courage, being little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join, in any considerable numbers, with an invader, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them, had been trained for some years under a Popish deputy, and received such mighty aids from the French king.

As to that argument used for repealing the Test, that it will unite all Protestants against the common enemy, I wonder by what figure those gentlemen speak who are pleased to advance it. suppose, in order to increase the friendship between you and me, a law should pass, that I must have half your estate; do you think that would much advance the union between us? or suppose I share my fortune equally between my own children and a stranger, whom I take into my protection, will that be a method to unite them? It is an odd way of uniting parties, to deprive a majority of part of their ancient right, by conferring it on a faction, who had never any right at all, and therefore cannot be said to suffer any loss or injury if it be refused them. Neither is it very clear how far some people may stretch the term of common enemy. How many are there of those that call themselves Protestants who look upon our worship to be idolatrous, as well as that of the Papists, and, with great charity, put Prelacy and Popery together, as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one small doubt I would be

willingly satisfied in, before I agree to the repealing of the Test; that is, whether these same Protestants, when they have by their dexterity made themselves the national religion, and disposed the church revenues among their pastors or themselves, will be so kind to allow us dissenters, I do not say a share in employments, but a bare toleration by law? The reason of my doubt is, because I have been so very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets, written by as many Presbyterian divines, loudly disclaiming this idol toleration: some of them calling it (I know not how properly) a rag of Popery, and all agreeing it was to establish iniquity by law. Now I would be glad to know when and where their successors have renounced this doctrine, and before what witnesses. Because, methinks, I should be loath to see my poor titular bishop *in partibus*, seized on by mistake in the dark for a jesuit; or be forced myself to keep my chaplain disguised like my butler, and steal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather used in those times, when the church of England was malignant.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; Popery is now the common enemy, against which we must all unite. I have been tired in history with the perpetual folly of those states who call in foreigners to assist them against a common enemy; but the mischief was, these allies would never be brought to allow that the common enemy was quite subdued. And they had reason; for it proved at last, that one part of the common enemy was those who called them in, and so the allies became at length the masters.

It is agreed among naturalists, that a lion is a larger, a stronger, and more dangerous enemy than a cat; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a lion at his foot, bound fast with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an angry cat in full liberty at his throat, he would take no long time to determine.

I have been sometimes admiring the wonderful significancy of that word persecution, and what various interpretations it has acquired even within my memory. When I was a boy I often heard the Presbyterians complain that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way: they said they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably ought to have liberty of conscience, and leave to assemble. That impediment being removed at the Revolution, they soon learned to swallow the Sacramental Test, and began to take very large steps, wherein all who offered to oppose them were called men of a persecuting spirit. During the time the bill against occasional conformity was on foot, persecution was every day rung in our ears, and now at last the Sacramental Test itself has the same name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one request is only used as a step to demand another? a lover is ever complaining of cruelty while anything is denied him; when the lady ceases to be cruel, she is from the next moment at his mercy: so persecution, it seems, is everything that will not leave it in men's power to persecute others.

There is one argument offered against a Sacramental Test by a sort of men who are content to be styled of the church of England, who perhaps attend its service in the morning, and go with their wives to a conventicle in the afternoon, confessing they hear very good doctrine in both. These men are much offended, that so holy an institution, as that of the Lord's Supper, should be made subservient to such mercenary purposes as the getting of an employment. Now it seems the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the sacrament; and supposing all men to live like Christians (especially those who are to have employments), did imagine they received the sacrament in course about four times a-year; and therefore only desired it might appear by certificate to the public, that such, who took an office, were members of the church established, by doing their ordinary duty. However, lest we should offend them, we have often desired they would deal candidly with us; for, if the matter stuck only there, we would propose it in parliament, that every man who takes an employment should, instead of receiving the sacrament, be obliged to swear that he is a member of the church of Ireland by law established, with Episcopacy, and so forth; and as they do now in Scotland, to be true to the kirk. But when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge the hardship that men should be deprived the liberty of serving their queen and country on account of their conscience; and, in short, have recourse to the common style of their half brethren. Now, whether this be a sincere way of arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour somewhat parallel to the foregoing: it seems by the Test clause, the military officers are obliged to receive the sacrament, as well as the civil. And it is a matter of some patience to hear the dissenters declaiming upon this occasion: they cry they are disarmed, they are used like Papists: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they must sit still, and see their throats cut, or be hanged for high treason if they offer to defend themselves. Miserable condition! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all that the pretender was not apprized of this passive Presbyterian principle, else he would have infallibly landed in our northern parts, and found them all sat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman senators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes, to appease their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that, in such a case, the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be so severe to hang them for defending it, against the letter of the law: to which they readily answer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourselves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which upon all Popish insurrections at home, or Popish invasion from abroad, the government shall be empowered to grant commissions to all Protestants whatsoever, without that persecuting circumstance of obliging them to say their prayers when they receive the sacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of occasional commissions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis;* and they had rather lose their estates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleasure of governing.

But to bring this discourse toward a conclusion: if the dissenters will be satisfied with such a toleration by law as has been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houses will fall readily in with it; further, it will be hard to persuade this house of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to say the truth, we make a mighty difference here between suffering thistles to grow among us, and wearing them for posies. We are fully convinced in our consciences, that we shall always tolerate them; but not quite so fully that they will always tolerate us, when it comes to their turn; and we are the majority, and we are in possession.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obsolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the safer side, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foresee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the consequences of repealing this clause should at some time or other enable the Presbyterians to work themselves up into the national church; instead of uniting Protestants, it would sow eternal divisions among them. *First*, their own sects, which

now lie dormant, would be soon at cuffs again with each other, about power and preferment; and the dissenting episcopals, perhaps discontented to such a degree as, upon some fair unhappy occasion, would be able to shake the firmest loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from some late proceedings, at what a rate this faction is likely to drive, wherever it gets the whip and the seat. They have already set up courts of spiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they send missionaries everywhere, without being invited, in order to convert the Church-of-England folke to Christianity. They are as vigilant as I know who, to attend persons on their death-beds, and for purposes much alike. And what practices such principles as these (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may spawn when they are laid out to the sun, you may determine at leisure.

Lastly, Whether we are so entirely sure of their loyalty upon the present foot of government, as you may imagine their detractors make a question, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of dissenters; but the instance produced is, of some among their leading teachers in the north, who, having refused the abjuration oath, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and I believe has been published: I think it a pity it has not been remedied.

Thus, I have fairly given you, sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houses here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may securely reckon. I will leave you to make what use of it you please. I am, with great respect, sir, yours, &c.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE SEVERAL ATTEMPTS WHICH THE DISSENTERS OF IRELAND HAVE MADE, FOR A REPEAL OF THE SACRAMENTAL TEST.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO THE CONFORMING NOBILITY AND GENTRY OF IRELAND, 1731.*

When the oath of supremacy was repealed, which had been the church's great security since the 2nd of queen Elizabeth, against both Papists and Presbyterians who equally refused it, it let in such a current of dissenters into some of our corporations, as bore down all before them.

Although the Sacramental Test had been for a considerable time in force in England, yet that law did not reach Ireland, where the church was more oppressed by dissenters, and where her most sanguine friends were glad to compound, to preserve what legal security she had left, rather than attempt any new, or even to recover what she had lost; and in truth they had no reason to expect it, at a time when the dissenters had the interest to have a motion made and debated in parliament, that there might be a temporary repeal of all the penal laws against them; and when they were so flushed with the conquest they had made in some corporations, as to reject all overtures of a toleration; and to that end had employed Mr. Boyse to write against it with the utmost contempt, calling it "a stone instead of bread, a serpent instead of a fish."

When the church was in this situation, the clause of the Sacramental Test was happily sent over from England, tacked to the Popery bill; which alarmed the whole body of the dissenters to that degree, that their managers began to ply with the greatest artifice and industry to prevent its passing into a law. But (to the honour of that parliament be it spoken) the whole body of both lords and commons (some few excepted) passed the clause with great readiness, and defended it afterward with as great resolution.

The immediate consequence of this law was the recovery of several corporations from the dissenters, and the preservation of others, to which that enterprising people had made very bold and quick approaches.

It was hoped that this signal defeat would have discouraged the dissenters from any further attempts against the law which had so unanimously passed both houses; but the contrary soon appeared; for, upon meeting of the parliament held by the earl of Pembroke,* they quickly reassumed their wonted courage and confidence, and made no doubt but they should either procure an absolute repeal thereof, or get it so far relaxed as that they might be admitted to offices of military trust; to this they apprehended themselves encouraged by a paragraph in his excellency's speech to both houses, (which they applied to themselves,) which was, "that the queen would be glad of any expedient for strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects of Ireland."

The advocates for the dissenters immediately took hold of this handle; and, in order to prepare the way for this expedient, insisting boldly upon their merit and loyalty, charged the church with persecution, and extolled their signal behaviour in the late Revolution to that degree, as if by their singular prowess they had saved the nation.

But all this was only to prepare the way for the grand engine, which was forming to beat down this law; and that was their expedient addresses.

The first of this kind was from a provincial synod of the northern dissenters, beginning with high encomiums upon themselves, and as high demands from the public, "for their untainted loyalty in all turns of government, which," they said, "was the natural consequence of their known principles;" expressions, which, had they been applied to them by their adversaries, must have been understood as spoken ironically, and, indeed, to have been the greatest sarcasm imaginable upon them (especially when we consider the insolent treatment given to her late majesty in the very same address): for immediately after they pass this compliment upon themselves, they tell her majesty, they deeply regret the Sacramental Test; and frankly declare that neither the gentlemen nor people of their persuasion could (they must mean *would*) serve her, whatever exigencies might arise, unless that law was repealed.

The managers for the kirk, following this precedent, endeavoured to obtain addresses to the same purpose from the corporations; and though they proved unsuccessful in most, they procured them from our most considerable conforming corporations; and that too at a critical juncture, when numbers of Scotch Presbyterians, who had deserved well in the affair of the Union, and could not be rewarded in England, (where the Test Act was in force,) stood ready to overrun our preferments as soon as the test should be repealed in Ireland.

But, after all, when it came to a decisive trial in the house of commons, the dissenters were defeated.

When the managers found the house of commons could not be brought into that scheme of an expedient, to be offered by them, their refinement upon this was, to move for an address, "That the house would accept of an expedient from her majesty; but this also was rejected: for, by this project, the managers would have led the queen into this dilemma, either to dis-

* This little tract was originally printed at Dublin in a periodical paper called "The Correspondent;" and was annexed to the second edition of the "Presbyterians' Plea of Merit."

* His vice royalty commenced April 7, 1707.

oblige the whole body of the dissenters, by refusing to name the expedient, or else to give up the conformists to the insults and encroachments of the dissenters, by the repeal of that law which was declared by the house of lords to be the great security of the established church, and of the English interest in Ireland.

The next attempt they made against the Test was during the government of lord Wharton.* The dissenters seemed more resolute now than ever to have the Test repealed, especially when his excellency had declared from the throne, "that they were neither to be persecuted nor molested." For they, who had all along called the Test Act a persecution, might reasonably conclude that grievance would be removed, when they were told by the chief governor, that "they were not even to be molested." But, to their great confusion, they were soon undeceived, when they found, upon trial, that the house of commons would not bear the least motion toward it.

Their movements to repeal the Test being stopped this way, the managers were obliged to take several other ways to come at it: and at the time that some pretended to soothe, others seemed to threaten even the legislature.

There happened about that time, when the project of the expedient was on foot, an excellent occasion to express their resentments against this law, and that was, when great numbers of them refused the oath of allegiance, and to oppose the pretender, insisting upon a repeal of the Test Act as the condition of their arming in defence of their queen and country. The government was not reduced to such straits, as to submit to that condition: and the Test stood firm, in spite of both the dissenters and the pretender, until the latter was driven from our coasts; and then one would have thought the hopes of the former would have vanished with him.

But it proved quite contrary; for those sons of the earth, rebounding with fresh vigour from their falls, recovered new strength and spirit from every defeat; and the next attempt was bolder (considering the circumstance they were in) than any they had made before.

The case was this: the house of lords of Ireland had accused them to the queen of several illegal practices, which highly concerned the safety of our constitution both in church and state; the particulars of which charge were summed up in a representation from the lords to this effect:—

"That they (the dissenters) had opposed and persecuted the conformists in those parts where their power prevailed, had invaded their congregation, propagated their schism in places where it had not the least footing formerly; that they were protected from a legal prosecution by a *noli prosequi* in the case of Drogheda; that they refused to take conforming apprentices, and confined trade among themselves, exclusive of the conformists; that, in their illegal assemblies, they had prosecuted and censured their people for being married according to law; that they have thrown public and scandalous reflections upon the Episcopal order, and upon our laws, particularly the Sacramental Test, and had misapplied the royal bounty of 1200*l.* per annum in propagating their schism, and undermining the church; and had exercised an illegal jurisdiction in their presbyteries and synods," &c.

To this representation of the lords, the dissenters remonstrate in an address to the queen, or rather an appeal to their own people; in which, although it is evident they were conscious of those crimes whereof they stood accused, as appears by the evasions they make to this high charge; yet, even under these circumstances, (such was their modesty,) they pressed for a repeal of the Test Act, by the modest appellation of a grievance and odious mark of infamy, &c.

One particular in another address I cannot omit. The house of lords, in their representation, had accused one dissenting teacher in particular (well known to Mr. Boyse); the charge was in these words: "Nor has the legislature itself escaped the censure of a bold author of theirs, who has published in print that the Sacramental Test is only an engine to advance a state faction, and to debase religion, to serve base and unworthy purposes."

To this Mr. Boyse answers, in an address to the queen, in the year 1712, subscribed only by himself and five more dissenting teachers, in the following manner:—

"As to this part of their lordships' complaint, we beg leave to lay before your majesty the words of that author, which are these: Nor can we altogether excuse those who turn the holy Eucharist into an engine to advance a state faction, and endeavour to confine the communion table of our Lord, by their arbitrary enclosures, to a party: religion is thereby debased, to serve mean and unworthy purposes. We humbly conceive that the author, in that passage, makes no mention of the legislature at all, &c.; and we cannot omit, on this occasion, to regret it, as the great unhappiness of a kingdom, that dissenters should now be disabled from concurring in the defence of it, in any future exigency and danger, and should have the same infamy put upon them with the Irish Papists. We therefore humble hope that your majesty shall consider how little real grounds there are for those complaints made by their lordships."

What a mixture of impudence and prevarication is this! That one dissenting teacher, accused to his prince of having censured the legislature, should presume, backed only by five more of the same quality and profession, to transcribe the guilty paragraph, and (to secure his meaning from all possibility of being mistaken) annex another to it; wherein they rail at that very law for which he in so audacious a manner censured the queen and parliament, and at the same time should expect to be acquitted by her majesty, because he had not mentioned the word legislature. It is true, the word legislature is not expressed in that paragraph; but let Mr. Boyse say what other power but the legislature could in this sense, "turn the holy Eucharist into an engine to advance a state faction, or confine offices of trust, or the communion table of our Lord, by their arbitrary enclosures, to a party." It is plain he can from his principles intend no others but the legislators or the Sacramental Test; though, at the same time, I freely own that this is a vile description of them; for neither have they by this law made the Sacramental Test an engine to advance, but rather to depress, a state faction; nor have they made any arbitrary enclosures of the communion table of the Lord, since as many as please may receive the sacrament with us in our churches; and those who will not may freely, as before, receive it in their separate congregations: nor, in the last place, is religion hereby debased to serve mean and unworthy purposes; nor is it any more than all lawgivers do, by enjoining an oath of allegiance, and making that a religious test; for an oath is an act of religious worship, as well as the Eucharist.

Upon the whole, is not this an instance of prodigious boldness in Jo. Boyse, backed with only five dissenting teachers, thus to recriminate upon the Irish house of lords, (as they were pleased to call them in the title of their printed address,) and almost to insist with her majesty upon the repeal of the law, which she had stamped with her royal authority but a few years before?

The next attempt of the dissenters against this law

* Appointed lord lieutenant November 25, 1708.

was made during the government of the duke of Shrewsbury, by the whole compacted body of their teachers and elders, with a formidable engine, called a representation of grievances; in which, after they had reviled the Test Act with the same odious appellations, and insisted upon the same insolent arguments for the repeal thereof, which they had formerly urged to the queen, they expressed themselves to his grace in these words: "We beg leave to say, that those persons must be inexcusable, and chargeable with all the bad consequences that may follow, who, in such a kingdom as this, and at such a time as this, disable, disgrace, and divide Protestants; a thing that ought not to be done at any time, or in any place, much less then in this," &c.

Is it possible to conceive anything more provoking than this humble supplication of these remonstrators? Does not this sound like a demand of the repeal of the Test at the peril of those who dare refuse it? Is it not an application with a hat in one hand, and a sword in the other, and that too in the style of a king of Ulster to a king of Connaught—"Repeal the Test, or if you don't"—

But to proceed in this narrative: notwithstanding the defeat of the dissenters in England, in their late attempt against the Test, their brethren in Ireland are so far from being discouraged, that they seem now to conceive greater hopes of having it repealed here than ever. In order to prepare necessaries, and furnish topics for this attempt, there was a paper printed upon the opening of last session, and now republished, entitled, "The Nature and Consequences of the Sacramental Test considered, with reasons humbly offered for the repeal thereof."

It is not my intention to follow this author through all the mazes and windings of his reasoning upon this subject, which, in truth, seem such incoherent shreds, that it is impossible to tie them together; and therefore what I propose is to answer such objections to the Test, as are advanced either by this author or any other, which have any appearance of reason or plausibility.

I know it is not prudent to despise an adversary, nor fair to prepossess readers, before I show this bold and insolent writer in his proper figure and dress; and therefore, however I may take him to be a feeble advocate for the repeal of the Test in point of reasoning, yet I freely allow him to be a most resolute champion in point of courage, who has, with such intrepidity, attacked not only the first enactors of this law, but all such who shall continue it, by giving their negatives to the repeal.

Page 19, he says, "the truth is the imposition of the Test, and continuing it in such a state of the kingdom, appears (at first sight) so great an absurdity in politics as can never be accounted for."

Who are these absurd politicians? are they not the majority of both houses of parliament?

But to strengthen his reflections, page 26, he gives the whole legislature to understand, "that continuing the Test does not become the wisdom and justice of the legislature, under the pretence of its being for the advantage of the state, when it is really prejudicial to it:" and further tells us, "it infringes on the indisputable right of the dissenters."

Page 57, he says, "The gentlemen of the house of commons, who framed the bill to prevent the further growth of Popery, instead of approving the Test clause which was inserted, publicly declared their dislike to it, and their resolution to take the first opportunity of repealing it, though at that time they unwillingly passed it, rather than lose a bill they were so fond of. This resolution has not been as yet fulfilled, for what reasons our worthy patriots themselves know best."

I should be glad this author would inform us who and how many of those members joined in this resolution to repeal the Test; or where that resolution is to be found, which he mentions twice in that same paragraph; surely not in the books of the house of commons!

If not, suppose some few gentlemen of the house of commons (and to be sure very few they were) who publicly declared their dislike to it, or entered into any resolution; this, I think, he should have explained and not insinuated so gross a reflection on a majority of the house of commons, who first passed this law, and have ever since opposed all attempts to repeal it; these are the gentlemen whom, in sarcasm and irony, he is pleased to call the worthy, that is, the unworthy patriots themselves.

But to mention no more, he concludes his notable piece with these remarkable words, page 62 63:—

"Thus it appears with regard to the Protestant succession, which has now happily taken place, how reasonable it is to repeal the Sacramental Test; and that granting that favour to the Dissenters [which by the by cannot be granted but by parliament] can be disagreeable to none who have a just sense of the many blessings we enjoy by the Protestant succession in his majesty's royal family."

I conceive it will be readily allowed, that in all applications from any body of men, or particular subjects to the legislature, the highest encomiums are to be looked upon as purely complimental; but that the least insinuation of disrespect ought to be considered in the strictest sense the expressions can bear. Now, if we apply this observation to what this bold adventurer has said with respect to the legislators of the Sacramental Test, does he not directly and plainly charge them with injustice, imprudence, gross absurdity, and Jacobitism? Let the most prejudiced reader that is not predetermined against conviction, say, whether this libeller of the parliament has not drawn up a high charge against the makers and continuers of this law.

Notwithstanding my resentment, which to be sure he does not value, I would be sorry he should bring upon himself the resentment of those he has been so free with. Is not this author justly to be reputed a defamer till he produces instances wherein the conforming nobility and gentry of Ireland have shown their disaffection to the succession of the illustrious house of Hanover?

Did they ever refuse the oath of abjuration, or support any conforming nonjuring teachers in their congregations? Did ever any conforming gentlemen or common people refuse to be arrayed when the militia was raised upon the invasion of the pretender? Did any of them ever show the least reluctance, or make any exception against their officers, whether they were dissenters or churchmen?

It may be said that, from these insinuations, I would have it understood that the dissenters encouraged some of their teachers who refused the oath of abjuration; and that, even in the article of danger, when the pretender made an attempt in Scotland, our northern Presbyterians showed great reluctance in taking arms upon the array of the militia.

I freely own it is my intention, and I must affirm both facts to be true; however they have the assurance to deny it.

What can be more notorious than the protection, countenance, and support which was continued to Riddall, M'Bride, and M'Crackan, who absolutely refused the oath of abjuration, and yet were continued to teach in their congregations after they returned from Scotland, when a prosecution was directed, and a council in criminal causes was sent down to the county of Antrim to prosecute them? With respect to

the parliament; Did ever any house of commons show greater alacrity in raising money, and equipping ships in defence of the king than the last house did upon the expected invasion of the pretender? And did ever any parliament give money with greater unanimity for the support of the crown than the present has done, whatever the wants of their private families might be? And must a very great majority of those persons be branded with the infamous aspersion of disaffection to the illustrious house of Hanover, should they refuse to give their voices for the repeal of the Test?

I am fully persuaded that this author and his fellow-labourers do not believe one word of this heavy charge; but their present circumstances are such that they must run all hazards.

A great number of the nonconforming gentlemen daily leave them. Many men, whose fathers were elders, or rigid nonconformists, are now constant communicants and justices of peace in their several counties; insomuch that it is highly probable, should the Test continue twenty years longer, that there would not be a gentleman left to solicit a repeal.

I shall hereafter take occasion to show how inconsiderable they are, for their numbers and fortunes, who can be served or obliged by this repeal, which number is daily lessening. The dissenting teachers are sufficiently aware, that the general conformity of the gentlemen will be followed by the conformity of numbers of the people; and should it not be so, that they will be but poorly supported by them; that by the continuance of the Test their craft will be in danger to be set at nought, and in all probability will end in a general conformity of the Presbyterians to the established church. So that they have the strongest reasons in the world to press for a repeal of the Test; but those reasons must have equal force for the continuance of it, with all that wish the peace of the church and state and would not have us torn in pieces with endless and causeless divisions.

There is one short passage more I had like to have omitted, which our author leaves as a sting in the tail of his libel; his words are these, p. 59.—"The truth is, no one party of a religious denomination, in Britain or Ireland, were so united as they, (the dissenters,) indeed no one but they, in an inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession." To detect the folly of this assertion, I subjoin the following letter from a person of known integrity, and as inviolably attached to the Protestant succession as any dissenter in the kingdom, I mean Mr. Warreng, of Warrengstown, then a member of parliament, and commissioner of array in the county of Down upon the expected invasion of the pretender. This letter was writ in a short time after the array of the militia; for the truth of which I refer to Mr. Warreng himself:—

"Sir, that I may fulfil your desire, by giving you an account how the dissenters in my neighbourhood behaved themselves when we were threatened with an invasion of the pretender, be pleased to know that upon an alarm given of his being landed near Derry, none were more zealous in setting watch and keeping guard than they, to prevent such disorders as might happen at that time by ill-designing persons passing through and disturbing the peace of the country.

"But when the government thought fit to have the kingdom arrayed, and sent commissioners into these parts, some time after, it appeared that the dissenters had by that time been otherwise instructed; for several who were so forward before, behaved themselves after in a very different manner, some refusing, and others with reluctancy appearing upon the array, to be enlisted and serve in the militia.

"This behaviour surprised me so much, that I took occasion to discourse several of them, over whom I thought I had as much influence as any other person, and sound them upon the common argument of having their hands tied by a late act of parliament, &c. Whereupon I took some pains to show the act to them, and wherein they were mistaken. I further pressed their concurrence with us in procuring the common peace and security of our country; and though they seemed convinced by what I said, yet I was given to understand their behaviour was according to the sentiments of some persons whom they thought themselves obliged to observe, or to be directed by," &c.

THE PRESBYTERIANS' PLEA OF MERIT,

IN ORDER TO TAKE OFF THE TEST, IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED. 1731.

We have been told, in the common newspapers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the Presbyterians and their abettors for taking off the Test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For if once their light would so shine, the Papists, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method: like that of a discreet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a dog before he prescribes it to a human creature.

The Presbyterians have, ever since the Revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by showing their merits and pretensions upon which they claim this justice, as founded upon the services they did toward the restoration of king Charles II., and at the Revolution under the prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind that ever were offered in the face of the sun, against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall, therefore, impartially examine the merits and conduct of the Presbyterians upon those two great events; and the pretensions to favour which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation in the church in England, under Edward VI., upon queen Mary's succeeding to the crown, (who restored Popery,) many Protestants fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops, with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death returned to England, where they preached up their own opinions, inveighing bitterly against episcopacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church; building upon this foundation, to run as far as possible from Popery, even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of Puritan, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers, as well as their insolence and perverseness, so far increased that, soon after the death of king James I., many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets, written for some years after, (which was a trade they began in the days of queen Elizabeth,) particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those scurrilous libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, and several others. And although the earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and

happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design toward making any alterations in religion or government, yet I have found, by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Duck Lane, a great number of pamphlets, printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the Rebellion, or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifest that puritanism did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion, till some time after the rebellion began; for, in the latter times of king James I., and the former part of his son, there were several Puritan bishops and many Puritan private clergymen; while people went, as their inclinations led them, to hear preachers of each party in the parish churches; for the Puritan clergy had received episcopal orders as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out, the term Puritan gradually dropped, and that of Presbyterian succeeded; which sect was, in two or three years, established in all its forms by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without consulting the king, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of Independent: it spread indeed somewhat more in the latter, but not equal with the Presbyterians either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament who attended him there, upon their return to London, they reported his majesty's answer to the house; whereupon a number of moderate members who, as Ludlow says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art as to obtain a majority, in a thin house, for passing a vote that the king's concessions were a ground for future settlement. But the great officers of the army, joining with the discontented members, came to a resolution of excluding all those who had consented to that vote, which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid Presbyterian, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the general, in conjunction with those members who opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house except those of their own party. Upon which, the question for bringing the king to justice was immediately put, and carried without opposition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; although, by the advice or threats of his wife, he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already adduced, it appears manifest that the differences between those two sects, Presbyterian and Independent, did not then amount to half so much as what there is between a Whig and Tory at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and episcopacy was equally the same in both; evidently the consequence of the very same principles upon which the Presbyterians alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events, if toward the conclusion they had not been bearded by that new party with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions, and preferments are frequent in the accounts of those times. For I make no doubt that all the prudent Presbyterians complied in proper seasons, falling in with the stream, and thereby got that share in employments which many of them held to the Restoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the same manner we find our wisest Tories in both kingdoms upon the change of hands and measures at the queen's death, have endeavoured for several years, by due compliances, to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alleged, that some of the Presbyterians declared openly against the king's murder, I allow it to be true. But from what motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spite, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power by a new infant spawn of Independents, sprung from their own bowels. It is true the differences in religious tenets between them are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But whatever interest or power thinks fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other; for we see at this day that the Tories are more hated by the whole set of zealous Whigs than the very Papists themselves; and in effect as much unqualified for the smallest office: although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty to the same Protestant king and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this Independent party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their Presbyterian brethren, he may please to observe that, during the whole usurpation, they contended by degrees with their parent sect, and as I have already said, shared in employments, and gradually, after the Restoration, mingled with the mass of Presbyterians, lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of dissenters.

The Presbyterian merit is of as little weight, when they allege themselves instrumental toward the king's restoration. The kingdom grew tired with those ridiculous models of government: first, by a house of lords and commons without a king; then without bishops; afterward by a rump* and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a single person for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of representatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other schemes that have slipped out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his son Richard, a weak, ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the same manner with the two usurping kings of Brentford [in the Rehearsal]; the people harassed with taxes and other oppressions. The king's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, cobblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering everywhere like French dragoons. The rump assembly grew despicable to those who had raised them; the city of London, exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The rump, after

* This name was given to that part of the house of commons which remained after the moderate men had been expelled.

many deaths and resurrections, was in the most contemptuous manner kicked out, and burned in effigy: the excluded members were let in; a free parliament called, in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the king restored.

The second claim of Presbyterian merit is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of king James II., while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce Popery, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown: to this they add their eminent services at the Revolution under the prince of Orange.

Now the quantum of Presbyterian merit during the four years' reign of that weak, bigoted, and ill-advised prince, as well as at the time of the Revolution, will easily be computed by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets, and public papers printed in those times, and some afterward; beside the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the dissenters' conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed that upon king Charles II.'s death, soon after his successor had publicly owned himself a Roman Catholic, he began with his first caresses to the church party; from whom, having received very cold discouraging answers, he applied to the Presbyterian leaders and teachers; being advised by his priests and Popish courtiers, that the safest method toward introducing his own religion would be, by taking off the Sacramental Test, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, I suppose, that professed Christianity. It seems that the Presbyterians, in the latter years of king Charles II., upon account of certain plots, (allowed by bishop Burnet to be genuine,) had been for a short time forbidden to hold their conventicles: whereupon these charitable Christians, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of king James, with the strongest professions of loyalty and highest acknowledgments for his favour. I have seen several of their addresses, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the Papists upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the style of our brethren the Roman Catholics. About this time began the project of closeting, which has since been practised many times with more art and success, where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his majesty, to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the Sacramental Test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement that, despairing of success, he had recourse to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination, he preferred several Presbyterians and many Papists to civil and military employments. While the king was thus busied, it is well known that Monsieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princess of Orange concerning the repeal of the Test; whereof the king had sent an account to their highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this—"That their highnesses thought very well of a liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving employments to any other persons than those who were of the national church." This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it has been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, has very few examples in any Christian state; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence king James received of an intended invasion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of Papists, to increase his troops, he gave commissions to several Presbyterians; some of whom had been officers under the rump; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted Presbyterian, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raised in England against the prince of Orange: the colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a Presbyterian as his father. However, at the time of the prince's landing, the father, easily foreseeing how things would go, went over, like many others, to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to assist in raising the siege of Derry, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now consider the conduct of the church party, during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the Test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the king durst not trust a parliament; but, encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his Presbyterian friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church clergy, at that time, are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against Popery that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But, upon the strictest inquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the Presbyterians at that time upon the same subject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the rest) were sent to the Tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was summoned to answer before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs for not suspending Dr. Sharp (afterward archbishop of York) by the king's command. If the Presbyterians expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or transmitted by tradition. The proceedings against Magdalen College in Oxford, for refusing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a professed Papist upon their foundation, are a standing proof of the courage and firmness in religion shown by that learned society to the ruin of their fortunes. The Presbyterians know very well that I could produce many more instances of the same kind. But these are enough in so short a paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was settled on the English throne, the Presbyterians began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king, having been originally bred a Calvinist, was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that sect; nor designed to favour them further than as it stood with the present scheme of politics, as I have long since been assured by the greatest men of Whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewise true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was possessed of the English crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the Presbyterians wisely chose to join with the Protestant army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whose affairs were then in a manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this kingdom, divided against itself, could never prevail against the united power of England. They

fought *pro aris et focis;* for their estates and religion; which latter will never suffer so much by the church of England as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we; and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a Protestant army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a popish enemy, under an abdicated king, is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable; and I believe will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the Test, many groundless reports were industriously and seasonably spread, of an invasion threatened by the pretender on the north of Ireland. At which time, the Presbyterians, in their pamphlets, argued in a menacing manner, that if the pretender should invade those parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and estates of dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still and let us fight our own battles, since they were to reap no advantage, whichever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know how they could contrive safely to stand neuters, otherwise than by a compact with the pretender and his army, to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown? This is a necessary supposition; because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration, they sufficiently showed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door, that a Scottish or northern Presbyterian hates our episcopal established church more than popery itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone that stands in the way between them and power, which popery does not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprise. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the Presbyterians, in countenancing and confirming those reports; because it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body; for, if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the pretender counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the Presbyterians, by choosing to land in those very parts where their number, wealth, and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore, in charity to this sect, I rather incline to believe that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable job.

As to popery in general, which for a thousand years past has been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and discipline, I look upon it to be the most absurd system of Christianity professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of Papists are very few, crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice, and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one-half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war; some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it had been thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the Protestant religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding, so I do not conceive why a sunk, discarded party, who neither expect nor desire anything more than a quiet life, should, under the names of highflyers, Jacobites, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print and at common tables with endeavouring to introduce popery and the pretender; while the Papists abhor them above all other men, on account of severities against their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the now disbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through, and to my great satisfaction found them everywhere abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king George; for which they gave me the reasons above mentioned; at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the queen's last ministry.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the Presbyterians for a repeal of the Sacramental Test, as a reward for their merits at the Restoration and the Revolution; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who I am sure have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men, who are now resuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms, upon two points, which of all others they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts, with all possible impartiality, from the current histories of those times; and have shown, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of those sectaries, under the denomination of Puritans, Presbyterians, and Independents, for about the space of a hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this present time. But, notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismatics (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting, and demanding, (not without insinuating threats, according to their custom,) that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the bishops, who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house, who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates; not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates, who must have heard, that, immediately after those rebellious fanatics had murdered their king, they voted a house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer otherwise than when elected as commoners; not to the house of commons, who must have heard that, in those fanatic times, the Presbyterian and Independent commanders in the army by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a Rump to govern the nation; lastly, not to the crown, which those very saints, destined to rule the earth, trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the blessed wearer.

But the session now approaching, and a clan of dissenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head-quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution to solicit their establishment, with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I

think it high time that this paper should see the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the Presbyterians should obtain their ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken in the point which they have most at heart by the repeal of the Test, I mean the benefit of employments. For after all, what assurance can a Scottish northern dissenter born on Irish ground have, that he shall be treated with as much favour as a true Scot born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true the advocates for this scheme promise a new world after this blessed work shall be completed; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of Papist and Protestant: for, as to Whig and Tory, high church and low church, Jacobite and Hanoverian, court and country party, English and Irish interest, dissenters and conformists, new light and old light, Anabaptist and Independent, Quaker and Muggletonian, they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony, at the sessions and assizes, on the bench and in the revenues; and, upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: that a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the Papists, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know what arts the Presbyterian sect intends to use, in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which, (long before the prevalence, or even the birth, of their independent rivals,) as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as episcopacy and the house of lords, even until the king was restored: at which event, although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard that they ever, to this day, renounce any one principle by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to show that others have done it for them, by a certain doctor, who, as I am told, has much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government; but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will and must endeavour, by all means which they shall think lawful to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God, by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of popery, in order to a thorough reformation; and as in charity bound to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing, with St. Paul, that the whole kingdom were as they are. But what assurance will they please to give that, when their sect shall become the national established worship, they will treat us dissenters as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the saints? Were not all the remainders of the episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution for above a dozen years equal to that of the primitive Christians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the rest one frequently insisted on, that allowing such a liberty would be to establish iniquity by a law. Many of these writings are yet to be seen, and I hear have been quoted by the doctor above mentioned.

As to their great objection of prostituting that holy institution, the blessed Sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment; I ask, whether they would not be content to receive it after their own manner for the office of a judge, for that of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a lord justice? I believe they would scruple it as little as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without bending a knee; for, as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And, therefore, since they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can nor ought in conscience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the Papists. But, lest we should offend them, I am ready to change this test for another; although I am afraid that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing that the impiety and profanation of making the Sacrament a test where the only objection. I therefore propose that, before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted: that no man shall receive any employment before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of Ireland in doctrine and discipline, &c., and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be further enacted that, whoever offends, &c., shall be fined 500*l.*, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all public trust for ever. Otherwise I do insist that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion shall either give up that fallacious, hypocritical reason for taking off the Test, or freely confess that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect, without any test at all, except that of swearing loyalty to the king; which, however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test than any other that the law has yet invented.

For, from the first time that these sectaries appeared in the world, it has been always found, by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments where Calvinists, and some other reformers who rejected episcopacy, possess the supreme power; and these are all republics: I mean Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths, wherein I confess I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch that I am now justly liable to the censure of Hobbes, who complains that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest, they will best consider whether those people who, in all their actions, preachings, and writings, have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust with those who have been always found the truest and only friends to the English establishment. From which consideration I could have added one more article to my new test if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured, by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither to solicit the repeal of the Test, were pleased to express their gratitude by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom

they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the Test must be delivered up by the very superiors appointed to defend it, the affair is already, in effect, at an end. What secret reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love I shall not inquire; "For, O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel."

THE ADVANTAGES

PROPOSED BY REPEALING THE SACRAMENTAL TEST,

IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED. 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this subject must do it not only as a mere secular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular system of Christianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worship and ceremony which is looked upon as the established, and, consequently, only the priests of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments bestowed among those who comply (at least outwardly) with the same establishment.

This method is strictly observed, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confessed to allow the fullest liberty of conscience of any Christian state, and yet are never known to admit any persons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worship. As to their military men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being, by the nature of their government, under a necessity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination, upon every great emergency, and maintaining no small number in time of peace.

This caution, therefore, of making one established faith seems to be universal, and founded upon the strongest reasons; the mistaken or affected zeal of obstinacy and enthusiasm having produced such a number of horrible destructive events throughout all Christendom. For, whoever begins to think the national worship is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proselytes as he can: and a nation may possibly have a hundred different sects with their leaders, every one of which has an equal right to plead, that they must "obey God rather than man;" must "cry aloud and spare not;" must "lift up their voice like a trumpet."

This was the very case of England during the fanatic times. And against all this there seems to be no defence, but that of supporting one established form of doctrine and discipline, leaving the rest to a bare liberty of conscience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or senate, or both, it ought to be changed, provided the work may be done without blood or confusion. Yet, whenever such a change shall be made, some other establishments must succeed, although for the worse; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this sense, those who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken; for many laws in popish kingdoms and states, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus, for instance, if the three estates of parliament in England (whereof the lords spiritual, who represent the church, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the English church, as burdensome, dangerous, and contrary to Holy Scripture; and that Presbytery, Anabaptism, Quakerism, Independency, Muggletonianism, Brownism, Familism, or any other subdivided sect among us, should be established in its place, without question, all peaceable subjects ought passively to submit, and the predominant sect must become the religion established; the public maintaining no other teachers, nor admitting any persons of a different religious profession into civil offices, at least if their intention be to preserve the nation in peace.

Supposing then that the present system of religion were abolished; and Presbytery, which I find stands the fairest, with its synods and classes, and all its forms and ceremonies, essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national worship; their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the public charge, whether by stipends or tithes; and only the rest of the same faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reasoning in what I have laid down, it should seem that the project now in agitation for repealing the Test Act, and yet leaving the name of an establishment to the present national church, is altogether inconsistent, and may admit of consequences which those who are the most indifferent to any religion at all are possibly not aware of.

I presume whenever the Test shall be repealed, which obliges all men who enter into office under the crown to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland, the way to employments will immediately be left open to all dissenters (except Papists) whose consciences can suffer them to take the common oaths in such cases prescribed; after which they are qualified to fill any lay station in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an exciseman.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench, the first may be a Presbyterian, the second a Free-will Baptist, and the third a Churchman; the lord chancellor may be an Independent; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments; not to mention the strong probability that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be revealed to the Quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine that, under such a motley administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and haulings backward and forward; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted than that, how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions and worrying all who differ from them than those who publicly show the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, bishop Burnet tells us that the Presbyterians, in the fanatic times, professed themselves to be above morality; which, as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the beggarly elements: and accordingly at this day no scruples of conscience with regard to conformity are, in any trade or calling, inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppressions, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montaigne, of a common prostitute, who, in the storming of a

town, when a soldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than suffer a rape; yet still continued her trade of lewdness while she had any customers left.

I confess that, in my private judgment, an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except Papists) to enjoy employments would be less pernicious to the public than a fair struggle between two contenders; because, in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together, which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But, however, I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the Presbyterians and those of the church yet established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side by examining which of the two is the better spiritual economy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution: but the question turns upon this point, when the Presbyterians shall have got their share of employments, (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with,) I ask whether they ought not, by their own principles and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power, and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline, most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without blood, (as under the present disposition of things it is very possible they may,) it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is, of compromising among themselves that important controversy about the old light and the new, which otherwise may, after this establishment, split them as wide as Papist and Protestant, Whig and Tory, or churchman and dissenter; and consequently the work will be to begin again; for in religious quarrels, it is of little moment how few or small the differences are, especially when the dispute is only about power. Thus the zealous Presbyterians of the north are more alienated from the established clergy than from the Romish priests; taxing the former with idolatrous worship as disguised Papists, ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reason; because the clergy stand in their way, which the popish priests do not. Thus, I am assured that the quarrel between old and new light men is managed with more rage and rancour than any other dispute of the highest importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty which may embarrass the Presbyterians after their establishment will be, how to adjust their claim of the kirk's independency on the civil power, with the constitution of this monarchy? a point so delicate that it has often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy without the least ground of suspicion.

As to the Presbyterians allowing liberty of conscience to those episcopal principles when their own kirk shall be predominant, the writers are so universally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reasonable churchman (who must then be dissenter) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the Presbyterians, after this approaching repeal of the Test Act, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side in any further scheme they may have toward making their religion national. For I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from England whatever religion they profess, or have been educated in, to be of that party; since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controlled, it must be the following: that those whose private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish that the nation should thrive. Out of these are indubitably excepted all persons who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life, their sole business being to advance themselves by following the advice of their principals. I except likewise those persons who are taken into office, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers, while they keep their offices, than they could possibly be by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, thirdly, all hopers, who, by balancing accounts with themselves, turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary will outweigh the loss by bad rents, received out of the lands in moneyless times.

If my lords the bishops, who I hear are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, shall, in their wisdom, and piety, and love of the church, consent to this repeal of the Test, I have not the least doubt that the whole reverend body will cheerfully submit to their spiritual fathers, of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare they have found so many amazing instances.

I am not, therefore, under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will (for some time) be no great sufferers by this repeal; because I cannot recollect among all our sects any one that gives latitude enough to take the oaths required at an institution to a church-living: and until that bar shall be removed, the present episcopal clergy are safe for two years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal that, in the northern parts, where there may be three dissenters to one churchman, the whole revenue shall be engrossed by him, who has so small a part of the cure.

It is true, indeed, that this disadvantage, which the dissenters at present lie under, of a disability to receive church preferments, will be easily remedied by the repeal of the Test. For the dissenting teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the popish clergy, among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the indelible character, which no secretaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both Presbyterians and Independents, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed teachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and has left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern Presbyterian teachers; so was colonel Howard, sir George Downing, and several others, whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason why a painful Presbyterian teacher, as soon as the Test shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the spiritual office and stipend, a commission in the army or the civil list *in commendam*: for as I take it, the church of England is the only body of Christians which in effect disqualifies those who are employed to preach its doctrine from sharing in the civil power further than as senators; yet this was a privilege begun in times of

popery, many hundred years before the Reformation, and woven with the very institution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method whereby the stipends of dissenting teachers may be raised and the farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a people so deserving and so loyal by their principles. Every bishop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can sequester the profits for the use of the next incumbent. Upon a lapse of half a year the donation falls to the archbishop, and after a full year to the crown during pleasure; therefore it would be no hardship for any clergyman alive, if (in those parts of Ireland where the number of sectaries much exceeds that of the conformists) the profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the support of the dissenting teacher, who has so many souls to take care of; whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in those hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, against which a remedy does not so readily occur. For supposing the Test Act repealed, and the dissenters, in consequence, fully qualified for all secular employments, the question may still be put, whether those of Ireland will be often the persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined there may be another seminary [Scotland] in view, more numerous and more needy, as well as more meriting, and more easily contented with such low offices; which some nearer neighbours hardly think it worth stirring from their chimney sides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of those who are skilled in the management of bees, that when they see a foreign swarm at some distance approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, these artists have a trick to divert them into some neighbouring apiary, there to make what havoc they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many suspecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to see dangers afar off; to all which I can only say, that our native Presbyterians must, by pains and industry, raise such a fund of merit as will answer to a birth six degrees more to the north. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as several of the established church have compassed by indefatigable pains, I do not well see how their affairs will much mend by repealing the Test: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be disqualified in fact, as it will much increase the mortification, so it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wishers, and utterly deprive them of that merit they have so long made, of being a loyal, true, Protestant people, persecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their case, they must wait maturity of time, until they can, by prudent gentle steps, make their faith become the religion established in the nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt that they will take most effectual methods to secure their power against those who must then be dissenters in their turn: whereof, if we may form a future opinion from present times, and the dispositions of dissenters, who love to make a thorough reformation, the number and qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have with the utmost sincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmost deference and submission to public wisdom and power.

QUERIES RELATING TO THE SACRAMENTAL TEST, 1732.

Whether hatred and violence between parties in a state be not more inflamed by different views of interest than by the greater or lesser differences between them, either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the question at this time, which of the two religions is worse, popery or fanaticism; or not rather which of the two (having both the same good-will) is in the hopefulest condition to ruin the church?

Whether the sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the Papists?

Whether the prevailing sectaries could allow liberty of conscience to dissenters, without belying all their former practice, and almost all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thousand Scotch Presbyterians are not fully as virulent against the episcopal church as they are against the Papists; or as they would have us think the Papists are against them?

Whether the Dutch, who are most distinguished for allowing liberty of conscience, do ever admit any persons, who profess a different scheme of worship from their own, into civil employments, although they may be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether the dissenters ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the Test, that the dissenters in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence, by all proper and lawful means, to prevent their further increase?

The great argument given, by those whom they call low-churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to dissenters, has been, that by such indulgences the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether, if what the above pampbleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in number with conformists, be true, it does not clearly follow that those repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what those low-church politicians pretended to foresee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to Holy Scripture and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart, that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen, in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether, by necessary consequences, the several expedients among the sectaries to constitute their teachers are not absolutely null and void?

Whether the sectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from bishops?

Whether the bishops and clergy will be content to give up episcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well subsist?

Whether that great tenderness toward sectaries, which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of popery, or to that spirit of atheism, deism, scepticism, and universal immorality, which all good men so much lament?

Granting popery to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the sectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these kingdoms, with allowance for the short time which the sectaries had to act in, who are in a manner but of yesterday. The Papists in the time of king James II. used all endeavours to establish their superstition wherein they failed by the united power

of English Church Protestants, with the prince of Orange's assistance. But it cannot be asserted that these bigoted Papists had the least design to oppose or murder their king, much less to abolish kingly government; nor was it their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side, the puritans, who had almost from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining with the Scotch enthusiasts in the time of king Charles I., were the principal cause of the Irish rebellion and massacre, by distressing that prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely succours. And after that prince had satisfied his parliament in every single point to be complained of, the same sectaries, by poisoning the minds and affections of the people, with the most false and wicked representations of their king, were able, in the compass of a few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion, at the expense of many thousand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world; and (in their own style) to destroy the church, root and branch.

The account therefore stands thus:—The Papists aimed at one pernicious act, which was to destroy the Protestant religion; wherein, by God's mercy and the assistance of our glorious king William, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three most infernal actions that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by God; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of those sectaries have ever yet, in a solemn public manner, renounced any one of those principles upon which their predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel persecutions of the episcopal church during the course of that horrid rebellion, and the consequences of it until the happy Restoration, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit lies so equally divided between the Papists and the sectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either side.

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common understanding, who professes himself a member of the church established, although perhaps with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the case,) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can, after cool thinking, rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time?

Whether the candour of that expression, so frequent of late in sermons and pamphlets, of the strength and number of the Papists in Ireland, can be justified? for as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politics of the speaker or writer; but it is a gross imposition upon common reason to terrify us with their strength. For popery, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough from the consequences it has to increase the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise; the best topic for clamours of designing men, but the real terror only of fools. The landed popish interest in England far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into Protestant hands, by purchase or descent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts, will fall with the cause of it in half a generation, unless it be raised or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The Papists are wholly disarmed they have neither courage, leaders, money, nor inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage which they formerly possessed to follow their trade; and wherein, even with those advantages, they always miscarried: they appear very easy and satisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole last reign; nor even scrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much severity.

Upon these considerations, I must confess to have suspended much of my pity toward the great dreaders of popery, many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active young men, who, as I am told, eat, drink, and sleep heartily; and are very cheerful (as they have exceeding good reason) upon all other subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern which our neighbours, and others who come from the same neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this account, although the former be farther removed from the danger of popery by twenty leagues of salt water; but this I fear, is a digression.

When an artificial report was raised here many years ago, of an intended invasion by the pretender, (which blew over after it had done its office,) the dissenters argued in their talk and in their pamphlets after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church:—"Gentlemen, if the pretender had landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist you; and therefore, unless you take off the Test, whenever you shall happen to be invaded in earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your defence, our answer shall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles, we will lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery." This way of reasoning I have heard from several of their chiefs and abettors, in a hundred conversations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project should fail to take off the Test.

Upon which piece of oratory and reasoning I form the following query: Whether in case of an invasion from the pretender, (which is not quite so probable as from the grand signior,) the dissenters can, with prudence and safety, offer the same plea, except they shall have made a previous stipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, sufficient motives for repelling invasion, especially in our sectaries, who call themselves the truest Protestants, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceness against popery?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king Charles I., enjoined by act of parliament, can be justly reckoned a particular and distinguishing mark of good affection to the present government?

Whether, in those churches where the said day is observed, it will fully answer the intent of the said act, if the preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr, and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its consequences, the following usurpations, the entire destruction of the church, the cruel and continual persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its doctrines with the ensuing Babel of fanaticism, to the account of that blessed king; who, by granting the Petition of Right, and passing every bill that could be asked for the security of the subject, had, by the confession of those wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether such a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than one not many years past,

even in the presence of viceroys,) who takes that course as a means for promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common road, in a monarchy where the descendants of that most blessed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reason of making these queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

SOME FEW THOUGHTS
CONCERNING THE REPEAL OF THE TEST.

Those of either side who have written upon this subject of the Test, in making or answering objections, seem to fail, by not pressing sufficiently the chief point upon which the controversy turns. The arguments used by those who write for the church are very good in their kind; but will have little force under the present corruptions of mankind, because the authors treat this subject tanquam in republicâ Platonis, et non in fæce Romuli.

It must be confessed that, considering how few employments of any consequence fall to the share of those English who are born in this kingdom, and those few very dearly purchased at the expense of conscience, liberty, and all regard for the public good, they are not worth contending for; and if nothing but profit were in the case, it would hardly cost me one sigh, when I should see those few scraps thrown among every species of fanatics, to scuffle for among themselves.

And this will infallibly be the case after repealing the Test. For every subdivision of sect will, with equal justice, pretend to have a share; and, as it is usual with sharers, will never think they have enough while any pretender is left unprovided. I shall not except the Quakers; because, when the passage is once let open for sects to partake in public emoluments, it is very probable the lawfulness of taking oaths, and wearing carnal weapons,[a] may be revealed to the brotherhood; which thought, I confess, was first put into my head by one of the shrewdest Quakers in this kingdom.[b]

OBSERVATIONS
ON HEYLIN'S HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIANS. WRITTEN BY THE DEAN IN THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK.

This book, by some errors and neglects in the style, seems not to have received the author's last correction. It is written with some vehemence, very pardonable in one who had been an observer and a sufferer, in England, under that diabolical fanatic sect, which then destroyed church and state. But by comparing, in my memory, what I have read in other histories, he neither aggravates nor falsifies any facts. His partiality appears chiefly in setting the actions of Calvinists in the strongest light, without equally dwelling on those of the other side; which, however, to say the truth, was not his proper business. And yet he might have spent some more words on the inhuman massacre of Paris, and other parts of France, which no provocation (and yet the king had the greatest possible) could excuse, or much extenuate. The author, according to the current opinion of the age he lived in, had too high notions of regal power; led by the common mistake of the term supreme magistrate, and not rightly distinguishing between the legislature and the administration; into which mistake the clergy fell or continued, in the reign of Charles II., as I have shown and explained in a treatise, &c.

March 6, 1727-8. JONATHAN SWIFT.

[a] The Quakers were more likely to admit this relaxation of their tenets.

[b] The Quaker hinted at by Dr. Swift was Mr. George Rooke, a linendrapper. In a letter to Mr. Pope, Aug. 30, 1716, Dr. Swift says, "There is a young ingenious Quaker in this town who writes verses to his mistress, not very correct, but in a strain purely what a poetical Quaker should do, commending her look and habit, &c. It gave me a hint, that a set of Quaker pastorals might succeed, if our friend Gay would fancy it. This hint was acted upon by Gay, who wrote the "Espousal, a sober Eclogue, between two of the people called Quakers," in which their peculiarity is well delineated.

REASONS
HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND FOR REPEALING THE SACRAMENTAL TEST IN FAVOUR OF THE CATHOLICS,

OTHERWISE CALLED ROMAN CATHOLICS, AND, BY THEIR ILL-WILLERS, PAPISTS. DRAWN PARTLY FROM ARGUMENTS AS THEY ARE CATHOLICS, AND PARTLY FROM ARGUMENTS COMMON TO THEM WITH THEIR BRETHREN THE DISSENTERS. 1733.

It is well known that the first conquerors of this kingdom were English Catholics, subjects to English Catholic kings, from whom, by their valour and success, they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Irish; to which merit our brethren the dissenters, of any denomination whatsoever, have not the least pretension.

It is confessed that the posterity of those first victorious Catholics were often forced to rise in their own defence against new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Irish, with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till, in the next generation, the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner by new English adventurers; which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders: whereas all the rebellions of Puritans, Presbyterians, Independents, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which, however, at last they did, with the murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The Catholics were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas our brethren, the dissenters, were always republicans, both in principle and practice.

It is well known that all the Catholics of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true Whigs, in the best and most proper sense of the word: bearing as well in their hearts as in their outward profession an entire royalty to the royal house of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George II., against the Pretender and all his adherents; to which they think themselves bound in gratitude, as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during the administration of that wicked minister the earl of Oxford.

The Catholics of this kingdom humbly hope that they have at least as fair a title as any of their brother dissenters to the appellation of Protestants. They have always protested against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; against Deism, Atheism, Socinianism, Quakerism, Muggletonianism, Fanaticism, Brownism, as well as against all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and heretics. Whereas the title of Protestants, assumed by the whole herd of dissenters (except our-

selves) depends entirely upon their protesting against archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, with their revenues, and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expressions used in the solemn league and covenant[a] where the word popery is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; because the Catholics agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals.

Although the Catholics cannot deny that in the great rebellion against king Charles I. more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his majesty's troops; and that many jesuits and friars went about in the disguise of Presbyterian and Independent ministers to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform us; yet the bulk of Catholics in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The Catholics have some reason to think it a little hard when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian sir Phelim O'Neal, with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterward by the Catholic lords and gentlemen of the English pale, in defence of the king, after the English rebellion began. It is well known that his majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before, by an invasion of the covenanting Scottish kirk rebels, and by the base terms the king was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet, at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the Catholic army in Ireland fought for their king against the forces sent over by the parliament, then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial as to deny that they did their duty by joining with the marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the king? For which great numbers of them lost their lives and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants, from those very men who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head and destroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the Irish were entirely subdued, continued in power under the Rump, were chief confidants and faithful subjects to Cromwell, yet, being wise enough to foresee a restoration, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their brethren in rebellion for the service of the king; just saving the tide, and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the Catholics lost by their loyalty, but likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the Catholics are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that Christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by Catholics; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, does not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismatics acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government, established in all Christian nations, and of apostolic institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The Catholics of Ireland, in the Great Rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king. The schismatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of those very estates which the Catholics lost in defence of the ancient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismatics: and thus they gained by their rebellion what the Catholics lost by their loyalty.

We allow the Catholics to be brethren of the dissenters; some people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have them to be our children, because we both dissent from the church established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting Sacramental Test: by which negative discouragement, we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismatics, in calling the members of the national church their brethren and fellow Protestants. It is true that all these sects (except the Catholics) are brethren to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the Quakers) in rebellion. But how the churchmen can be styled their fellow Protestants we cannot comprehend; because, when the whole Babel of sectaries joined against the church, the king, and the nobility, for twenty years, in a match at football, where the proverb expressly tells us that all are fellows; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the churches, and cities, and royal palaces, shattered to pieces by their balls, their buffets, and their kicks; the victors would allow no more fellows at football; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved all their opposers, who had lost the game.

It is said the world is governed by opinion; and politicians assure us that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it must follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with so much obstinacy as those in religion, especially by such zealots, who never bore the least regard to religion, conscience, honour, justice, truth, mercy, or common morality, further than in outward appearance, under the mask of hypocrisy, to promote their diabolical designs. And therefore bishop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honestly, that the saints of those fanatic times pronounced themselves above morality, which they reckoned among beggarly elements; but the meaning of these two last words, thus applied, we confess to be above our understanding.

Among those kingdoms and states which first embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the most regular way: where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the supreme power of a king [Henry VIII.] and the three estates in parliament; to which, as the highest legislative authority, all subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much blood shed on so great a change of religion. But a considerable number of lords, and other persons of quality, through the kingdom, still continued in their old faith, and were, notwithstanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or less, in every reign, until the Test Act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of the Reformation, the number of Catholics gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the reign of king Charles I., England became in a great degree a Protestant kingdom, without taking the sectaries into the number; the legality whereof,

[a] A solemn league and covenant entered into between the Scotch and English in the rebellion against king Charles I., 1643: of which it was a principal object, "to endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and all other episcopal officers depending on that hierarchy."

with respect to human laws, the Catholics never disputed; but the Puritans, and other schismatics, without the least pretence to any such authority, by an open rebellion, destroyed that legal Reformation, as we observed before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republic. It is therefore not to be wondered at if the Catholics, in such a Babel of religions, chose to adhere to their own faith left them by their ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the supreme legislative power, we cannot dispute the human legality of such a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable party of men, which differs from an establishment either old or new, can deserve liberty of conscience, it ought to consist of those who, for want of conviction, or of right understanding the merits of each cause, conceive themselves bound in conscience to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; because they are, of all others, least likely to be authors of innovations, either in church or state.

On the other side; if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion against the king, without whose consent, by the nature of our constitution, no law can pass; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons, and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates), by the murder of their king, and by abolishing the whole system of government, the Catholics cannot see why the successors of those schismatics, who are universally accused by all parties, except themselves and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government under which their predecessors acted, should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power than the Catholics; who, during all that period of twenty years, were continually persecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power

We now come to those arguments for repealing the Sacramental Test which equally affect the Catholics and their brethren the dissenters.

First, we agree with our fellow dissenters, that persecution merely for conscience' sake is against the genius of the gospel. And so likewise is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men. We are also ready enough to allow, that the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake, are so many persecutions; because it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound, as much as a stab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the peace, merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement, and consequently a real persecution: for in this case, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the margin[a] puts a very pertinent and powerful question: "If God be the sole lord of the conscience, why should the rights of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction?" Now to apply this to the Catholics; the belief of transubstantiation is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which does not affect the political interest of society as such; therefore, why should the rights of conscience, whereof God is the sole lord, be subject to human jurisdiction? And why should God be deprived of this right over a Catholic's conscience any more than over that of any other dissenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the dissenters has very justly complained, that by this persecuting Test Act great numbers of true Protestants have been forced to leave the kingdom, and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here, branded with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the Catholics can bring many more instances of the same kind; some thousands of their religion have been forced by the Sacramental Test to retire into other countries rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in Parliament, and getting that share of power and profit which belongs to them as fellow Christians, whereof they are deprived merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows, in the words of the same author, "That if we Catholics are incapable of employment, we are punished for our dissent, that is, for our conscience, which wholly turns upon political considerations."

The Catholics are willing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, whenever their brethren the dissenters shall please to show them an example.

Further, the Catholics, whenever their religion shall come to be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same test offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: "To end this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial person a fair and equitable one, we Catholics propose, with submission to the proper judges, that effectual security be taken against persecution, by obliging all who are admitted into places of power and trust, whatever their religious profession be, in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting principles." It is hoped the public will take notice of these words, "Whatever their religious profession be;" which plainly include the Catholics; and for which we return thanks to our dissenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of possessing civil and military employments, they would never be at ease till they had raised their own way of worship into the national religion through all his majesty's dominions, equal with the true orthodox Scottish kirk; which, when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow liberty of conscience to episcopal dissenters, than they did in the time of the great English rebellion, and in the succeeding fanatic anarchy, till the king was restored. There is another very learned schismatical pamphleteer,[a] who in answer to a malignant libel called "The Presbyterian Plea of Merit," &c., clearly wipes off this aspersion, by assuring all episcopal Protestants of the present church, upon his own word, and to his knowledge, that our brethren the dissenters will never offer at such an attempt. In like manner, the Catholics, when legally required, will openly declare, upon their words and honours, that as soon as their negative discouragements and their persecution shall be removed, by repealing the Sacramental Test, they will leave it entirely to the merit of the cause, whether the kingdom shall think fit to make their faith the established religion or not.

And again, whereas our Presbyterian brethren, in many of their pamphlets, take much offence that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected against them, both in and out of season, by our common enemy, the present conformists; we do declare, in the defence of our said brethren, that the reproach aforesaid is an old, wornout, threadbare cant, which they always disdained to answer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformist how much I wondered to hear him and his

a "Reasons for the repealing of the Sacramental Test."

a "Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters."

tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a subject, he was pleased to divert the discourse with a foolish story, which I cannot forbear telling to his disgrace. He said, there was a clergyman in Yorkshire, who, for fifteen years together, preached every Sunday against drunkenness: whereat the parishioners being much offended, complained to the archbishop; who, having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice before he would begin upon another; and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lies upon the Catholics of Ireland; that some years before king Charles II. was restored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the Rump to be settled; after all his majesty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the said Catholics, who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which, after the Restoration, was proved against them by dean Boyle, since primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The Catholics freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their estates, and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the Rump or Cromwell absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the Catholics, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous a usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the Rump. And I have often heard not only our friends the dissenters, but even our common enemies the conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times, freely confess that, considering the miserable situation the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least to the recovery of England and Scotland, from those betrayers, and sellers, and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude: whereas the last quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a brand that lies upon them; it is a great mistake: for the first original brand has been long taken off; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced: else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon Cain, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the Roman nose and Austrian lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any brands fixed on schismatics for several years past, they have been all made with cold iron; like thieves who, by the benefit of the clergy, are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but escaped the pain and the mark by being in fee with the jailor. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a very fresh instance, have the souls and bodies and purses of the people a hundred times more at their mercy than the Catholic priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore upon the whole, the Catholics do humbly petition (without the least insinuation of threatening) that, upon this favourable juncture, their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same reasons (besides others more cogent) that are now offered by their brethren the dissenters.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.[a]

Dublin, November, 1733.

PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1708.

WHEREIN THE MONTH, AND THE DAY OF THE MONTH, ARE SET DOWN, THE PERSONS NAMED, AND THE GREAT ACTIONS AND EVENTS OF NEXT YEAR PARTICULARLY RELATED, AS THEY WILL COME TO PASS. WRITTEN TO PREVENT THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND FROM BEING FURTHER IMPOSED ON BY THE VULGAR ALMANACK-MAKERS.

BY ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQ.

SWIFT, when he had written these humorous predictions, being at a loss what name to prefix to them, observed a sign over a blacksmith's house, and the name of Bickerstaff written under it. It struck his fancy, and he chose to call himself Isaac Bickerstaff. This amusing tract was seriously burnt by the inquisition in Portugal, as the author was assured by sir Paul Methuen, then ambassador at that court.

I HAVE considered the gross abuse of astrology in this kingdom, and upon debating the matter with myself, I could not possibly lay the fault upon the art, but upon those gross impostors who set up to be the artists. I know several learned men have contended that the whole is a cheat; that it is absurd and ridiculous to imagine the stars can have any influence at all upon human actions, thoughts, or inclinations; and whoever has not bent his studies that way may be excused for thinking so, when he sees in how wretched a manner that noble art is treated by a few mean, illiterate traders between us and the stars; who import a yearly stock of nonsense, lies, folly, and impertinence, which they offer to the world as genuine from the planets, though they descend from no greater a height than their own brains.

I intend, in a short time, to publish a large and rational defence of this art, and therefore shall say no more in its justification at present, than that it has been in all ages defended by many learned men, and among the rest by Socrates himself; whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wisest of uninspired mortals: to which if we add, that those who have condemned this art, though otherwise learned, have been such as either did not apply their studies this way, or at least did not succeed in their applications, their testimony will not be of much weight to its disadvantage, since they are liable to the common objection, of condemning what they did not understand.

Nor am I at all offended, or do I think it an injury to the art, when I see the common dealers in it, the students in astrology, the philomaths, and the rest of that tribe, treated by wise men with the utmost scorn and contempt; but I rather wonder, when I observe gentlemen in the country, rich enough to serve the nation in parliament, poring in Partridge's Almanack to find out the events of the year, at home and abroad; not daring to propose a hunting march till Gadbury[b] or he have fixed the weather.

I will allow either of the two I have mentioned, or

[a] In this controversy the author was victorious.

[b] John Gadbury, bred a tailor at Oxford, long published an almanack which vied in reputation with that of Partridge.

any other of the fraternity, to be not only astrologers but conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred instances, in all their almanacks, to convince any reasonable man that they do not so much as understand common grammar and syntax; that they are not able to spell any word out of the usual road, nor, even in their prefaces, to write common sense, or intelligible English. Then, for their observations and predictions, they are such as will equally suit any age or country in the world, "This month a certain great person will be threatened with death or sickness." This the newspapers will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month passes without the death of some person of note; and it would be hard if it should be otherwise, when there are at least two thousand persons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanack-maker has the liberty of choosing the sickliest season of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, "This month an eminent clergyman will be preferred;" of which there may be many hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, "Such a planet in such a house shows great machinations, plots, and conspiracies that may in time be brought to light:" after which, if we hear of any discovery, the astrologer gets the honour; if not, his predictions still stand good. And at last, "God preserve king William from all his open and secret enemies. Amen." When, if the king should happen to have died, the astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes but for the pious ejaculation of a loyal subject: though it unluckily happened in some of their almanacks that poor king William was prayed for many months after he was dead, because it fell out, that he died about the beginning of the year.

To mention no more of their impertinent predictions, what have we to do with their advertisements about "pills and drinks for the venereal disease?" or their mutual quarrels in verse and prose of Whig and Tory, wherewith the stars have little to do.

Having long observed and lamented these, and a hundred other abuses of this art too tedious to repeat, I resolved to proceed in a new way, which I doubt not will be to the general satisfaction of the kingdom: I can this year produce but a specimen of what I design for the future; having employed most part of my time in adjusting and correcting the calculations I made for some years past, because I would offer nothing to the world of which I am not as fully satisfied as that I am now alive. For these two last years I have not failed in above one or two particulars, and those of no very great moment. I exactly foretold the miscarriage at Toulon,[a] with all its particulars; and the loss of admiral Shovel,[b] though I was mistaken as to the day, placing that article about thirty-six hours sooner than it happened; but upon reviewing my schemes, I quickly found the cause of that error. I likewise foretold the battle of Almanza [April 25, 1707] to the very day and hour, with the loss on both sides, and the consequences thereof. All which I showed to some friends many months before they happened; that is, I gave them papers sealed up, to open at such a time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my predictions true in every article, except one or two very minute.

As for the few following predictions I now offer the world, I forebore to publish them till I had perused the several almanacks for the year we are now entered upon. I found them all in the usual strain, and I beg the reader will compare their manner with mine: and here I make bold to tell the world that I lay the whole credit of my art upon the truth of these predictions; and I will be content that Partridge, and the rest of his clan, may hoot me for a cheat and impostor if I fail in any single particular of moment. I believe any man who reads this paper will look upon me to be at least a person of as much honesty and understanding as a common maker of almanacks. I do not lurk in the dark; I am not wholly unknown in the world; I have set my name at length to be a mark of infamy to mankind if they shall find I deceive them.

In one thing I must desire to be forgiven, that I talk more sparingly of home affairs; as it would be imprudence to discover secrets of state, so it might be dangerous to my person; but in smaller matters, and such as are not of public consequence, I shall be very free; and the truth of my conjectures will as much appear from these as the other. As for the most signal events abroad in France, Flanders, Italy, and Spain, I shall make no scruple to predict them in plain terms: some of them are of importance, and I hope I shall seldom mistake the day they will happen; therefore I think good to inform the reader, that I shall all along make use of the old style observed in England, which I desire he will compare with that of the newspapers, at the time they relate the actions I mention.

I must add one word more; I know it has been the opinion of several learned persons, who think well enough of the true art of astrology, that the stars do only incline, and not force, the actions or wills of men, and therefore, however I may proceed by right rules, yet I cannot in prudence so confidently assure the events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have maturely considered this objection, which in some cases is of no little weight. For example; a man may, by the influence of an overruling planet, be disposed or inclined to lust, rage, or avarice, and yet by the force of reason overcome that evil influence; and this was the case of Socrates; but the great events of the world usually depending upon numbers of men, it cannot be expected they should all unite to cross their inclinations, for pursuing a general design, wherein they unanimously agree. Besides, the influence of the stars reaches to many actions and events which are not any way in the power of reason; as sickness, death, and what we commonly call accidents, with many more needless to repeat.

But now it is time to proceed to my predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the sun enters into Aries. And this I take to be properly the beginning of the natural year. I pursue them to the time that he enters Libra, or somewhat more, which is the busy period of the year. The remainder I have not yet adjusted, upon account of several impediments needless here to mention: besides, I must remind the reader again, that this is but a specimen of what I design in succeeding years to treat more at large, if I may have liberty and encouragement.

My first prediction is but a trifle, yet I will mention it, to show how ignorant those sottish pretenders to astrology are in their own concerns: it relates to Partridge the almanack-maker. I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raging fever: therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his affairs in time.

The month of April will be observable for the death of many great persons. On the 4th will die the cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris; on the 11th, the young prince of Asturias, son to the duke of Anjou; on the 14th, a great peer of this realm will die at his country-house; on the 19th, an old layman of great fame for learning; and on the 23rd, an eminent goldsmith in Lombard Street. I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not consider such

[a] An attempt was made to besiege Toulon in 1707, but it miscarried.

[b] Sir Cloudesly Shovel's fleet was wrecked Oct. 22, 1707.

events of very little use or instruction to the reader, or to the world.

As to public affairs: on the 7th of this month there will be an insurrection in Dauphiné, occasioned by the oppressions of the people, which will not be quieted in some months.

On the 15th will be a violent storm on the south-east coast of France, which will destroy many of their ships, and some in the very harbour.

The 19th will be famous for the revolt of a whole province or kingdom, excepting one city, by which the affairs of a certain prince in the alliance will take a better face.

May, against common conjectures, will be no very busy month in Europe, but very signal for the death of the Dauphin, which will happen on the 7th, after a short fit of sickness, and grievous torments with the strangury. He dies less lamented by the court than the kingdom.

On the 9th, a mareschal of France will break his leg by a fall from his horse. I have not been able to discover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th will begin a most important siege, which the eyes of all Europe will be upon: I cannot be more particular; for, in relating affairs that so nearly concern the confederates, and consequently this kingdom, I am forced to confine myself, for several reasons very obvious to the reader.

On the 15th, news will arrive of a very surprising event, than which, nothing can be more unexpected.

On the 19th, three noble ladies of this kingdom will, against all expectation, prove with child, to the great joy of their husbands.

On the 23rd, a famous buffoon of the playhouse will die a ridiculous death, suitable to his vocation.

June. This month will be distinguished at home by the utter dispersing of those ridiculous deluded enthusiasts commonly called the prophets;[a] occasioned chiefly by seeing the time come when many of their prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary events. It is indeed to be admired, how any deceiver can be so weak to foretell things near at hand, when a very few months must, of necessity, discover the imposture to all the world; in this point less prudent than common almanack-makers, who are so wise to wander in generals, and talk dubiously, and leave to the reader the business of interpreting.

On the 1st of this month a French general will be killed by a random shot of a cannon-ball.

On the 6th, a fire will break out in the suburbs of Paris, which will destroy above a thousand houses; and seems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the surprise of all Europe, about the end of the following month.

On the 10th, a great battle will be fought, which will begin at four of the clock in the afternoon, and last till nine at night, with great obstinacy, but no very decisive event. I shall not name the place, for the reasons aforesaid; but the commanders on each left wing will be killed. I see bonfires and hear the noise of guns for a victory.

On the 14th there will be a false report of the French king's death.

On the 20th, cardinal Portocarero will die of a dysentery, with great suspicion of poison; but the report of his intention to revolt to king Charles will prove false.

July. The 6th of this month a certain general will, by a glorious action, recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes.

[a] The Protestants in Dauphiné, called Cassimars, being driven mad by persecution, became of course enthusiasts, and mingled miracles and prophecies with their religious fervour.

On the 12th, a great commander will die a prisoner in the hands of his enemies.

On the 14th, a shameful discovery will be made of a French jesuit giving poison to a great foreign general; and when he is put to the torture, he will make wonderful discoveries.

In short, this will prove a month of great action, if I might have liberty to relate the particulars.

At home, the death of an old famous senator will happen on the 15th, at his country-house, worn out with age and diseases.

But that which will make this month memorable to all posterity, is the death of the French king, Louis XIV., after a week's sickness, at Marli, which will happen on the 29th, about six o'clock in the evening. It seems to be an effect of the gout in the stomach, followed by a flux. And, in three days after, Monsieur Chamillard will follow his master, dying suddenly of an apoplexy.

In this month likewise an ambassador will die in London; but I cannot assign the day.

August. The affairs of France will seem to suffer no change for a while under the duke of Burgundy's administration; but the genius that animated the whole machine being gone, will be the cause of mighty turns and revolutions in the following year. The new king makes yet little change either in the army or the ministry; but the libels against his grandfather, that fly about his very court, give him uneasiness.

I see an express in mighty haste, with joy and wonder in his looks, arriving by break of day on the 26th of this month, having travelled in three days a prodigious journey by land and sea. In the evening I hear bells and guns, and see the blazing of a thousand bonfires.

A young admiral of noble birth does likewise this month gain immortal honour by a great achievement.

The affairs of Poland are this month entirely settled: Augustus resigns his pretensions, which he had again taken up for some time; Stanislaus is peaceably possessed of the throne; and the king of Sweden declares for the emperor.

I cannot omit one particular accident here at home; that near the end of this month much mischief will be done at Bartholomew Fair, by the fall of a booth.

September. This month begins with a very surprising fit of frosty weather, which will last near twelve days.

The pope having long languished last month, the swellings in his legs breaking, and the flesh mortifying, will die on the 11th instant: and in three weeks' time, after a mighty contest, be succeeded by a cardinal of the imperial faction, but a native of Tuscany, who is now about sixty-one years old.

The French army now acts wholly on the defensive, strongly fortified in their trenches: and the young French king sends overtures for a treaty of peace by the duke of Mantua, which, because it is a matter of state that concerns us here at home, I shall speak no further of.

I shall add but one prediction more, and that in mystical terms, which shall be included in a verse out of Virgil—

> Alter erit jam Tethys, et altera, quæ vehat, Argo,
> Delectos heroas.

Upon the 25th day of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifest to everybody

This is the farthest I have proceeded in my calculations for the present year. I do not pretend that these are all the great events which will happen in this period, but that those I have set down will infallibly come to pass. It will perhaps still be objected, why I

have not spoke more particularly of affairs at home, or of the success of our armies abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done; but those in power have wisely discouraged men from meddling in public concerns, and I was resolved by no means to give the least offence. This I will venture to say, that it will be a glorious campaign for the allies, wherein the English forces, both by sea and land, will have their full share of honour: that her majesty queen Anne will continue in health and prosperity: and that no ill accident will arrive to any in the chief ministry.

As to the particular events I have mentioned, the reader may judge, by the fulfilling of them, whether I am on the level with common astrologers; who, with an old paltry cant, and a few pot-hooks for planets to amuse the vulgar, have, in my opinion, too long been suffered to abuse the world: but an honest physician ought not to be despised because there are such things as mountebanks. I hope I have some share of reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a frolic or humour: and I believe no gentleman who reads this paper will look upon it to be of the same cast or mould with the common scribbles that are every day hawked about. My fortune has placed me above the little regard of writing for a few pence, which I neither value nor want: therefore let not wise men too hastily condemn this essay, intended for a good design, to cultivate and improve an ancient art, long in disgrace by having fallen into mean unskilful hands. A little time will determine whether I have deceived others or myself: and I think it no very unreasonable request, that men would please to suspend their judgments till then. I was once of the opinion with those who despise all predictions from the stars, till, in the year 1686, a man of quality showed me, written in his *album*, that the most learned astronomer, captain Halley, assured him he would never believe anything of the stars' influence, if there were not a great revolution in England in the year 1688. Since that time I began to have other thoughts, and after eighteen years' diligent study and application, I think I have no reason to repent of my pains. I shall detain the reader no longer than to let him know, that the account I design to give of next year's events, shall take in the principal affairs that happen in Europe; and if I be denied the liberty of offering it to my own country, I shall appeal to the learned world, by publishing it in Latin, and giving order to have it printed in Holland.

AN ANSWER TO BICKERSTAFF.

SOME REFLECTIONS UPON MR. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR MDCCVIII.

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I HAVE not observed, for some years past, any insignificant paper to have made more noise, or be more greedily bought, than that of these predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amusement for the better sort, and a jest only to the wise; yet among these last, I have heard some very much in doubt whether the author meant to deceive others or is deceived himself. Whoever he was, he seems to have with great art adjusted his paper both to please the rabble and to entertain persons of condition. The writer is, without question, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece seems hastily written in a sudden frolic, with the scornful thought of the pleasure he will have in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: nor do I doubt but he and his friends in the secret laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thousand fools they have already made. And he has them fast for some time: for so they are likely to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great question whether the miscarriage of the two or three first will so entirely undeceive people as to hinder them from expecting the accomplishment of the rest. I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and hour. And these I take to be Mr. Bickerstaff's choicest cullies, for whose sake chiefly he writ his amusement. Meanwhile he has seven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in suspense: for it is so long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the first prediction; and, if that fellow happens to be a splenetic visionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophecy may punctually come to pass by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill used by a mercer in town, wrote him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a slow poison into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which, the man began in earnest to languish and decay, by the mere strength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him, before the jest went too far. The like effect upon Partridge would wonderfully rise Mr. Bickerstaff's reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from France whether the cardinal de Noailles were dead or alive upon the 4th of April, which is the second of his predictions.

For a piece so carelessly written, the observations upon astrology are reasonable and pertinent, the remarks just; and as the paper is partly designed, in my opinion, for a satire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities; so it is no more than what we all of us deserve. And, since we must be teased with perpetual hawkers of strange and wonderful things, I am glad to see a man of sense find leisure and humour to take up the trade, for his own and our diversion. To speak in the town phrase, it is a hite; he has fully had his jest, and may be satisfied.

I very much approve the serious air he gives himself in his introduction and conclusion, which has gone far to give some people, of no mean rank, an opinion that the author believes himself. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art on the truth of these predictions, and will be content to be hooted by Partridge and the rest for a cheat, if he fails in any one particular," with several other strains of the same kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether Isaac Bickerstaff be a mark of infamy or not. But it seems, although he has joined an odd surname to no very common Christian one, that in this large town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no small mortification to this gentleman astrologer, as well as his bookseller, to find their piece, which they sent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately seized on by three or four interloping printers of Grub-street, the title stuffed with an abstract of the whole matter, together with the standard epithets of *strange* and *wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior class, with the concluding cadence of "A halfpenny a piece!" But *sic cecidit Phaeton;* and, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the same fate; to-morrow will my ears be grated by the little boys and wenches in straw hats; and I must a hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to sale at an under value. Then, which is a great deal worse, my acquaintance in the coffeehouse will ask me whether I have seen the "Answer to

'Squire Bickerstaff's Predictions," and whether I knew the puppy that writ it; and how to keep a man's countenance in such a juncture is no easy point of conduct. When, in this case, you see a man shy either in praising or condemning, ready to turn off the discourse to another subject, standing as little in the light as he can to hide his blushing, pretending to sneeze, or take snuff, or go off as if sudden business called him; then ply him close, observe his look narrowly, see whether his speech be constrained or affected, then charge him suddenly, or whisper and smile, and you will soon discover whether he be guilty. Although this seem not the purpose I am discoursing on, yet I think it to be so; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of "Bickerstaff's Predictions," and did not meet with him some days ago in a coffeehouse at Covent Garden.

As to the matter of the predictions themselves, I shall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. Partridge to take them into his consideration, and lay as many errors in astrology as possible to Mr. Bickerstaff's account. He may justly, I think, challenge the 'squire to publish the calculation he has made of Partridge's nativity, by the credit of which he so determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. Bickerstaff can do no less, in honour, than give Mr. Partridge the same advantage of calculating his, by sending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars necessary for such a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the dispute, and take part on each side according as they are inclined.

I should likewise advise Mr. Partridge to inquire, why Mr. Bickerstaff does not so much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publishing his paper. This looks a little suspicious, as if he were desirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could; else it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of March; which is not so fair dealings as we have even from Mr. Partridge and his brethren, who give us their predictions (such as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one passage in Mr. Bickerstaff's paper that seems to be as high a strain of assurance as I have anywhere met with: it is that prediction for the month of June which relates to the French prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly disperse, by seeing the time come, wherein their prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary events." Upon which he adds, with great reason, "his wonder how any deceiver can be so weak to foretell things near at hand, when a very few months must discover the imposture to all the world." This is spoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedness, as if he would have us think himself to be not under the least apprehension, that the same in two months will be his own case. With respect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of so refined and pleasant a piece of impudence; which I hope the author will not resent as an uncivil word, because I am sure I enter into his taste, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deserves a reprimand for writing with so much scorn and contempt for the understandings of the majority.

For the month of July, he tells us "of a general who, by a glorious action, will recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes." This is commonly understood to be lord Galway; who, if he be already dead, as some newspapers have it, Mr. Bickerstaff has made a trip. But this I do not much insist on; for it is hard if another general cannot be found under the same circumstances to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The French king's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at Marli, where he never goes at that season of the year, as I observed myself during three years I passed in that kingdom: and discoursing some months ago with Monsieur Tallard about the French court, I find that king never goes to Marli for any time, but about the season of hunting there, which is not till August. So that there was an unlucky slip of Mr. Bickerstaff for want of foreign education.

He concludes with resuming his promise of publishing entire predictions for next year; of which the other astrologers need not be in very much pain. I suppose we shall have them much about the same time with "The General History of Ears." I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and though I am no astrologer, may venture to prophecy that Isaac Bickerstaff, esq., is now dead, and died just at the time his "Predictions" were ready for the press: that he dropped out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps, descend a second time when he has some new, agreeable, or amusing whimsy to pass upon the town; wherein it is very probable he will succeed as often as he is disposed to try the experiment; that is, as long as he can preserve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's understandings, and is resolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expense of a million of people.

THE ACCOMPLISHMENT
OF THE FIRST OF
MR. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS,
BEING
AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF MR. PARTRIDGE, THE ALMANACK-MAKER, UPON THE 29TH INSTANT, IN A LETTER TO A PERSON OF HONOUR.
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1708.

My Lord, in obedience to your Lordship's commands, as well as to satisfy my own curiosity, I have some days past inquired constantly after Partridge the almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in "Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions," published about a month ago, that he should die the 29th instant, about eleven at night, of a raging fever. I had some sort of knowledge of him when I was employed in the revenue, because he used every year to present me with his almanack, as he did other gentlemen, upon the score of some little gratuity we gave him. I saw him accidentally once or twice about ten days before he died, and observed he began very much to droop and languish, though I hear his friends did not seem to apprehend him in any danger. About two or three days ago he grew ill, was confined first to his chamber, and in a few hours after to his bed, where Dr. Case* and Mrs. Kirleus were sent for to visit and to prescribe to him. Upon this intelligence I sent thrice every day one servant or other to inquire after his health; and yesterday, about four in the afternoon, word was brought me, "that he was past hopes:" upon which I prevailed with myself to go and see him, partly out of commiseration, and, I confess, partly out of curiosity. He knew me very well, seemed surprised at my condescension, and made me compliments upon it, as well as he could in the condition he was. The people about him said, "he had been for some time delirious;" but when I saw him he had his understanding as well as ever I knew,

* John Case was many years a noted practitioner in physic and astrology. He was looked upon as the successor of Lilly and of Saffold.

and spoke strong and hearty, without any seeming uneasiness or constraint. After I had told him "how sorry I was to see him in those melancholy circumstances," and said some other civilities suitable to the occasion, I desired him "to tell me freely and ingenuously whether the predictions Mr. Bickerstaff had published relating to his death had not too much affected and worked on his imagination." He confessed, "he had often had it in his head, but never with much apprehension till about a fortnight before; since which time it had the perpetual possession of his mind and thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural cause of his present distemper: for," said he, "I am thoroughly persuaded, and I think I have very good reasons, that Mr. Bickerstaff spoke altogether by guess, and knew no more what will happen this year than I did myself."

I told him "his discourse surprised me; and I would be glad he were in a state of health to be able to tell me what reason he had to be convinced of Mr. Bickerstaff's ignorance." He replied, "I am a poor ignorant fellow, bred to a mean trade, yet I have sense enough to know that all pretences of foretelling by astrology are deceits, for this manifest reason; because the wise and the learned, who can only judge whether there be any truth in this science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it; and none but the poor ignorant vulgar give it any credit, and that only upon the word of such silly wretches as I and my fellows who can hardly write or read." I then asked him, "why he had not calculated his own nativity, to see whether it agreed with Bickerstaff's prediction?" At which he shook his head, and said, "Oh! sir, this is no time for jesting, but for repenting those fooleries, as I do now from the very bottom of my heart."—"By what I can gather from you," said I, "the observations and predictions you printed with your almanacks were mere impositions on the people." He replied, "If it were otherwise, I should have the less to answer for. We have a common form for all those things: as to foretelling the weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the printer, who takes it out of any old almanack as he thinks fit; the rest was my own invention, to make my almanack sell, having a wife to maintain and no other way to get my bread; for mending old shoes is a poor livelihood; and," added he, sighing, "I wish I may not have done more mischief by my physic than my astrology; though I had some good receipts from my grandmother, and my own compositions were such as I thought could at least do no hurt."

I had some other discourse with him, which I now cannot call to mind; and I fear have already tired your lordship. I shall only add one circumstance, that on his death-bed he declared himself a nonconformist, and had a fanatic preacher to be his spiritual guide. After half an hour's conversation I took my leave, being almost stifled with the closeness of the room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little coffeehouse hard by, leaving a servant at the house with orders to come immediately and tell me, as near as he could, the minute when Partridge should expire, which was not above two hours after; when, looking upon my watch, I found it to be about five minutes after seven; by which it is clear that Mr. Bickerstaff was mistaken almost four hours in his calculation. In the other circumstances he was exact enough. But whether he has been the cause of this poor man's death, as well as the predictor, may be very reasonably disputed. However, it must be confessed the matter is odd enough, whether we should endeavour to account for it by chance or the effect of imagination: for my own part, though I believe no man has less faith in these matters, yet I shall wait with some impatience, and not without some expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. Bickerstaff's second prediction, that the cardinal de Noailles is to die upon the 4th of April; and if that should be verified as exactly as this of poor Partridge, I must own I should be wholly surprised and at a loss, and should infallibly expect the accomplishment of all the rest.

'SQUIRE BICKERSTAFF DETECTED;

OR, THE

ASTROLOGICAL IMPOSTOR CONVICTED.

BY JOHN PARTRIDGE,

STUDENT IN PHYSIC AND ASTROLOGY.

It is hard, my dear countrymen of these united nations, it is very hard that a Briton born, a Protestant astrologer, a man of revolution principles, an assertor of the liberty and property of the people, should cry out in vain for justice against a Frenchman, a papist, and an illiterate pretender to science, that would blast my reputation, most inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native country of those services which, in my double capacity, I daily offer the public.

What great provocations I have received let the impartial reader judge, and how unwillingly, even in my own defence, I now enter the lists against falsehood, ignorance, and envy; but I am exasperated, at length, to drag out this Cacus from the den of obscurity where he lurks, detect him by the light of those stars he has so impudently traduced, and show there is not a monster in the skies so pernicious and malevolent to mankind as an ignorant pretender to physic and astrology. I shall not directly fall on the many gross errors, nor expose the notorious absurdities of this prostitute libeller, till I have let the learned world fairly into the controversy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the merits and justice of my cause.

It was toward the conclusion of the year 1707, when an impudent pamphlet crept into the world, entitled, "Predictions, &c., by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq." Among the many arrogant assertions laid down by that lying spirit of divination, he was pleased to pitch on the cardinal de Noailles and myself, among many other eminent and illustrious persons, that were to die within the compass of the ensuing year; and peremptorily fixes the month, day, and hour, of our deaths: this, I think, is sporting with great men, and public spirits, to the scandal of religion, and reproach of power; and if sovereign princes and astrologers must make diversion for the vulgar—why then farewell, say I, to all governments, ecclesiastical and civil. But, I thank my better stars, I am alive to confront this false and audacious predictor, and to make him rue the hour he ever affronted a man of science and resentment. The cardinal may take what measures he pleases with him; as his excellency is a foreigner, and a Papist, he has no reason to rely on me for his justification; I shall only assure the world he is alive: but as he was bred to letters and is master of a pen, let him use it in his own defence. In the mean time I shall present the public with a faithful narrative of the ungenerous treatment and hard usage I have received from the virulent papers and malicious practices of this pretended astrologer.

A TRUE AND IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQ., AGAINST ME.

The 28th of March, *anno Dom.* 1708, being the night this sham prophet had so impudently fixed for my last, which made little impression on myself; but I cannot answer for my whole family; for my wife,

with concern more than usual, prevailed on me to take somewhat to sweat for a cold; and between the hours of eight and nine, to go to bed: the maid, as she was warming my bed, with a curiosity natural to young wenches, runs to the window, and asks of one passing the street, who the bell tolled for? Dr. Partridge, says he, the famous almanack-maker, who died suddenly this evening: the poor girl, provoked, told him he lied like a rascal; the other very sedately replied, the sexton had so informed him, and if false, he was to blame for imposing upon a stranger. She asked a second, and a third, as they passed, and every one was in the same tone. Now, I do not say these are accomplices to a certain astrological 'squire, and that one Bickerstaff might be sauntering thereabout, because I will assert nothing here but what I dare attest for plain matter of fact. My wife at this fell into a violent disorder, and I must own I was a little discomposed at the oddness of the accident. In the mean time one knocks at my door; Betty runs down, and opening, finds a sober, grave person, who modestly inquires if this was Dr. Partridge's? She, taking him for some cautious city patient, that came at that time for privacy, shows him into the dining-room. As soon as I could compose myself, I went to him, and was surprised to find my gentleman mounted on a table with a two-foot rule in his hand, measuring my walls, and taking the dimensions of the room. Pray, sir, says I, not to interrupt you, have you any business with me? —Only, sir, replies he, order the girl to bring me a better light, for this is but a very dim one.—Sir, says I, my name is Partridge.—Oh! the doctor's brother, belike, cries he; the staircase, I believe, and these two apartments hung in close mourning, will be sufficient, and only a strip of bays round the other rooms. The doctor must needs die rich, he had great dealings in his way for many years; if he had no family coat, you had as good use the escutcheons of the company, they are as showish, and will look as magnificent as if he was descended from the blood royal.—With that I assumed a greater air of authority, and demanded who employed him, or how he came there?—Why, I was sent, sir, by the company of undertakers, says he, and they were employed by the honest gentleman who is executor to the good doctor departed; and our rascally porter, I believe, is fallen fast asleep with the black cloth and sconces, or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this time.—Sir, says I, pray be advised by a friend, and make the best of your speed out of my doors, for I hear my wife's voice, (which by the by is pretty distinguishable,) and in that corner of the room stands a good cudgel, which somebody has felt before now; if that light in her hands, and she know the business you come about, without consulting the stars, I can assure you it will be employed very much to the detriment of your person.—Sir, cries he, bowing with great civility, I perceive extreme grief for the loss of the doctor disorders you a little at present, but early in the morning I will wait on you with all the necessary materials.—Now, I mention no Bickerstaff; nor do I say that a certain star-gazing 'squire has been playing my executor before his time; but I leave the world to judge, and he that puts things and things fairly together, will not be much wide of the mark.

Well, once more I got my doors closed, and prepared for bed, in hopes of a little repose after so many ruffling adventures; just as I was putting out my light in order to do it, another bounces as hard as he can knock; I open the window, and ask who is there, and what he wants? I am Ned the sexton, replies he, and come to know whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral sermon, and where he is to be laid, and whether his grave is to be plain or bricked?—Why, sirrah, says I, you know me well enough; you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner? —Alack-a-day, sir, replies the fellow, why it is in print, and the whole town knows you are dead: why there is Mr. White the joiner is but fitting screws to your coffin, he will be here with it in an instant; he was afraid you would have wanted it before this time. Sirrah, sirrah, says I, you shall know to-morrow, to your cost, that I am alive, and alive like to be!—Why, it is strange, sir, says he, you should make such a secret of your death to us that are your neighbours; it looks as if you had a design to defraud the church of its dues; and, let me tell you, for one that has lived so long by the heavens, that is unhandsomely done.—Hist, hist, says another rogue that stood by him; away, doctor, into your flannel gear as fast as you can, for here is a whole pack of dismals coming to you with their black equipage, and how indecent will it look for you to stand frightening folks at your window when you should have been in your coffin these three hours?—In short, what with undertakers, embalmers, joiners, sextons, and your damned elegy hawkers upon a late practitioner in physic and astrology, I got not one wink of sleep that night, nor scarce a moment's rest ever since. Now, I doubt not but this villanous 'squire has the impudence to assert that these are entirely strangers to him; he, good man, knows nothing of the matter, and honest Isaac Bickerstaff, I warrant you, is more a man of honour than to be an accomplice with a pack of rascals that walk the streets on nights, and disturb good people in their beds; but he is out if he thinks the whole world is blind; for there is one John Partridge can smell a knave as far as Grub-street, although he lies in the most exalted garret, and writes himself 'squire:—but I will keep my temper, and proceed in the narration.

I could not stir out of doors for the space of three months after this, but presently one comes up to me in the street, Mr. Partridge, that coffin you was last buried in I have not yet been paid for: Doctor, cries another dog, how do you think people can live by making of graves for nothing? next time you die, you may even toll out the bell yourself for Ned. A third rogue tips me by the elbow, and wonders how I have the conscience to sneak abroad without paying my funeral expenses.—Lord, says one, I durst have swore that was honest Dr. Partridge, my old friend; but, poor man, he is gone.—I beg your pardon, says another, you look so like my old acquaintance, that I used to consult on some private occasions: but, alack, he is gone the way of all flesh.—Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent space of staring at me, would not one think our neighbour the almanack-maker was crept out of his grave to take the other peep at the stars in this world, and show how much he is improved in fortune-telling by having taken a journey to the other?

Nay, the very reader of our parish, a good, sober, discreet person, has sent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or send him sufficient reasons to the contrary; or, if I have been interred in any other parish, to produce my certificate, as the act[a] requires. My poor wife is run almost distracted with being called widow Partridge, when she knows it is false; and once a term she is cited into the court to take out letters of administration. But the greatest grievance is, a paltry quack, that takes up my calling just under my nose, and in his printed directions, with N.B.—says, he lives in the house of the late ingenious Mr. John Partridge, an eminent practitioner in leather, physic, and astrology.

But to show how far the wicked spirit of envy, malice, and resentment can hurry some men, my nameless

[a] The statute of 30 Car. II. for burying in woollen, requires that oath shall be made of the compliance with this act, and a certificate thereof lodged with the minister of the parish within eight days after interment.

old persecutor had provided me a monument at the stone-cutter's, and would have erected it in the parish church; and this piece of notorious and expensive villany had actually succeeded if I had not used my utmost interest with the vestry, where it was carried at last but by two voices, that I am alive. That stratagem failing, out comes a long sable elegy, bedecked with hour-glasses, mattocks, skulls, spades, and skeletons, with an epitaph as confidently written to abuse me and my profession as if I had been under ground these twenty years.

And after such barbarous treatment as this, can the world blame me, when I ask, what is become of the freedom of an Englishman? and where is the liberty and property that my old glorious friend came over to assert? we have drove popery out of the nation, and sent slavery to foreign climes. The arts only remain in bondage, when a man of science and character shall be openly insulted, in the midst of the many useful services he is daily paying the public. Was it ever heard, even in Turkey or Algiers, that a state astrologer was bantered out of his life by an ignorant impostor, or bawled out of the world by a pack of villanous deep-mouthed hawkers? though I print almanacks, and publish advertisements; though I produce certificates under the minister's and churchwardens' hands that I am alive, and attest the same on oath at quarter-sessions, out comes a full and true relation of the death and interment of John Partridge; truth is bore down, attestations neglected, the testimony of sober persons despised, and a man is looked upon by his neighbours as if he had been seven years dead, and is buried alive in the midst of his friends and acquaintance.

Now, can any man of common sense think it consistent with the honour of my profession, and not much beneath the dignity of a philosopher, to stand bawling before his own door—Alive! alive! ho! the famous Dr. Partridge! no counterfeit, but all alive!——as if I had the twelve celestial monsters of the zodiac to show within, or was forced for a livelihood to turn retailer to May and Bartholomew fairs? Therefore, if her majesty would but graciously be pleased to think a hardship of this nature worthy her royal consideration, and the next parliament, in their great wisdom, cast but an eye toward the deplorable case of their old philomath, that annually bestows his good wishes on them, I am sure there is one Isaac Bickerstaff, esq. would soon be trussed up for his bloody predictions, and putting good subjects in terror of their lives: and that henceforward to murder a man by way of prophecy, and bury him in a printed letter, either to a lord or commoner, shall as legally entitle him to the present possession of Tyburn as if he robbed on the highway or cut your throat in bed.

I shall demonstrate to the judicious that France and Rome are at the bottom of this horrid conspiracy against me; and that culprit aforesaid is a popish emissary, has paid his visits to St. Germain's, and is now in the measures of Louis XIV. That, in attempting my reputation, there is a general massacre of learning designed in these realms: and through my sides there is a wound given to all the Protestant almanack-makers in the universe. VIVAT REGINA.

A VINDICATION
OF ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

AGAINST WHAT IS OBJECTED TO HIM BY MR. PARTRIDGE, IN HIS ALMANACK FOR THE YEAR 1709.

BY THE SAID ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq

MR. PARTRIDGE has been lately pleased to treat me after a very rough manner, in that which is called his almanack for the present year: such usage is very indecent from one gentleman to another, and does not at all contribute to the discovery of truth, which ought to be the great end in all disputes of the learned. To call a man a fool and villain, an impudent fellow, only for differing from him in a point merely speculative, is, in my humble opinion, a very improper style for a person of his education. I appeal to the learned world, whether, in my last year's predictions, I gave him the least provocation for such unworthy treatment. Philosophers have differed in all ages; but the discreetest among them have always differed as became philosophers. Scurrility and passion, in a controversy among scholars, is just so much of nothing to the purpose, and at best a tacit confession of a weak cause: my concern is not so much for my own reputation as that of the republic of letters, which Mr. Partridge has endeavoured to wound through my sides. If men of public spirit must be superciliously treated for their ingenious attempts, how will true useful knowledge be ever advanced? I wish Mr. Partridge knew the thoughts which foreign universities have conceived of his ungenerous proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his reputation to publish them to the world. That spirit of envy and pride, which blasts so many rising geniuses in our nation, is yet unknown among professors abroad: the necessity of justifying myself will excuse my vanity, when I tell the reader that I have near a hundred honorary letters from several parts of Europe (some as far as Muscovy) in praise of my performance; besides several others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened in the post office, and never sent me. It is true, the inquisition in Portugal was pleased to burn my predictions, [this is fact,] and condemn the author and the readers of them; but I hope at the same time it will be considered, in how deplorable a state learning lies at present in that kingdom; and, with the profoundest veneration for crowned heads, I will presume to add, that it a little concerned his majesty of Portugal to interpose his authority in behalf of a scholar and a gentleman, the subject of a nation with which he is now in so strict an alliance. But the other kingdoms and states of Europe have treated me with more candour and generosity. If I had leave to print the Latin letters transmitted to me from foreign parts, they would fill a volume, and be a full defence against all that Mr. Partridge or his accomplices of the Portugal inquisition will be ever able to object, who, by the way, are the only enemies my predictions have ever met with at home or abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the honour of a learned correspondence in so tender a point. Yet some of those illustrious persons will perhaps excuse me for transcribing a passage or two in my vindication.[a] The most learned Monsieur Leibnitz thus addresses to me his third letter:—"*Illustrissimo Bickerstaffio astrologiæ instauratori*," &c. Monsieur Le Clerc, quoting my predictions in a treatise he published last year, is pleased to say, "*Ita nuperrime Bickerstaffius, magnum illud Angliæ sidus.*" Another great professor, writing of me, has these words: "*Bickerstaffius, nobilis Anglus, astrologorum hujusce sæculi facile princeps.*" Signior Magliabecchi, the great duke's famous library-keeper, spends almost his whole letter in compliments and praises. It is true, the renowned professor of astronomy at Utrecht seems to differ from me in one article; but it is after the modest manner that becomes a philosopher; as, "*pace tanti viri dixerim:*" and, page 55, he seems to lay the error upon the printer (as indeed it ought), and says, "*vel forsan error typographi cum aliquin Bickerstaffius vir doctissimus,*" &c.

If Mr. Partridge had followed these examples in the controversy between us, he might have spared me the

[a] The quotations here inserted are in imitation of Dr. Bentley in some part of the famous controversy between him and Mr. Boyle.

trouble of justifying myself in so public a manner. I believe no man is readier to own his errors than I, or more thankful to those who will please to inform him of them. But, it seems, this gentleman, instead of encouraging the progress of his own art, is pleased to look upon all attempts of that kind as an invasion of his province. He has been indeed so wise as to make no objection against the truth of my predictions, except in one single point relating to himself: and to demonstrate how much men are blinded by their own partiality, I do solemnly assure the reader, that he is the only person from whom I ever heard that objection offered, which consideration alone, I think, will take off all its weight.

With my utmost endeavours I have not been able to trace above two objections ever made against the truth of my last year's prophecies: the first was, of a Frenchman, who was pleased to publish to the world "that the cardinal de Noailles was still alive, notwithstanding the pretended prophecy of Monsieur Biquerstaffe:" but how far a Frenchman, a Papist, and an enemy, is to be believed in his own cause, against an English Protestant, who is true to the government, I shall leave to the candid and impartial reader.

The other objection is the unhappy occasion of this discourse, and relates to an article in my predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29, 1708. This he is pleased to contradict absolutely in the almanack he has published for the present year, and in that ungentlemanly manner (pardon the expression) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly asserts, that he "is not only now alive, but was likewise alive upon that very 29th of March, when I had foretold he should die." This is the subject of the present controversy between us; which I design to handle with all brevity, perspicuity, and calmness. In this dispute I am sensible the eyes, not only of England, but of all Europe, will be upon us; and the learned in every country will, I doubt not, take part on that side where they find most appearance of reason and truth.

Without entering into criticisms of chronology about the hour of his death, I shall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my first argument is this: about a thousand gentlemen having bought his almanacks for this year, merely to find what he said against me, at every line they read they would lift up their eyes and cry out, betwixt rage and laughter, "they were sure no man alive ever writ such damned stuff as this." Neither did I ever hear that opinion disputed; so that Mr. Partridge lies under a dilemma, either of disowning his almanack, or allowing himself to be no man alive. Secondly, death is defined by all philosophers a separation of the soul and body. Now it is certain that the poor woman, who has best reason to know, has gone about for some time to every alley in the neighbourhood, and sworn to the gossips that her husband had neither life nor soul in him. Therefore, if an uninformed carcase walks still about, and is pleased to call itself Partridge, Mr. Bickerstaff does not think himself anyway answerable for that. Neither had the said carcase any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to pass by it in the street, crying, "A full and true account of Dr. Partridge's death!" &c

Thirdly, Mr. Partridge pretends to tell fortunes and recover stolen goods, which all the parish says he must do by conversing with the devil and other evil spirits, and no wise man will ever allow he could converse personally with either till after he was dead.

Fourthly, I will plainly prove him to be dead, out of his own almanack for this year, and from the very passage which he produces to make us think him alive. He there says, "he is not only now alive, but was also alive upon that very 29th of March which I foretold he should die on:" by this he declares his opinion that a man may be alive now who was not alive a twelvemonth ago. And, indeed, there lies the sophistry of his argument. He dares not assert he was alive ever since that 29th of March, but that he "is now alive, and was so on that day:" I grant the latter; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed account of his death, in a letter to a lord; and whether he be since revived I leave the world to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am ashamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fifthly, I will appeal to Mr. Partridge himself whether it be probable I could have been so indiscreet to begin my predictions with the only falsehood that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an affair at home, where I had so many opportunities to be exact; and must have given such advantages against me to a person of Mr. Partridge's wit and learning, who, if he could possibly have raised one single objection more against the truth of my prophecies, would hardly have spared me.

And here I must take occasion to reprove the abovementioned writer of the relation of Mr. Partridge's death, in a letter to a lord, who was pleased to tax me with a mistake of four whole hours in my calculation of that event. I must confess, this censure, pronounced with an air of certainty, in a matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a grave, judicious author, moved me not a little. But though I was at that time out of town, yet several of my friends, whose curiosity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own part, having no doubt at all in the matter, I never once thought of it,) assured me I computed to something under half an hour, which (I speak my private opinion) is an error of no very great magnitude that men should raise a clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss if that author would henceforth be more tender of other men's reputation as well as his own. It is well there were no more mistakes of that kind; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little ceremony.

There is one objection against Mr. Partridge's death which I have sometimes met with, though indeed very slightly offered, that he still continues to write almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all of that profession. Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove, Wing, and several others do yearly publish their almanacks, though several of them have been dead since before the Revolution. Now, the natural reason of this I take to be, that, whereas it is the privilege of authors to live after their death, almanack-makers are alone excluded; because their dissertations, treating only upon the minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In consideration of which, Time, whose registers they are, gives them a lease in reversion, to continue their works after death.

I should not have given the public or myself the trouble of this vindication if my name had not been made use of by several persons to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was pleased to father on me a new set of predictions. But I think these are things too serious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the heart, when I saw my labours, which had cost me so much thought and watching, hawled about by the common hawkers of Grub-street, which I only intended for the weighty consideration of the gravest persons. This prejudiced the world so much at first, that several of my friends had the assurance to ask me whether I were in jest? to which I only answered coldly, "that the event would show." But it is the talent of our age and nation to turn things of the greatest importance into ridicule. When the end of the year had verified

all my predictions, out comes Mr. Partridge's almanack, disputing the point of his death; so that I am employed, like the general who was forced to kill his enemies twice over whom a necromancer had raised to life. If Mr. Partridge have practised the same experiment upon himself, and be again alive, long may he continue so; that does not the least contradict my veracity; but I think I have clearly proved, by invincible demonstration, that he died, at farthest, within half an hour of the time I foretold, and not four hours sooner, as the above-mentioned author, in his letter to a lord, has maliciously suggested, with a design to blast my credit, by charging me with so gross a mistake.

A FAMOUS PREDICTION.

OF MERLIN, THE BRITISH WIZARD.

WRITTEN ABOVE A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, AND RELATING TO THE YEAR 1709, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, BY T. N. PHILOMATH.

Last year was published a paper of Predictions, pretended to be written by one Isaac Bickerstaff, esq., but the true design of it was to ridicule the art of astrology, and expose its professors as ignorant or impostors. Against this imputation Dr. Partridge has learnedly vindicated himself in his almanack for that year.

For a further vindication of this famous art, I have thought fit to present the world with the following prophecy. The original is said to be of the famous Merlin, who lived about a thousand years ago; and the following translation is two hundred years old, for it seems to be written near the end of Henry VII's. reign. I found it in an old edition of Merlin's prophecies, imprinted at London by Johan Haukyns, in the year 1530, page 39. I set it down word for word in the old orthography, and shall take leave to subjoin a few explanatory notes:—

Seben and Ten addyd to nine,
Of Fraunce her Woe this is the Sygne,
Camps Ribere twys p.lrozen,
Walke sans wetyng Shoes ne Hozen.
Then compth foorthe, ich understonde,
From Towne of Stoffe to fattyn Londe,
An herdie Chyftan, Woe the Morne
To Fraunce, that ever he was born.
Then shall the Fyshe beweyle his Bosse;
Nor shall grin Berrys make up the Losse.
Yonge Symnele shall again miscarrye:
And Norways Pryd again shall marry.
And from the Tree where Blossums feele,
Ripe Fruit shall come, and all is wele,
Reaums shall daunce Yonde in Yonde,
And it shall be merrye in old Englonde,
Then old Englonde shall be no more,
And no man shall be sorie therefore.
Geryon shall have three Yedes agayne,
Till Hapsburge makyth them but twayne

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Seben and Ten, &c. This line describes the year when these events shall happen. Seven and ten make seventeen, which I explain seventeen hundred, and this number added to nine, makes the year we are now in; for it must be understood of the natural year, which begins the first of January.

Camps Ribere twys, &c. The River Thames frozen twice in one year, so as men to walk on it, is a very signal accident, which perhaps hath not fallen out for several hundred years before, and is the reason why some astrologers have thought that this prophecy could never be fulfilled, because they imagined such a thing would never happen in our climate.

From Towne of Stoffe, &c. This is a plain designation of the duke of Marlborough; one kind of stuff used to fatten and is called marle, and everybody knows that borough is a name for a town; and this way of expression is after the usual dark manner of old astrological predictions.

Then shall the Fyshe, &c. By the fish is understood the Dauphin of France, as their kings' eldest sons are called; it is here said he shall lament the loss of the duke of Burgundy, called the Bosse, which is an old English word for hump-shoulder, or crook-back, as that duke is known to be; and the prophecy seems to mean that he should be overcome or slain. By the green berrys, in the next line, is meant the young duke of Berry, the Dauphin's third son, who shall not have valour or fortune enough to supply the loss of his eldest brother.

Yonge Symnele, &c. By Symnele, is meant the pretended prince of Wales, who, if he offers to attempt anything against England, shall miscarry, as he did before. Lambert Symnele is the name of a young man, noted in our histories for personating the son (as I remember) of Edward IV.

And Norways Pryd, &c. I cannot guess who is meant by Norway's pride [queen Anne]; perhaps the reader may, as well as the sense of the two following lines.

Reaums shall, &c. Reaums, or, as the word is now, realms, is the old name for kingdoms: and this is a very plain prediction of our happy union, with the felicities that shall attend it. It is added that Old England shall be no more, and yet no man shall be sorry for it. And indeed, properly speaking, England is now no more, for the whole island is one kingdom, under the name of Britain.

Geryon shall, &c. This prediction, though somewhat obscure, is wonderfully adapt. Geryon is said to have been a king of Spain, whom Hercules slew. It was a fiction of the poets, that he had three heads, which the author says he shall have again: that is, Spain shall have three kings, which is now wonderfully verified; for, beside the king of Portugal, which propely is part of Spain, there are now two rivals for Spain, Charles and Philip; but Charles being descended from the count of Hapsburg, founder of the Austrian family, shall soon make those heads but two, by overturning Philip, and driving him out of Spain.

Some of these predictions are already fulfilled, and it is highly probable the rest may be in due time; and I think I have not forced the words, by my explication, into any other sense than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am sure it must be also allowed, that the author (whoever he were) was a person of extraordinary sagacity; and that astrology, brought to such perfection as this, is by no means an art to be despised, whatever Mr. Bickerstaff, or other merry gentlemen, are pleased to think. As to the tradition of these lines having been writ in the original by Merlin, I confess I lay not much weight upon it; but it is enough to justify their authority, that the book whence I have transcribed them, was printed 170 years ago, as appears by the title-page. For the satisfaction of any gentleman, who may be either doubtful of the truth, or curious to be informed, I shall give order to have the very book sent to the printer of this paper, with directions to let anybody see it that pleases, because I believe it is pretty scarce.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

No. 32.

THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1709.

"It happened very luckily," observes Steele, "that a little before I had resolved upon this design, a gentleman had written "Predictions" and two or three other pieces in my name, which rendered it famous through all parts of Europe, and, by an inimitable spirit and humour, raised it to as high a pitch of reputation as it could possibly arrive at.

"By this good fortune the name of Isaac Bickerstaff gained an audience of all who had any taste of wit; and the addition of the ordinary occurrences of common journals of news brought in a multitude of other readers. I could not, I confess, long keep up the opinion of the town, that these lucubrations were written by the same hand with the first works which were published under my name; but before I lost the participation of that author's fame, I had already found the advantage of his authority, to which I owe the sudden acceptance which my labours met with in the world."

"TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.[a]

"SIR, June 18, 1709.

"I KNOW not whether you ought to pity or laugh at me; for I am fallen desperately in love with a professed Platonne, the most unaccountable creature of her sex. To hear her talk seraphics, and run over Norris,[b] and More,[c] and Milton,[d] and the whole set of intellectual triflers, torments me heartily; for, to a lover who understands metaphors, all this pretty prattle of ideas gives very fine views of pleasure, which only the dear declaimer prevents, by understanding them literally: why should she wish to be a cherubim, when it is flesh and blood that makes her adorable? If I speak to her, that is a high breach of the idea of intuition. If I offer at her hand or lip, she shrinks from the touch like a sensitive plant, and would contract herself into mere spirit. She calls her chariot, vehicle; her furbelowed scarf, pinions; her blue manteau and petticoat is her azure dress; and her footman goes by the name of Oberon. It is my misfortune to be six feet and a half high, two full spans between the shoulders, thirteen inches diameter in the calves; and, before I was in love, I had a noble stomach, and usually went to bed sober with two bottles. I am not quite six-and-twenty, and my nose is marked truly aquiline. For these reasons, I am in a very particular manner her aversion. What shall I do? Impudence itself cannot reclaim her. If I write miserably, she reckons me among the children of perdition, and discards me her region: if I assume the gross and substantial, she plays the real ghost with me, and vanishes in a moment. I had hopes in the hypocrisy of her sex; but perseverance makes it as bad as fixed aversion. I desire your opinion, whether I may not lawfully play the inquisition upon her, make use of a little force, and put her to the rack and the torture, only to convince her she has really fine limbs, without spoiling or distorting them. I expect your directions, before I proceed to dwindle and fall away with despair; which at present I do not think advisable, because, if she should recant, she may then hate me, perhaps, in the other extreme, for my tenuity. I am (with impatience) your most humble servant, "CHARLES STURDY."

[a] This paper is written in ridicule of some affected ladies, who pretended to embrace the doctrines of Platonic love.

[b] John Norris, author of "The Theory and Regulation of Love."

[c] Dr Henry More, an eminent divine and Platonic philosopher.

[d] Milton, the fellow-collegian of Dr. H. More, makes up the trio of intellectual triflers here mentioned.

My patient has put his case with very much warmth, and represented it in so lively a manner that I see both his torment and tormentor with great perspicuity. This order of Platonic ladies are to be dealt with in a manner peculiar from all the rest of the sex. Flattery is the general way, and the way in this case; but it is not to be done grossly. Every man that has wit, and humour, and raillery, can make a good flatterer for women in general; but a Platonne is not to be touched with panegyric: she will tell you, it is a sensuality in the soul to be delighted that way. You are not therefore to commend, but silently consent to all she does and says. You are to consider, in her the scorn of you is not humour, but opinion.

There were, some years since, a set of these ladies who were of quality, and gave out that virginity was to be their state of life during this mortal condition, and therefore resolved to join their fortunes and erect a nunnery. The place of residence was pitched upon; and a pretty situation, full of natural falls and risings of waters, with shady coverts and flowery arbours, was approved by seven of the founders. There were as many of our sex who took the liberty to visit their mansions of intended severity; among others, a famous rake[a] of that time, who had the grave way to an excellence. He came in first; but, upon seeing a servant coming towards him, with a design to tell him this was no place for him or his companions, up goes my grave impudence to the maid; "Young woman," said he, "if any of the ladies are in the way on this side of the house, pray carry us on the other side towards the gardens: we are, you must know, gentlemen that are travelling England; after which we shall go into foreign parts, where some of us have already been." Here he bows in the most humble manner, and kissed the girl, who knew not how to behave to such a sort of carriage. He goes on: "Now you must know we have an ambition to have it to say, that we have a Protestant nunnery in England: but, pray, Mrs. Betty——."—"Sir" she replied, "my name is Susan, at your service."—"Then I heartily beg your pardon——."—"No offence in the least," said she, "for I have a cousin-german whose name is Betty."—"Indeed," said he, "I protest to you that was more than I knew; I spoke at random: but since it happens that I was near in the right, give me leave to present this gentleman to the favour of a civil salute." His friend advances, and so on, until they had all saluted her. By this means the poor girl was in the middle of the crowd of these fellows, at a loss what to do, without courage to pass through them; and the Platonics, at several peepholes, pale, trembling, and fretting. Rake perceived they were observed, and therefore took care to keep Sukey in chat with questions concerning their way of life; when appeared at last Madonella,[b] a lady who had writ a fine book concerning the recluse life, and was the projectrix of the foundation. She approaches into the hall; and Rake, knowing the dignity of his own mien and aspect, goes

[a] Supposed at the time to have been Mr. Repington, a man of fashion in Warwickshire.

[b] The person here represented was Mrs. Mary Astell, a lady of superior understanding, of considerable learning, and singular piety. She was the daughter of a merchant in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where she was born about 1668, and lived about twenty years. The remainder of her inoffensive, irreproachable, and exemplary life she spent at London and Chelsea, where she died in 1731.

deputy from his company. She begins, "Sir, I am obliged to follow the servant, who was sent out to know what affair could make strangers press upon a solitude which we, who are to inhabit this place, have devoted to heaven and our own thoughts?"—"Madam," replies Rake, with an air of great distance mixed with a certain indifference, by which he could dissemble dissimulation, "your great intention has made more noise in the world than you design it should; and we travellers, who have seen many foreign institutions of this kind have a curiosity to see, in its first rudiments, the seat of primitive piety; for such it must be called by future ages, to the eternal honour of the founders: I have read Madonella's excellent and seraphic discourse on this subject." The lady immediately answered, "If what I have said could have contributed to raise any thoughts in you that may make for the advancement of intellectual and divine conversation, I should think myself extremely happy." He immediately fell back with the profoundest veneration; then advancing, "Are you then that admired lady? If I may approach lips which have uttered things so sacred—" He salutes her. His friends followed his example. The devoted within stood in amazement where this would end, to see Madonella receive their address and their company. But Rake goes on.—"We would not transgress rules; but if we may take the liberty to see the place you have thought fit to choose for ever, we would go into such parts of the gardens as is consistent with the severities you have imposed on yourselves."

To be short, Madonella permitted Rake to lead her into the assembly of nuns, followed by his friends, and each took his fair-one by the hand, after due explanation, to walk round the gardens. The conversation turned upon the lilies, the flowers, the arbours, and the growing vegetables; and Rake had the solemn impudence, when the whole company stood round him, to say, that "he sincerely wished men might rise out of the earth like plants; and that our minds were not of necessity to be sullied with carnivorous appetites for the generation, as well as support of our species." This was spoken with so easy and fixed an assurance, that Madonella answered, "Sir, under the notion of a pious thought, you deceive yourself in wishing an institution foreign to that of Providence. These desires were implanted in us for reverend purposes, in preserving the race of men, and giving opportunities for making our chastity more heroic." The conference was continued in this celestial strain, and carried on so well by the managers on both sides, that it created a second and a third interview; and, without entering into further particulars, there was hardly one of them but was a mother or father that day twelvemonth.[a]

Any unnatural part is long taking up, and as long laying aside; therefore Mr. Sturdy may assure himself Platonica will fly for ever from a forward behaviour; but if he approaches her according to this modal, she will fall in with the necessities of mortal life, and condescend to look with pity upon an unhappy man, imprisoned in so much body, and urged by such violent desires.

[a] This is mere fiction, and unpardonable, as it seems to imply an oblique censure on Mrs. Astell, of a nature totally repugnant to her eminently virtuous and respectable character.

No. 35.

THURSDAY, JUNE 30, 1709.

"TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq."

"SIR,—Not long since you were pleased to give us a chimerical account of the famous family of the *Staffs*, from whence I suppose you would insinuate, that it is the most ancient and numerous house in all Europe. But I positively deny that it is either, and wonder much at your audacious proceedings in this manner, since it is well known that our most illustrious, most renowned, and most celebrated Roman family of *Ir*, has enjoyed the precedency to all others from the reign of good old Saturn. I could say much to the defamation and disgrace of your family; as that your relations *Distaff* and *Broomstaff* were both inconsiderable, mean persons, one spinning, the other sweeping the streets, for their daily bread. But I forbear to vent my spleen on objects so much beneath my indignation. I shall only give the world a catalogue of my ancestors, and leave them to determine which hath hitherto had, and which for the future ought to have, the preference.

"First then comes the most famous and popular lady *Meretrix*, parent of the fertile family of *Bellatrix*, *Lotrix*, *Netrix*, *Nutrix*, *Obstetrix*, *Famulatrix*, *Coctrix*, *Ornatrix*, *Sarcinatrix*, *Fextrix*, *Balneatrix*, *Portatrix*, *Saltatrix*, *Divinatrix*, *Conjectrix*, *Comtrix*, *Debitrix*, *Creditrix*, *Donatrix*, *Ambulatrix*, *Mercatrix*, *Adsectrix*, *Assectatrix*, *Palpatrix*, *Præceptrix*, *Pistrix*. I am yours, ELIZ. POTATRIX."

No. 59.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25, 1709.

Will's Coffee-house, August 24.

THE author of the ensuing letter, by his name and the quotations he makes from the ancients, seems a sort of spy from the old world, whom we moderns ought to be careful of offending; therefore I must be free, and own it a fair hit where he takes me, rather than disoblige him.

"Sir, having a peculiar humour of desiring to be somewhat the better or wiser for what I read, I am always uneasy when, in any profound writer, for I read no others, I happen to meet with what I cannot understand. When this falls out, it is a great grievance to me that I am not able to consult the author himself about his meaning, for commentators are a sect that has little share in my esteem: your elaborate writings have, among many others, this advantage, that their author is still alive, and ready, as his extensive charity makes us expect, to explain whatever may be found in them too sublime for vulgar understandings. This, sir, makes me presume to ask you, how the Hampstead hero's character could be perfectly new when the last letters came away and yet sir John Suckling so well acquainted with it sixty years ago? I hope, sir, you will not take this amiss: I can assure you, I have a profound respect for you, which makes me write this, with the same disposition with which Longinus bids us read Homer and Plato. When in reading, says he, any of those celebrated authors, we meet with a passage to which we cannot well reconcile our reasons, we ought firmly to believe, that were those great wits present to answer for themselves, we should to our wonder be convinced that we only are guilty of the mistakes we before attributed to them. If you think fit to remove the scruple that now torments me, it will be an encouragement to me to settle a frequent correspondence with you; several things falling in my way which would not perhaps be altogether foreign to your purpose, and whereon your thoughts would be very acceptable to your most humble servant, OBADIAH GREENHAT."

I own this is clean, and Mr. Greenhat has convinced me that I have writ nonsense, yet am I not at all offended at him.

Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.[a]
Hor. Ars Poet. ver. 11.

This is the true art of raillery, when a man turns another into ridicule, and shows at the same time he is

[a] "I own th' indulgence — Such I give and take."
FRANCIS.

in good humour, and not urged on by malice against the person he rallies. Obadiah Greenhat has hit this very well: for to make an apology to Isaac Bickerstaff, an unknown student and horary historian, as well as astrologer, and with a grave face to say, he speaks of him by the same rules with which he would treat Homer or Plato, is to place him in company where he cannot expect to make a figure; and makes him flatter himself that it is only being named with them that renders him most ridiculous.

I have not known, and I am now past my grand climacteric, being sixty-four years of age, according to my way of life; or rather, if you will allow pinning in an old gentleman, according to my way of *pastime*; I say, as old as I am, I have not been acquainted with many of the Greenhats. There is indeed one Zedekiah Greenhat, who is lucky also in this way. He has a very agreeable manner; for when he has a mind thoroughly to correct a man, he never takes from him anything, but he allows him something for it; or else he blames him for things wherein he is not defective, as well as for matters wherein he is. This makes a weak man believe he is in jest in the whole. The other day he told Beau Brim, who is thought impotent, that his mistress had declared she would not have him, because he was a sloven, and had committed a rape. The beau hit at the banter, and said very gravely, "he thought to be clean was as much as was necessary; and that as to the rape, he wondered by what witchcraft that should come to her ears; but it had indeed cost him 100*l.* to hush the affair."

The Greenhats are a family with small voices and short arms, therefore they have power with none but their friends: they never call after those who run away from them, or pretend to take hold of you if you resist. But it has been remarkable, that all who have shunned their company or not listened to them have fallen into the hands of such as have knocked out their brains or broken their bones. I have looked over our pedigree upon the receipt of this epistle, and find the Greenhats are akin to the Staffs. They descend from Maudlin, the left-handed wife of Nehemiah Bickerstaff, in the reign of Harry II. And it is remarkable that they are all left-handed, and have always been very expert at single rapier. A man must be much used to their play to know how to defend himself, for their posture is so different from that of the right-handed, that you run upon their swords if you push forward; and they are in with you if you offer to fall back without keeping your guard.

No. 63.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 10, 1709.

"TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, ESQ

"SIR,—It must be allowed that Esquire Bickerstaff is of all others the most ingenuous. There are few, very few, that will own themselves in a mistake, though all the world see them to be in downright nonsense. You will be pleased, sir, to pardon this expression, for the same reason for which you once desired us to excuse you when you seemed anything dull. Most writers, like the generality of Paul Lorraine's[a] saints, seem to place a peculiar vanity in dying hard. But you, sir, to show a good example to your brethren, have not only confessed, but of your own accord mended the indictment. Nay, you have been so good-natured as to discover beauties in it, which, I will assure you, he that drew it never dreamed of. And to make your civility the more accomplished, you have honoured him with the title of your kinsman, which, though derived by the left hand, he is not a little proud of. My brother, for sueh Obadiah is, being at present very busy about nothing, has ordered me to return you his sincere thanks for all these favours; and as a small token of his gratitude, to communicate to you the following piece of intelligence, which, he thinks, belongs more properly to you than to any others of our modern historians.

"*Madonella*, who, as it was thought, had long since taken her flight towards the ethereal mansions, still walks, it seems, in the regions of mortality; where she has found, by deep reflections on the revolution mentioned in yours of June the 23rd, that where early instructions have been wanting to imprint true ideas of things on the tender souls of those of her sex, they are never after able to arrive at such a pitch of perfection as to be above the laws of matter and motion; laws which are considerably enforced by the principles usually imbibed in nurseries and boarding-schools. To remedy this evil, she has laid the scheme of a college for young damsels: where (instead of scissars, needles, and samplers) pens, compasses, quadrants, books, manuscripts, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew are to take up their whole time. Only on holidays the students will, for moderate exercise, be allowed to divert themselves with the use of some of the lightest and most voluble weapons; and proper care will be taken to give them at least a superficial tincture of the ancient and modern Amazonian tactics. Of these military performances the direction is undertaken by Epicene,[a] the writer of "Memoirs from the Mediterranean," who, by the help of some artificial poisons conveyed by smells, has within these few weeks brought many persons of both sexes to an untimely fate; and, what is more surprising, has, contrary to her profession, with the same odours, revived others who had long since been drowned in the whirlpools of Lethe. Another of the professors is said to be a certain lady, who is now publishing two of the choicest Saxon novels,[b] which are said to have been in as great repute with the ladies of queen Emma's court as the "Memoirs from the New Atalantis" are with those of ours. I shall make it my business to inquire into the progress of this learned institution, and give you the first notice of their 'Philosophical Transactions, and Searches after Nature.' Yours, &c. TOBIAH GREENHAT."

No. 66.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 10, 1709.

Will's Coffeehouse, Sept. 9.

THE subject of the discourse this evening was eloquence and graceful action. Lysander, who is something particular in his way of thinking and speaking, told us, "a man could not be eloquent without action; for the deportment of the body, the turn of the eye, and an apt sound to every word that is uttered, must all conspire to make an accomplished speaker. Action in one that speaks in public is the same thing as a good mien in ordinary life. Thus, as a certain insensibility in the countenance recommends a sentence of humour and jest, so it must be a very lively consciousness that gives grace to great sentiments. The jest is to be a thing unexpected; therefore your undesigning manner is a beauty in expressions of mirth; but when you are to talk on a set subject, the more you are moved yourself, the more you will move others.

"There is," said he, "a remarkable example of that kind. Æschines, a famous orator of antiquity, had pleaded at Athens in a great cause against Demosthenes;

[a] Paul Lorraine, the ordinary of Newgate.

[a] Mrs. Manley author of the "Memoirs of the New Atalantis."

[b] Mrs Elizabeth Elstob, distinguished for her learning, especially in the Anglo-Saxon language and antiquities. See an account of her in "Ballard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies," and in the "Anecdotes of Mrs Bowyer"

but having lost it, retired to Rhodes. Eloquence was then the quality most admired among men, and the magistrates of that place, having heard he had a copy of the speech of Demosthenes, desired him to repeat both their pleadings. After his own he recited also the oration of his antagonist. The people expressed their admiration of both, but more of that of Demosthenes. 'If you are,' said he, 'thus touched with hearing only what that great orator said, how would you have been affected had you seen him speak? for he who hears Demosthenes only, loses much the better part of the oration.' Certain it is that they who speak gracefully are very lamely represented in having their speeches read or repeated by unskilful people; for there is something native to each man, so inherent to his thoughts and sentiments, which it is hardly possible for another to give a true idea of. You may observe in common talk, when a sentence of any man's is repeated, an acquaintance of his shall immediately observe, 'That is so like him, methinks I see how he looked when he said it.'

"But of all the people on the earth, there are none who puzzle me so much as the clergy of Great Britain, who are, I believe, the most learned body of men now in the world: and yet this art of speaking, with the proper ornaments of voice and gesture, is wholly neglected among them; and I will engage, were a deaf man to behold the greater part of them preach, he would rather think they were reading the contents only of some discourse they intended to make, than actually in the body of an oration, even when they were upon matters of such a nature as one would believe it were impossible to think of without emotion.

"I own there are exceptions to this general observation, and that the dean we heard the other day together is an orator.[a] He has so much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage; and adding to the propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has charmed many of his audience, who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is useful with the most exact and honest skill: he never attempts your passions until he has convinced your reason. All the objections which he can form are laid open and dispersed before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart; and never pretends to show the beauty of holiness until he has convinced you of the truth of it.

"Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and show so much concern for them as to give them all the additional force they were able, it is not possible that nonsense should have so many hearers as you find it has in dissenting congregations, for no reason in the world but because it is spoken extempore; for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears; and there is no way to come at their hearts but by power over their imaginations.

"There is my friend and merry companion Daniel;[b] he knows a great deal better than he speaks, and can form a proper discourse as well as any orthodox neighbour. But he knows very well that to bawl out, 'My beloved!' and the words 'grace! regeneration! sanctification! a new light! the day! the day! ay, my beloved, the day! or rather the night! the night is coming!' and 'judgment will come when we least think of it!' and so forth. He knows, to be vehement is the only way to come at his audience. Daniel, when he sees my friend Greenhat come in, can give a good hint, and cry out, 'This is only for the saints! the regenerated!' By this force of action, though mixed with all the incoherence and ribaldry imaginable, Daniel can laugh at his diocesan, and grow fat by voluntary subscription, while the parson of the parish goes to law for half his dues. Daniel will tell you, it is not the shepherd, but the sheep with the bell, which the flock follows.

"Another thing, very wonderful this learned body should omit, is learning to read; which is a most necessary part of eloquence in one who is to serve at the altar; for there is no man but must be sensible that the lazy tone and inarticulate sound of our common readers depreciates the most proper form of words that were ever extant in any nation or language, to speak their own wants, or his power from whom we ask relief.

"There cannot be a greater instance of the power of action than in little parson Dapper,[a] who is the common relief to all the lazy pulpits in town. This smart youth has a very good memory, a quick eye, and a clean handkerchief. Thus equipped, he opens his text, shuts his book fairly, shows he has no notes in his Bible, opens both palms, and shows all is fair there too. Thus, with a decisive air, my young man goes on without hesitation; and though from the beginning to the end of his pretty discourse, he has not used one proper gesture, yet, at the conclusion, the churchwarden pulls his gloves from off his hands; 'Pray, who is this extraordinary young man?' Thus the force of action is such, that it is more prevalent, even when improper, than all the reason and argument in the world without it." This gentleman concluded his discourse by saying, "I do not doubt but if our preachers would learn to speak, and our readers to read, within six months' time we should not have a dissenter within a mile of a church in Great Britain.".

[a] Steele says that this amiable character of the dean was drawn for Dr. Atterbury, and mentions it as an argument of his impartiality in his Preface to the Tatler, Vol. iv.

[b] The celebrated Daniel Burgess, whose meeting-house near Lincoln's Inn was destroyed by the high-church mob upon occasion of Sacheverell's trial.

[a] Supposed to be Dr. Joseph Trapp.

No. 67.

TUESDAY SEPT. 13, 1709.

From my own Apartments, Sept. 12.

My province is much larger than at first sight men would imagine, and I shall lose no part of my jurisdiction, which extends not only to futurity, but also is retrospect to things past; and the behaviour of persons, who have long ago acted their parts, is as much liable to my examination as that of my own contemporaries.

In order to put the whole race of mankind in their proper distinctions, according to the opinion their cohabitants conceived of them, I have, with very much care and depth of meditation, thought fit to erect a chamber of Fame; and established certain rules which are to be observed in admitting members into this illustrious society.

In this chamber of Fame there are to be three tables, but of different lengths; the first is to contain exactly twelve persons; the second, twenty; and the third, a hundred. This is reckoned to be the full number of those who have any competent share of fame. At the first of these tables are to be placed, in their order, the twelve most famous persons in the world; not with regard to the things they are famous for, but according to the degree of their fame, whether in valour, wit, or learning. Thus, if a scholar be more famous than a soldier, he is to sit above him. Neither must any preference be given to virtue, if the person be not equally famous.

When the first table is filled, the next in renown

must be seated at the second, and so on in like manner to the number of twenty; as also in the same order at the third, which is to hold a hundred. At these tables no regard is to be had to seniority; for if Julius Cæsar shall be judged more famous than Romulus and Scipio, he must have the precedence. No person who has not been dead a hundred years must be offered to a place at any of these tables; and because this is altogether a lay society, and that sacred persons move upon greater motives than that of fame, no persons celebrated in holy writ, or any ecclesiastical man whatsoever, are to be introduced here.

At the lower end of the room is to be a side-table for persons of great fame, but dubious existence; such as Hercules, Theseus, Æneas, Achilles, Hector, and others. But because it is apprehended that there may be great contention about precedence, the proposer humbly desires the opinion of the learned toward his assistance in placing every person according to his rank, that none may have just occasion of offence. The merits of the cause shall be judged by plurality of voices.

For the more impartial execution of this important affair, it is desired that no man will offer his favourite hero, scholar, or poet; and that the learned will be pleased to send to Mr. Bickerstaff, at Mr. Morphew's, near Stationers' Hall, their several lists for the first table only, and in the order they would have them placed; after which, the proposer will compare the several lists, and make another for the public, wherein every name shall be ranked according to the voices it has had. Under this chamber is to be a dark vault, for the same number of persons of evil fame.

It is humbly submitted to consideration, whether the project would not be better if the persons of true fame meet in a middle room, those of dubious existence in an upper room, and those of evil fame in a lower dark room.

It is to be noted, that no historians are to be admitted at any of these tables; because they are appointed to conduct the several persons to their seats, and are to be made use of as ushers to the assemblies.

I call upon the learned world to send me their assistance toward this design, it being a matter of too great moment for any one person to determine. But I do assure them their lists shall be examined with great fidelity, and those that are exposed to the public made with all the caution imaginable.

No. 68.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 15, 1709.

The progress of our endeavours will, of necessity, be very much interrupted, except the learned world will please to send their lists to the Chamber of Fame with all expedition. There is nothing can so much contribute to create a noble emulation in our youth as the honourable mention of such whose actions have outlived the injuries of time, and recommended themselves so far to the world that it is become learning to know the least circumstance of their affairs. It is a great incentive to see that some men have raised themselves so highly above their fellow-creatures that the lives of ordinary men are spent in inquiries after the particular actions of the most illustrious. True it is, that without this impulse to fame and reputation, our industry would stagnate, and that lively desire of pleasing each other die away. This opinion was so established in the heathen world, that their sense of living appeared insipid, except their being was enlivened with a consciousness that they were esteemed by the rest of the world.

Upon examining the proportion of men's fame for my table of twelve, I thought it no ill way (since I had laid it down for a rule, that they were to be ranked simply as they were famous, without regard to their virtue) to ask my sister Jenny's advice; and particularly mentioned to her the name of Aristotle. She immediately told me he was a very great scholar, and that she had read him at the boarding-school. She certainly means a trifle, sold by the hawkers, called "Aristotle's Problems." But this raised a great scruple in me, whether a fame increased by imposition of others is to be added to his account, or that these excrescences, which grow out of his real reputation, and give encouragement to others to pass things under the covert of his name, should be considered in giving him his seat in the chamber? This punctilio is referred to the learned. In the mean time, so ill-natured are mankind, that I believe I have names already sent me sufficient to fill up my lists for the dark room, and every one is apt enough to send in their accounts of ill deservers. This malevolence does not proceed from a real dislike of virtue, but a diabolical prejudice against it, which makes men willing to destroy what they care not to imitate. Thus you see the greatest characters among your acquaintance, and those you live with, are traduced by all below them in virtue, who never mention them but with an exception. However, I believe, I shall not give the world much trouble about filling my tables for those of evil fame; for I have some thoughts of clapping up the sharpers there as fast as I can lay hold of them.

At present I am employed in looking over the several notices which I have received of their manner of dexterity, and the way at dice of making all *rugg*, as the cant is. The whole art of securing a die has lately been sent me, by a person who was of the fraternity, but is disabled by the loss of a finger; by which means he cannot practise that trick as he used to do. But I am very much at a loss how to call some of the fair sex, who are accomplices with the knights of industry; for my metaphorical dogs are easily enough understood; but the feminine gender of dogs has so harsh a sound, that we know not how to name it. But I am credibly informed, that there are female dogs as voracious as the males, and make advances to young fellows, without any other design but coming to a familiarity with their purses. I have also long lists of persons of condition, who are certainly of the same regimen with these banditti, and instrumental to their cheats upon undiscerning men of their own rank. These add their good reputation to carry on the impostures of others, whose very names would else be defence enough against falling into their hands. But, for the honour of our nation, these shall be unmentioned; provided we hear no more of such practices, and that they shall not from henceforward suffer the society of such as they know to be the common enemies of order, discipline, and virtue. If it appear that they go on in encouraging them, they must be proceeded against according to the severest rules of history, where all is to be laid before the world with impartiality, and without respect to persons,

"So let the stricken deer go weep."

No. 70.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 20, 1709.

"TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

"Sir,—I read with great pleasure, in the Tatler of Saturday last, the conversation upon eloquence; permit me to hint to you one thing the great Roman orator observes upon this subject: *Caput enim arbitrabatur oratoris*, (he quotes Menedemus, an Athenian,) *ut ipse apud quos ageret talis qualem ipse optaret videretur, id fieri vitæ dignitate.* (Tull. de Oratore.) It is the first rule in oratory, that a man must appear such as

he would persuade others to be; and that can be accomplished only by the force of his life. I believe it might be of great service to let our public orators know that an unnatural gravity, or an unbecoming levity in their behaviour out of the pulpit will take very much from the force of their eloquence in it. Excuse another scrap of Latin; it is from one of the fathers; I think it will appear a just observation to all, and it may have authority with some: *Qui autem docent tantum, nec faciunt, ipsi præceptis suis detrahunt pondus; quis enim obtemperet, cum ipsi præceptores doceant non obtemperare?* Those who teach, but do not act agreeably to the instructions they give to others, take away all weight from their doctrine; for who will obey the precepts they inculcate, if they themselves teach us by their practice to disobey them?

"I am, sir, your most humble servant,

JONATHAN ROSEMAT.

"P S.—You were complaining in that paper that the clergy of Great Britain had not yet learned to speak: a very great defect indeed: and therefore I shall think myself a well-deserver of the church, in recommending all the dumb clergy to the famous speaking doctor at Kensington. This ingenious gentleman, out of compassion to those of a bad utterance, has placed his whole study in the new-modelling the organs of voice; which art he has so far advanced as to be able even to make a good orator of a pair of bellows. He lately exhibited a specimen of his skill in this way, of which I was informed by the worthy gentlemen then present, who were at once delighted and amazed to hear an instrument of so simple an organization use an exact articulation of words, a just cadency in its sentences, and a wonderful pathos in its pronunciation: not that he designs to expatiate in this practice; because he cannot, as he says, apprehend what use it may be of to mankind, whose benefit he aims at in a more particular manner: and for the same reason, he will never more instruct the feathered kind, the parrot having been his last scholar in that way. He has a wonderful faculty in making and mending echoes; and this he will perform at any time for the use of the solitary in the country; being a man born for universal good, and for that reason recommended to your patronage by,

"Sir, yours," &c.

No. 71.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 22, 1709.

"ESQUIRE BICKERSTAFF,—Finding your advice and censure to have a good effect, I desire your admonition to our vicar and schoolmaster, who, in his preaching to his auditors, stretches his jaws so wide, that, instead of instructing youth, it rather frightens them: likewise in reading prayers, he has such a careless loll, that people are justly offended at his irreverent posture; besides the extraordinary charge they are put to in sending their children to dance, to bring them off of those ill gestures. Another evil faculty he has, in making the bowling-green his daily residence, instead of his church, where his curate reads prayers every day. If the weather is fair, his time is spent in visiting; if cold or wet, in bed, or at least at home, though within a hundred yards of the church. These, out of many such irregular practices, I write for his reclamation: but two or three things more before I conclude; to wit, that generally when his curate preaches in the afternoon, he sleeps sotting in the desk on a hassock. With all this, he is so extremely proud, that he will go but once to the sick, except they return his visit."

No 74.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 29, 1709.

Grecian Coffeehouse, Sept 29.

THIS evening I thought fit to notify to the literati of this house, and by that means to all the world, that on Saturday, the 15th of October next ensuing, I design to fix my first table of fame; and desire that such as are acquainted with the characters of the twelve most famous men that have ever appeared in the world, would send in their lists, or name any one man for that table, assigning also his place at it, before that time, upon pain of having such his man of fame postponed, or placed too high, for ever. I shall not, upon any application whatever, alter the place which upon that day I shall give to any of these worthies. But whereas there are many who take upon them to admire this hero, or that author, upon second hand, I expect each subscriber should underwrite his reason for the place he allots his candidate.

The thing is of the last consequence; for we are about settling the greatest point that ever has been debated in any age; and I shall take precautions accordingly. Let every man who votes consider that he is now going to give away that for which the soldier gave up his rest, his pleasure, and his life; the scholar resigned his whole series of thought, his midnight repose, and his morning slumbers. In a word, he is, as I may say, to be judge of that after-life which noble spirits prefer to their very real beings. I hope I shall be forgiven, therefore, if I make some objections against their jury, as they shall occur to me. The whole of the number by whom they are to be tried are to be scholars. I am persuaded, also, that Aristotle will be put up by all of that class of men. However, in behalf of others, such as wear the livery of Aristotle, the two famous universities are called upon on this occasion: but I except the men of Queen's, Exeter, and Jesus Colleges, in Oxford, who are not to be electors,[a] because he shall not be crowned from an implicit faith in his writings, but receive his honour from such judges as shall allow him to be censured. Upon this election, as I was just now going to say, I banish all who think and speak after others, to concern themselves in it. For which reason, all illiterate distant admirers are forbidden to corrupt the voices by sending, according to the new mode, any poor students coals and candles[b] for their votes in behalf of such worthies as they pretend to esteem. All news-writers are also excluded, because they consider fame as it is a report which gives foundation to the filling up their rhapsodies, and not as it is the emanation or consequence of good and evil actions. These are excepted against as justly as butchers in case of life and death: their familiarity with the greatest names takes off the delicacy of their regard, as dealing in blood makes the lanii less tender of spilling it.

No. 81.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1709.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi, ——
Quique pii vates, et Phœbo digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluêre per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecêre merendo.
VIRG. Æn. vi. 660.

Here patriots live, who, for their country's good,
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood;—
Here poets, worthy their inspiring god,
And of unblemished life make their abode,
And searching wits, of more mechanic parts,
Who graced their age with new invented arts:
Those who to worth their bounty did extend;
And those who knew that bounty to commend.—DRYDEN.

From my own Apartments, Oct. 14.

THERE are two kinds of immortality; that which the soul really enjoys after this life, and that imaginary

[a] The members of these three colleges were obliged, by their statutes, to keep to Aristotle for their texts.

[b] This mode of bribery had been practised, in the election of sir B Green, as alderman of the ward of Queenhithe.

existence, by which men live in their fame and reputation. The best and greatest actions have proceeded from the prospect of the one or the other of these; but my design is to treat only of those who have chiefly proposed to themselves the latter, as the principal reward of their labours. It was for this reason that I excluded from my tables of fame, all the great founders and votaries of religion; and it is for this reason, also, that I am more than ordinarily anxious to do justice to the persons of whom I am now going to speak; for, since fame was the only end of all their enterprises and studies, a man cannot be too scrupulous in allotting them their due proportion of it. It was this consideration which made me call the whole body of the learned to my assistance; to many of whom I must own my obligations for the catalogues of illustrious persons, which they have sent me in upon this occasion. I yesterday employed the whole afternoon in comparing them with each other; which made so strong an impression upon my imagination, that they broke my sleep for the first part of the following night, and at length threw me into a very agreeable vision, which I shall beg leave to describe in all its particulars:—

I dreamed that I was conveyed into a wide and boundless plain, that was covered with prodigious multitudes of people, which no man could number. In the midst of it there stood a mountain with its head above the clouds. The sides were extremely steep, and of such a particular structure that no creature which was not made in a human figure could possibly ascend it. On a sudden, there was heard from the top of it a sound like that of a trumpet; but so exceedingly sweet and harmonious, that it filled the hearts of those who heard it with raptures, and gave such high and delightful sensations, as seemed to animate and raise human nature above itself. This made me very much amazed to find so very few in that innumerable multitude who had ears fine enough to hear or relish this music with pleasure; but my wonder abated, when, upon looking round me, I saw most of them attentive to three sirens, clothed like goddesses, and distinguished by the names of Sloth, Ignorance, and Pleasure. They were seated on three rocks, amid a beautiful variety of groves, meadows, and rivulets that lay on the borders of the mountain. While the base and grovelling multitude of different nations, ranks, and ages, were listening to these delusive deities, those of a more erect aspect, and exalted spirit, separated themselves from the rest, and marched in great bodies toward the mountain, from whence they heard the sound, which still grew sweeter, the more they listened to it.

On a sudden methought this select band sprang forward, with a resolution to climb the ascent, and follow the call of that heavenly music. Every one took something with him, that he thought might be of assistance to him in his march. Several had their swords drawn, some carried rolls of paper in their hands, some had compasses, others quadrants, others telescopes, and others pencils; some had laurels on their heads, and others buskins on their legs: in short, there was scarce any instrument of a mechanic art or liberal science which was not made use of on this occasion. My good demon, who stood at my right hand during the course of this whole vision, observing in me a burning desire to join that glorious company, told me, "He highly approved that generous ardour with which I seemed transported; but, at the same time, advised me to cover my face with a mask all the while I was to labour on the ascent." I took his counsel, without inquiring into his reasons. The whole body now broke into different parties, and began to climb the precipice by ten thousand different paths. Several got into little alleys, which did not reach far up the hill before they ended and led no farther; and I observed that most of the artisans, which considerably diminished our number, fell into these paths.

We left another considerable body of adventurers behind us, who thought they had discovered by-ways up the hill, which proved so very intricate and perplexed, that, after having advanced in them a little, they were quite lost among the several turns and windings; and though they were as active as any in their motions, they made but little progress in the ascent. These, as my guide informed me, were "men of subtle tempers, and puzzled politics, who would supply the place of real wisdom with cunning and artifice." Among those who were far advanced in their way, there were some that, by one false step, fell backward, and lost more ground in a moment than they had gained for many hours, or could be ever able to recover. We were now advanced very high, and observed that all the different paths which ran about the sides of the mountain began to meet in two great roads; which insensibly gathered the whole multitude of travellers into two great bodies. At a little distance from the entrance of each road, there stood a hideous phantom, that opposed our farther passage. One of these apparitions had his right hand filled with darts, which he brandished in the face of all who came up that way: crowds ran back at the appearance of it, and cried out Death! The spectre that guarded the other road was Envy: she was not armed with weapons of destruction, like the former; but by dreadful hissings, noises of reproach, and a horrid distracted laughter, she appeared more frightful than Death itself; insomuch, that abundance of our company were discouraged from passing any farther, and some appeared ashamed of having come so far. As for myself, I must confess my heart shrunk within me at the sight of these ghastly appearances: but on a sudden, the voice of the trumpet came more full upon us, so that we felt a new resolution reviving in us; and in proportion as this resolution grew, the terrors before us seemed to vanish. Most of the company, who had swords in their hands, marched on with great spirit, and an air of defiance, up the road that was commanded by Death; while others, who had thought and contemplation in their looks, went forward, in a more composed manner, up the road possessed by Envy. The way above these apparitions grew smooth and uniform, and was so delightful, that the travellers went on with pleasure, and in a little time arrived at the top of the mountain. They here began to breathe a delicious kind of ether, and saw all the fields about them covered with a kind of purple light, that made them reflect with satisfaction on their past toils; and diffused a secret joy through the whole assembly, which showed itself in every look and feature. In the midst of these happy fields there stood a palace of a very glorious structure: it had four great folding doors, that faced the four several quarters of the world. On the top of it was enthroned the goddess of the mountain, who smiled upon her votaries, and sounded the silver trumpet which had called them up, and cheered them in their passage to her palace. They had now formed themselves into several divisions; a band of historians taking their stations at each door, according to the persons whom they were to introduce.

On a sudden the trumpet, which had hitherto sounded only a march, or point of war, now swelled all its notes into triumph and exultation: the whole fabric shook, and the doors flew open. The first that stepped forward was a beautiful and blooming hero, and, as I heard by the murmurs round me, Alexander the Great. He was conducted by a crowd of historians. The person who immediately walked before him was remarkable for an embroidered garment, who, not being well acquainted with the place, was conducting him to an apartment appointed for the reception of fabulous heroes. The name of this false guide was Quintus Curtius. But Arrian

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and Plutarch, who knew better the avenues of this palace, conducted him into the great hall, and placed him at the upper end of the first table. My good demon, that I might see the whole ceremony, conveyed me to a corner of this room, where I might perceive all that passed, without being seen myself. The next who entered was a charming virgin, leading in a venerable old man that was blind. Under her left arm she bore a harp, and on her head a garland. Alexander, who was very well acquainted with Homer, stood up at his entrance, and placed him on his right hand. The virgin, who it seems was one of the nine sisters that attended on the goddess of Fame, smiled with an ineffable grace at their meeting, and retired.

Julius Cæsar was now coming forward; and though most of the historians offered their service to introduce him, he left them at the door, and would have no conductor but himself.

The next who advanced was a man of a homely but cheerful aspect, and attended by persons of greater figure than any that appeared on this occasion. Plato was on his right hand, and Xenophon on his left. He bowed to Homer, and sat down by him. It was expected that Plato would himself have taken a place next to his master Socrates; but on a sudden there was heard a great clamour of disputants at the door, who appeared with Aristotle at the head of them. That philosopher, with some rudeness, but great strength of reason, convinced the whole table that a title to the fifth place was his due, and took it accordingly.

He had scarce sat down, when the same beautiful virgin that had introduced Homer brought in another, who hung back at the entrance, and would have excused himself, had not his modesty been overcome by the invitation of all who sat at the table. His guide and behaviour made me easily conclude it was Virgil. Cicero next appeared, and took his place. He had inquired at the door for one Lucceius to introduce him; but not finding him there, he contented himself with the attendance of many other writers, who all, except Sallust, appeared highly pleased with the office.

We waited some time in expectation of the next worthy, who came in with a great retinue of historians, whose names I could not learn, most of them being natives of Carthage. The person thus conducted, who was Hannibal, seemed much disturbed, and could not forbear complaining to the board of the affronts he had met with among the Roman historians, "who attempted," says he, "to carry me into the subterraneous apartment; and perhaps would have done it, had it not been for the impartiality of this gentleman," pointing to Polybius, "who was the only person, except my own countrymen, that was willing to conduct me hither."

The Carthaginian took his seat, and Pompey entered with great dignity in his own person, and preceded by several historians. Lucan the poet was at the head of them, who, observing Homer and Virgil at the table, was going to sit down himself, had not the latter whispered him, that whatever pretence he might otherwise have had, he forfeited his claim to it, by coming in as one of the historians. Lucan was so exasperated with the repulse, that he muttered something to himself; and was heard to say, that since he could not have a seat among them himself, he would bring in one who alone had more merit than their whole assembly; upon which he went to the door, and brought in Cato of Utica. That great man approached the company with such an air that showed he contemned the honour which he laid a claim to. Observing the seat opposite to Cæsar was vacant, he took possession of it, and spoke two or three smart sentences upon the nature of precedency, which, according to him, "consisted not in place, but in intrinsic merit;" to which he added, "that the most virtuous man, wherever he was seated, was always at the upper end of the table." Socrates, who had a great spirit of raillery with his wisdom, could not forbear smiling at a virtue which took so little pains to make itself agreeable. Cicero took the occasion to make a long discourse in praise of Cato, which he uttered with much vehemence. Cæsar answered him with a great deal of seeming temper; but, as I stood at a great distance from them, I was not able to hear one word of what they said. But I could not forbear taking notice, that in all the discourse which passed at the table, a word or nod from Homer decided the controversy.

After a short pause Augustus appeared, looking round him, with a serene and affable countenance, upon all the writers of his age, who strove among themselves which of them should show him the greatest marks of gratitude and respect. Virgil rose from the table to meet him; and though he was an acceptable guest to all, he appeared more such to the learned than the military worthies. The next man astonished the whole table with his appearance: he was slow, solemn, and silent in his behaviour, and wore a raiment curiously wrought with hieroglyphics. As he came into the middle of the room, he threw up the skirts of it, and discovered a golden thigh. Socrates, at the sight of it, declared "against keeping company with any who were not made of flesh and blood:" and therefore desired Diogenes the Laertian "to lead him to the apartment allotted for fabulous heroes and worthies of dubious existence." At his going out, he told them, "that they did not know whom they dismissed: that he was now Pythagoras, the first of philosophers, and that formerly he had been a very brave man at the siege of Troy." "That may be very true," said Socrates; "but you forget that you have likewise been a very great harlot in your time." This exclusion made way for Archimedes, who came forward with a scheme of mathematical figures in his hand; among which I observed a cone and a cylinder.

Seeing this table full, I desired my guide, for variety, to lead me to the fabulous apartment, the roof of which was painted with gorgons, chimeras, and centaurs, with many other emblematical figures, which I wanted both time and skill to unriddle. The first table was almost full: at the upper end sat Hercules, leaning an arm upon his club; on his right hand were Achilles and Ulysses, and between them Æneas; on his left were Hector, Theseus, and Jason: the lower end had Orpheus, Æsop, Phalaris, and Musæus. The ushers seemed at a loss for a twelfth man, when, methought, to my great joy and surprise, I heard some at the lower end of the table mention Isaac Bickerstaff; but those of the upper end received it with disdain; and said, "If they must have a British worthy, they would have Robin Hood."

While I was transported with the honour that was done me, and burning with envy against my competitor, I was awakened by the noise of the cannon which were then fired for the taking of Mons. I should have been very much troubled at being thrown out of so pleasing a vision on any other occasion; but thought it an agreeable change, to have my thoughts diverted from the greatest among the dead and fabulous heroes, to the most famous among the real and the living.

No. 230.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 28, 1710.

From my own Apartments, September 27.

THE following letter has laid before me many great and manifest evils in the world of letters, which I had overlooked; but it opens to me a very busy scene, and it will require no small care and application to amend errors which are become so universal. The affectation

of politeness is exposed in this epistle with a great deal of wit and discernment; so that whatever discourses I may fall into hereafter, upon the subject the writer treats of, I shall at present lay the matter before the world without the least alteration from the words of my correspondent.[a]

"TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

"SIR, THERE are some abuses among us of great consequence, the reformation of which is properly your province; although as far as I have been conversant in your papers, you have not yet considered them. These are the deplorable ignorance that for some years hath reigned among our English writers, the great depravity of our taste, and the continual corruption of our style. I say nothing here of those who handle particular sciences, divinity, law, physic, and the like; I mean the traders in history, and politics, and the *belles lettres*, together with those by whom books are not translated, but (as the common expressions are) done out of French, Latin, or other languages, and made English. I cannot but observe to you, that, until of late years, a Grub-street book was always bound in sheepskin, with suitable print and paper, the price never above a shilling, and taken off wholly by common tradesmen or country pedlers; but now they appear in all sizes and shapes, and in all places: they are handed about from lapfulls in every coffeehouse to persons of quality; are shown in Westminster-hall and the Court of Requests; you may see them gilt, and in royal paper, of five or six hundred pages, and rated accordingly. I would engage to furnish you with a catalogue of English books, published within the compass of seven years past, which at the first hand would cost you 100*l.*, wherein you shall not be able to find ten lines together of common grammar, or common sense.

"These two evils, ignorance and want of taste, have produced a third, I mean the continual corruption of our English tongue, which, without some timely remedy, will suffer more by the false refinements of twenty years past, than it has been improved in the foregoing hundred. And this is what I design chiefly to enlarge upon, leaving the former evils to your animadversion.

But, instead of giving you a list of the late refinements crept into our language, I here send you a copy of a letter I received some time ago from a most accomplished person in this way of writing, upon which I shall make some remarks. It is in these terms:—

"'SIR, I COU'DN'T *get the things you sent for all* about town.—*I* tho't *to* ha' *come down myself, and then* I'd ha' bro't um; *but* ha'nt don't, *and I believe I* can't do't, *that's* POZZ.—Tom [Mr. Thomas Harley] *begins to* g'imself *airs, because* he's *going with the* plenipos.—*'Tis said the French king will* bamboozl us agen, *which* causes many speculations. *The* Jacks, *and others of that* kidney, *are very* nppish *and* alert upon't, *as you may see by their* phizz's.—Will Hazard *has got the* hipps, *having lost* to the tune of 500*l.*, tho' *he understands play very well*, nobody better. *He has* promis't *me upon* rep *to leave off play; but you know 'tis a weakness* he's *too apt to* give into, tho' *he has as much wit as any man*, nobody more: *he has lain* incog *ever since.—The* mobb's *very quiet with us now.—I believe you* tho't *I* banter'd *you in my last like a* country put.—I shan't *leave town this month*, &c.'

"This letter is, in every point, an admirable pattern of the present polite way of writing; nor is it of less authority for being an epistle; you may gather every flower of it, with a thousand more of equal sweetness, from the books, pamphlets, and single papers, offered us every day in the coffeehouses. And these are the beauties introduced to supply the want of wit, sense, humour, and learning, which formerly were looked upon as qualifications for a writer. If a man of wit, who died forty years ago, were to rise from the grave on purpose, how would he be able to read this letter? and, after he had gone through that difficulty, how would be be able to understand it? The first thing that strikes your eye, is the breaks at the end of almost every sentence; of which I know not the use, only that it is a refinement, and very frequently practised. Then you will observe the abbreviations and elisions, by which consonants of most obdurate sounds are joined together, without one softening vowel to intervene; and all this only to make one syllable of two, directly contrary to the example of the Greeks and Romans, altogether of the Gothic strain, and of a natural tendency towards relapsing into barbarity, which delights in monosyllables, and uniting of mute consonants, as it is observable in all the northern languages. And this is still more visible in the next refinement, which consists in pronouncing the first syllable in a word that has many, and dismissing the rest; such as *phizz, hipps, mobb, pozz, rep*, and many more; when we are already overloaded with monosyllables, which are the disgrace of our language. Thus we cram one syllable and cut off the rest, as the owl fattened her mice after she had bit off their legs, to prevent them from running away; and if cars be the same reason for maiming words, it will certainly answer the end; for I am sure no other nation will desire to borrow them. Some words are hitherto but fairly split, and therefore only in their way to perfection, as incog and plenipo; but in a short time, it is to be hoped, they will be further docked to inc and plen. This reflection has made me of late years very impatient for a peace, which I believe would save the lives of many brave words as well as men. The war has introduced abundance of polysyllables, which will never be able to live many more campaigns. *Speculations, operations, preliminaries, ambassadors, palisadoes, communications, circumvallations, battalions*, as numerous as they are, if they attack us too frequently in our coffeehouses, we shall certainly put them to flight, and cut off the rear.

"The third refinement observable in the letter I send you, consists in the choice of certain words invented by some pretty fellows, such as *banter, bamboozle, country put*, and *kidney*, as it is there applied; some of which are now struggling for the vogue, and others are in possession of it. I have done my utmost for some years past to stop the progress of *mobb* and *banter*, but have been plainly borne down by numbers, and betrayed by those who promised to assist me.

"In the last place you are to take notice of certain choice phrases scattered through the letter; some of them tolerable enough, till they were worn to rags by servile imitators. You might easily find them, although they were not in a different print, and therefore I need not disturb them.

"These are the false refinements in our style, which you ought to correct: first, by arguments and fair means; but if those fail, I think your are to make use of your authority as censor, and, by an annual *index expurgatorius*, expunge all words and phrases that are offensive to good sense, and condemn those barbarous mutilations of vowels and syllables. In this last point the usual pretence is, that they spell as they speak. a noble standard for language! to depend upon the caprice of every coxcomb, who, because words are the clothing of our thoughts, cuts them out, and shapes them as he pleases, and changes them oftener than his dress. I believe all reasonable people would be content that such refiners were more sparing of their words and liberal in their syllables. On this head I should

[a] "I have sent a long letter to Bickerstaff. Let the bishop of Clogher smoke it if he can."—*Journal to Stella*, Sept 23, 1710.

be glad you would bestow some advice upon several young readers in our churches, who, coming up from the university full fraught with admiration of our town politeness, will needs correct the style of our prayer-books. In reading the absolution, they are very careful to say "*Pardons and absolves*," and in the prayer for the royal family it must be *endue'um, enrich'um, prosper'um*, and *bring'um*; then, in their sermons, they use all the modern terms of art, *sham, banter, mobb, bubble, bully, cutting, shuffling*, and *palming*, all which, and many more of the like stamp, as I have heard them often in the pulpit from some young sophisters, so I have read them in some of those sermons that have made a great noise of late. The design, it seems, is to avoid the dreadful imputation of pedantry; to show us that they know the town, understand men and manners and have not been poring upon old nufashionable books in the university.

"I should be glad to see you the instrument of introducing into our style that simplicity which is the best and truest ornament of most things in human life, which the politer ages always aimed at in their building and dress, (*simplex munditiis*,) as well as their productions of wit. It is manifest that all new affected modes of speech, whether borrowed from the court, the town, or the theatre, are the first perishing parts in any language; and, as I could prove by many hundred instances, have been so in ours. The writings of Hooker, who was a country clergyman, and of Parsons the jesuit, both in the reign of queen Elizabeth, are in a style that, with very few allowances, would not offend any present reader; much more clear and intelligible than those of sir Henry Wotton, sir Robert Naunton, Osborn, Daniel the historian, and several others who writ later; but being men of the court, and affecting the phrases then in fashion, they are often either not to be understood, or appear perfectly ridiculous.

"What remedies are to be applied to these evils I have not room to consider, having, I fear, already taken up most of your paper: besides, I think it is our office only to represent abuses, and yours to redress them.

"I am, with great respect, sir, yours, &c."

No. 258.

SATURDAY, DEC. 2, 1710.

Nov. 22, 1710.

Sir,—Dining yesterday with Mr. *South-British* and Mr. *William North-Briton*, two gentlemen who, before you ordered it otherwise, were known by the names of Mr. *English* and Mr. *William Scott*: among other things, the maid of the house, who in her time I believe may have been a *North-British* warming-pan, brought us up a dish of *North-British* collops. We liked our entertainment very well; only we observed the table-cloth, being not so fine as we could have wished, was *North-British* cloth. But the worst of it was, we were disturbed all dinner-time by the noise of the children, who were playing in the paved court at *North-British* hoppers; so we paid our *North-Briton* sooner than we designed, and took coach to *North-Britain* yard, about which place most of us live. We had indeed gone a-foot; only we were under some apprehensions lest a *North-British* mist should wet a *South-British* man to the skin.—We think this matter properly expressed according to the accuracy of the new style, settled by you in one of your late papers. You will please to give your opinion upon it to,

Sir, your most humble servants,

J. S., M.P., N.R.

No. 1.[a]

Quis ergo sum saltem, si non sum Sosia? Te interrogo.
PLAUT. AMPHITRUS.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1710-11.

It is impossible perhaps for the best and wisest among us to keep so constant a guard upon our temper but that we may at one time or other lie open to the strokes of fortune, and such incidents as we cannot foresee. With sentiments of this kind I came home to my lodgings last night, much fatigued with a long and sudden journey from the country, and full of the ungrateful occasion of it. It was natural for me to have immediate recourse to my pen and ink; but before I would offer to make use of them, I resolved deliberately to tell over a hundred, and when I came to the end of that sum, I found it more advisable to defer drawing up my intended remonstrance till I had slept soundly on my resentments. Without any other preface than this, I shall give the world a fair account of the treatment I have lately met with, and leave them to judge whether the uneasiness I have suffered be inconsistent with the character I have generally pretended to. About three weeks since I received an invitation from a kinsman in Staffordshire to spend my Christmas in those parts. Upon taking leave of Mr. Morphew, I put as many papers into his hands as would serve till my return, and charged him at parting to be very punctual with the town. In what manner he and Mr. Lillie have been tampered with since I cannot say; they have given me my revenge, if I desired any, by allowing their names to an idle paper, that in all human probability cannot live a fortnight to an end.

Myself and the family I was with were in the midst of gaiety and a plentiful entertainment when I received a letter from my sister Jenny, who, after mentioning some little affairs I had intrusted to her, goes on thus:—"The enclosed, I believe, will give you some surprise, as it has already astonished everybody here: who Mr. Steele is that subscribes it I do not know, any more than I can comprehend what could induce him to it. Morphew and Lillie, I am told, are both in the secret. I shall not presume to instruct you, but hope you will use some means to disappoint the ill nature of those who are taking pains to deprive the world of one of its most reasonable entertainments. I am, &c."

I am to thank my sister for her compliment; but be that as it will, I shall not easily be discouraged from my former undertaking. In pursuance of it, I was obliged upon this notice to take places in the coach for myself and my maid with the utmost expedition, lest I should in a short time be rallied out of my existence, as some people will needs fancy Mr. Partridge has been, and the real Isaac Bickerstaff have passed for a creature of Mr. Steele's imagination. This illusion might have hoped for some tolerable success if I had not more than once produced my person in a crowded theatre; and such a person as Mr. Steele, if I am not misinformed in the gentleman, would hardly think it an advantage to own, though I should throw him in all the little honour I have gained by my Lucubrations. I may be allowed, perhaps, to understand pleasantry as well as other men, and can (in the usual phrase) take a jest without being angry; but I appeal to the world whether the gentleman has not carried it too far, and whether he ought not to make a public recantation, if the credulity of some unthinking people should force me to insist upon it. The following letter is just come to hand, and I think it not improper to be inserted in this paper:—

[a] This and the four following Tatlers are not in the volumes published by sir Richard Steele, but are taken from the one published by Mr Harrison.

"TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.

"Sir, I am extremely glad to hear you are come to town; for in your absence we were all mightily surprised with an unaccountable paper, signed Richard Steele, who is esteemed by those that know him to be a man of wit and honour; and therefore we took it either to be a counterfeit, or perfect Christmas frolic of that ingenious gentleman. But then your paper ceasing immediately after, we were at a loss what to think: if you were weary of the work you had so long carried on, and had given this Mr. Steele orders to signify so to the public, he should have said it in plain terms; but as that paper is worded, one would be apt to judge that he had a mind to persuade the town that there was some analogy between Isaac Bickerstaff and him. Possibly there may be a secret in this which I cannot enter into; but I flatter myself that you never had any thoughts of giving over your labours for the benefit of mankind, when you cannot but know how many subjects are yet unexhausted, and how many others, as being less obvious, are wholly untouched. I dare promise, not only for myself, but many other ahler friends, that we shall still continue to furnish you with hints on all proper occasions, which is all your genius requires. I think, by the way, you cannot in honour have any more to do with Morphew and Lillie, who have gone beyond the ordinary pitch of assurance, and transgressed the very letter of the proverb, by endeavoring to cheat you of your Christian and surname too. Wishing you, sir, long to live for our instruction and diversion, and to the defeating of all impostors, I remain, your most obedient humble servant, and affectionate kinsman, HUMPHRY WADSTAFF."[a]

No. 2.

Alios viri reverentia, vultusque ad continendum populum mire formatus: alios etiam, quibus ipse interesse non potuit, vis scribendi tamen, &c., magni nominis autoritas pervicere — TULL. EPIST.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1710-11.

I REMEMBER Menage tells a story of Monsieur Racan, who had appointed a day and hour to meet a certain lady of great wit whom he had never seen, in order to make an acquaintance between them. "Two of Racan's friends, who had heard of the appointment, resolved to play him a trick. The first went to the lady two hours before the time, said his name was Racan, and talked with her an hour; they were both mightily pleased, began a great friendship, and parted with much satisfaction. A few minutes after comes the second, and sends up the same name; the lady wonders at the meaning, and tells him Mr. Racan had just left her. The gentleman says it was some rascally impostor, and that he had been frequently used in that manner. The lady is convinced, and they laugh at the oddness of the adventure. She now calls to mind several passages which confirm her that the former was a cheat. He appoints a second meeting, and takes his leave. He was no sooner gone but the true Racan comes to the door, and desires, under that name, to see the lady. She was out of all patience, sends for him up, rates him for an impostor, and, after a thousand injuries, flings a slipper at his head. It was impossible to pacify or disabuse her; he was forced to retire; and it was not without some time, and the intervention of friends, that they could come to an éclaircissement." This, as I take it, is exactly the case with Mr. Steele, the pretended TATLER from Morphew and myself, only (I presume) the world will be sooner undeceived than the lady in Menage. The very day my last paper came out, my printer brought me another of the same date, called the Tatler, by Isaac Bickerstaff, esq., and which was still more pleasant, with an advertisement at the end calling me the Female TATLER: it is not enough to rob me of my name, but now they must impose a sex on me, when my years have long since determined me to be of none at all. There is only one thing wanting in the operation, that they would renew my age, and then I will heartily forgive them all the rest. In the mean time, whatever uneasiness I have suffered from the little malice of these men, and my retirement in the country, the pleasures I have received from the same occasion will fairly balance the account. On the one hand I have been highly delighted to see my name and character assumed by the scribblers of the age, in order to recommend themselves to it; and on the other, to observe the good taste of the town in distinguishing and exploding them through every disguise, and sacrificing their trifles to the supposed manes of Isaac Bickerstaff, esq. But the greatest merit of my journey into Staffordshire is, that it has opened to me a new fund of unimproved follies and errors that have hitherto lain out of my view, and by their situation escaped my censure: for as I have lived generally in town, the images I had of the country were such only as my senses received very early, and my memory has since preserved with all the advantages they first appeared in.

Hence it was that I thought our parish church the noblest structure in England, and the esquire's place house, as we called it, a most magnificent palace. I had the same opinion of the alms-house in the churchyard, and of a bridge over the brook that parts our parish from the next. It was the common vogue of our school, that the master was the best scholar in Europe, and the usher the second. Not happening to correct these notions by comparing them with what I saw when I came into the world, upon returning back, I began to resume my former imaginations, and expected all things should appear in the same view as I left them when I was a boy; but, to my utter disappointment, I found them wonderfully shrunk, and lessened almost out of my knowledge. I looked with contempt on the tribes painted on the church walls, which I once so much admired, and on the carved chimney-piece in the esquire's hall. I found my old master to be a poor ignorant pedant; and, in short, the whole scene to be extremely changed for the worse. This I could not help mentioning, because though it be of no consequence in itself, yet it is certain that most prejudices are contracted and retained by this narrow way of thinking, which, in matters of the greatest moment, are hardly shook off; and which we only think true, because we were made to believe so before we were capable to distinguish between truth and falsehood. But there was one prepossession, which I confess to have parted with, much to my regret: I mean the opinion of that native honesty and simplicity of manners which I had always imagined to be inherent in country people. I soon observed it was with them and us, as they say of animals; that every species at land has one to resemble it at sea; for it was easy to discover the seeds and principles of every vice and folly that one meets with in the more known world, though shooting up in different forms. I took a fancy, out of the several inhabitants round, to furnish the camp, the bar, and the Exchange, and some certain chocolate and coffeehouses, with exact parallels to what, in many instances, they already produce. There was a drunken quarrelsome smith, whom I have a hundred times fancied at the head of a troop of dragoons. A weaver, within two doors of my kinsman, was perpetually

[a] "To-day little Harrison's new Tatler came out; there is not much in it, but I hope he will mend. You must understand that upon Steele's leaving off, there were two or three scrub Tatlers came out, and one of them holds on still, and to-day is advertised against Harrison's: and so there must be disputes which are genuine, like the straps for razors." — *Journal to Stella*, Jan. 13, 1710-11

setting neighbours together by the ears. I lamented to see how his talents were misplaced, and imagined what a figure he might make in Westminster-hall. Goodman Crop, of Compton farm, wants nothing but a plum and a gold chain to qualify him for the government of the city. My kinsman's stable-boy was a gibing companion, that would always have his jest. He would often put cow-itch in the maid's bed, pull stools from under folks, and lay a coal upon their shoes when they were asleep. He was at last turned off for some notable piece of roguery; and, when I came away, was loitering among the alehouses. Bless me, thought I, what a prodigious wit would this have been with us! I could have matched all the sharpers between St. James's and Covent Garden with a notable fellow in the same neighbourhood (since hanged for picking pockets at fairs), could he have had the advantages of their education. So nearly are the corruptions of the country allied to those of the town, with no further difference than what is made by another turn of thought and method of living!

No. 5.

—Laceratque, trahitque
Molle pecus. Virg.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1710-11.

Among other services I have met with from some critics, the cruelest for an old man is, that they will not let me be at quiet in my bed, but pursue me to my very dreams. I must not dream but when they please, nor upon long-continued subjects, however visionary in their own natures, because there is a manifest moral quite through them, which to produce as a dream is improbable and unnatural. The pain I might have had from this objection is prevented by considering they have missed another, against which I should have been at a loss to defend myself. They might have asked me whether the dreams I publish can properly be called lucubrations, which is the name I have given to all my papers, whether in volumes or half sheets: so manifest a contradiction *in terminis*, that I wonder no sophister ever thought of it. But the other is a cavil. I remember, when I was a boy at school, I have often dreamed out the whole passages of a day; that I rode a journey, baited, supped, went to bed, and rose next morning: and I have known young ladies who could dream a whole texture of adventures in one night large enough to make a novel. In youth the imagination is strong, not mixed with cares, nor tinged with those passions that most disturb and confound it; such as avarice, ambition, and many others. Now, as old men are said to grow children again, so, in this artiale of dreaming, I am returned to my childhood. My imagination is at full ease, without care, avarice, or ambition, to clog it; by which, among many others, I have this advantage, of doubling the small remainder of my time, and living four-and-twenty hours in the day. However, the dream I am now going to relate is as wild as can well be imagined, and adapted to please these refiners upon sleep, without any moral that I can discover:—

"It happened that my maid left on the table in my bedchamber one of her story books (as she calls them), which I took up, and found full of strange impertinence, fitted to her taste and condition; of poor servants who came to be ladies, and serving men, of low degree, who married king's daughters. Among other things, I met this sage observation, 'That a lion would never hurt a true virgin.' With this medley of nonsense in my fancy I went to bed, and dreamed that a friend waked me in the morning, and proposed, for pastime, to spend a few hours in seeing the parish lions, which he had not done since he came to town; and because they showed but once a-week, he would not miss the opportunity. I said I would humour him: although, to speak the truth, I was not fond of those cruel spectacles; and, if it were not so ancient a custom, founded (as I had heard) upon the wisest maxims, I should be apt to censure the inhumanity of those who introduced it."

All this will be a riddle to the waking reader, until I discover the scene my imagination had formed upon this maxim, "That a lion would never hurt a true virgin." "I dreamed, that by a law of immemorial time, a he lion was kept in every parish at the common charge, and in a place provided, adjoining to the churchyard; that before any one of the fair sex was married, if she affirmed herself to be a virgin, she must on her wedding-day, and in her wedding-clothes, perform the ceremony of going alone into the den, and stay an hour with the lion, let loose, and kept fasting four-and-twenty hours on purpose. At a proper height above the den were convenient galleries for the relations and friends of the young couple, and open to all spectators. No maiden was forced to offer herself to the lion; but, if she refused, it was a disgrace to marry her, and every one might have liberty of calling her a whore. And methought it was as usual a diversion to see the parish lions as with us to go to a play or an opera. And it was reckoned convenient to be near the church, either for marrying the virgin, if she escaped the trial, or for burying her bones, when the lion had devoured the rest, as he constantly did."

To go on therefore with the dream: "We called first (as I remember) to see St. Dunstan's lion: but we were told they did not show to-day. From thence we went to that of Covent Garden, which, to my great surprise, we found as lean as a skeleton, when I expected quite the contrary; but the keeper said it was no wonder at all, because the poor beast had not got an ounce of woman's flesh since he came into the parish. This amazed me more than the other, and I was forming to myself a mighty veneration for the ladies in that quarter of the town, when the keeper went on, and said he wondered that the parish would be at the charge of maintaining a lion for nothing. Friend (said I), do you call it nothing to justify the virtue of so many ladies; or has your lion lost his distinguishing faculty? Can there be anything more for the honour of your parish, than that all the ladies married in your church were pure virgins?—That is true (said he), and the doctor knows it to his sorrow; for there has not been a couple married in our church since his worship came among us. The virgins hereabouts are too wise to venture the claws of the lion; and, because nobody will marry them, have all entered into a vow of virginity; so that in proportion we have much the largest nunnery in the whole town. This manner of ladies entering into a vow of virginity, because they were not virgins, I easily conceived; and my dream told me, that the whole kingdom was full of nunneries, plentifully stocked from the same reason.

"We went to see another lion, where we found much company met in the gallery. The keeper told us we should see sport enough, as he called it; and in a little time we saw a young beautiful lady put into the den, who walked up toward the lion with all imaginable security in her countenance, and looked smiling upon her lover and friends in the gallery; which I thought nothing extraordinary, because it was never known that any lion had been mistaken. But, however, we were all disappointed, for the lion lifted up his right paw, which was the fatal sign, and advancing forward, seized her by the arm, and began to tear it. The poor lady gave a terrible shriek, and cried out, 'The lion is just, I am no virgin! Oh! Sappho! Sappho!' She could say no more, for the lion gave her the *coup de*

grace by a squeeze in the throat, and she expired at his feet. The keeper dragged away her body, to feed the animal after the company should be gone: for the parish lion never used to eat in public. After a little pause, another lady came on toward the lion in the same manner as the former. We observed the beast smell her with diligence. He scratched both her hands with lifting them to his nose, and laying one of his claws on her bosom drew blood; however, he let her go, and at the same time turned from her with a sort of contempt, at which she was not a little mortified, and retired with some confusion to her friends in the gallery. Methought the whole company immediately understood the meaning of this; that the easiness of the lady had suffered her to admit certain imprudent and dangerous familiarities, bordering too much upon what is criminal; neither was it sure whether the lover then present had not some sharers with him in those freedoms, of which a lady can never be too sparing.

"This happened to be an extraordinary day; for a third lady came into the den laughing loud, playing with her fan, tossing her head, and smiling round on the young fellows in the gallery. However, the lion leaped on her with great fury, and we gave her for gone; but on a sudden he let go his hold, and turned from her as if he was nauseated; then gave her a lash with his tail; after which she returned to the gallery; not the least out of countenance: and this, it seems, was the usual treatment of coquettes.

"I thought we had seen enough; but my friend would needs have us go and visit one or two lions in the city. We called at two or three dens where they happened not to show; but we generally found half a score young girls, between eight and eleven years old, playing with each lion, sitting on his back, and putting their hands into his mouth; some of them would now and then get a scratch, but we always discovered, upon examining, that they had been hoidening with the young apprentices. One of them was calling to a pretty girl, about twelve years old, who stood by us in the gallery, to come down to the lion, and, upon her refusal, said, 'Ah! miss Betty, we could never get you to come near the lion since you played at hoop and hide with my brother in the garret.'

"We followed a couple, with the wedding-folks, going to the church of St. Mary-Axe. The lady, though well stricken in years, extremely crooked and deformed, was dressed out beyond the gaiety of fifteen; having jumbled together, as I imagined, all the tawdry remains of aunts, godmothers, and grandmothers, for some generations past. One of the neighbours whispered me, that she was an old maid, and had the clearest reputation of any in the parish. There is nothing strange in that, thought I; but was much surprised when I observed afterward, that she went toward the lion with distrust and concern. The beast was lying down; but, upon sight of her, snuffed up his nose two or three times, and then, giving the sign of death, proceeded instantly to execution. In the midst of her agonies, she was heard to name the words Italy and artifices with the utmost horror, and several repeated execrations, and at last concluded, 'Fool that I was, to put so much confidence in the toughness of my skin!'

"The keeper immediately set all in order again for another customer, which happened to be a famous prude, whom her parents, after long threatenings and much persuasion, had, with the extremest difficulty, prevailed on to accept a young handsome goldsmith, who might have pretended to five times her fortune. The fathers and mothers in the neighbourhood used to quote her for an example to their daughters; her elbows were riveted to her sides, and her whole person so ordered, as to inform everybody that she was afraid they should touch her. She only dreaded to approach the lion, because it was a he one, and abhorred to think a male animal should presume to breathe on her. The sight of a man at twenty yards' distance made her draw back her head. She always sat upon the further corner of the chair, although there were six chairs between her and her lover, and with the door wide open, and her little sister in the room. She was never saluted but at the tip of the ear; and her father had much ado to make her dine without her gloves, when there was a man at table. She entered the den with some fear, which we took to proceed from the height of her modesty, offended at the sight of so many men in the gallery. The lion, beholding her at a distance, immediately gave the deadly sign, at which the poor creature (methinks I see her still!) miscarried in a fright before us all. The lion seemed to be as much surprised as we, and gave her time to make her confession; 'That she was five months gone by the foreman of her father's shop; and that this was her third big belly:' and when her friends asked, why she would venture the trial? she said, her nurse told her, that a lion would never hurt a woman with child." Upon this I immediately awaked, and could not help wishing that the deputy censors of my late institution were endued with the same instinct as these parish lions.

No. 20.

Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores. Ovid.

TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1710-11.

From my own Apartment in Channel-row, March 5.

THOSE inferior duties of life, which the French call *les petites morales*, or the smaller morals, are, with us, distinguished by the name of good manners, or breeding. This I look upon, in the general notion of it, to be a sort of artificial good sense, adapted to the meanest capacities, and introduced to make mankind easy in their commerce with each other. Low and little understandings, without some rules of this kind, would be perpetually wandering into a thousand indecencies and irregularities in behaviour; and in their ordinary conversation, fall into the same boisterous familiarities that one observes among them when a debauch has quite taken away the use of their reason. In other instances it is odd to consider, that, for want of common discretion, the very end of good breeding is wholly perverted: and civility, intended to make us easy, is employed in laying chains and fetters upon us, in debarring us of our wishes, and in crossing our most reasonable desires and inclinations. This abuse reigns chiefly in the country, as I found, to my vexation, when I was last there, in a visit I made to a neighbour about two miles from my cousin. As soon as I entered the parlour, they put me into the great chair that stood close by a huge fire, and kept me there by force, until I was almost stifled. Then a boy came in a great hurry to pull off my boots, which I in vain opposed, urging that I must return soon after dinner. In the mean time, the good lady whispered her eldest daughter, and slipped a key into her hand; the girl returned instantly with a beer glass half full of *aqua mirabilis* and syrup of gillyflowers. I took as much as I had a mind for, but madam avowed that I should drink it off; for she was sure it would do me good after coming out of the cold air; and I was forced to obey, which absolutely took away my stomach. When dinner came in, I had a mind to sit at a distance from the fire; but they told me it was as much as my life was worth, and set me with my back against it. Although my appetite was quite gone, I was resolved to force down as much as I could, and desired the leg of a pullet. "Indeed Mr. Bickerstaff (says the lady), you must eat a wing

to oblige me;" and so put a couple upon my plate. I was persecuted at this rate during the whole meal; as often as I called for small-beer, the master tipped the wink, and the servant brought me a brimmer of October. Some time after dinner, I ordered my cousin's man, who came with me, to get ready the horses; but it was resolved I should not stir that night; and when I seemed pretty much bent upon going, they ordered the stable door to be locked, and the children hid my cloak and boots. The next question was, What would I have for supper? I said, I never eat anything at night: but was at last, in my own defence, obliged to name the first thing that came into my head. After three hours spent chiefly in apologies for my entertainment, insinuating to me, "That this was the worst time of the year for provisions; that they were at a great distance from any market; that they were afraid I should be starved; and that they knew they kept me to my loss;" the lady went, and left me to her husband; for they took special care I should never be alone. As soon as her back was turned, the little misses ran backward and forward every moment, and constantly as they came in, or went out, made a curtsey directly at me, which, in good manners, I was forced to return with a bow, and "Your humble servant, pretty miss." Exactly at eight the mother came up, and discovered, by the redness of her face, that supper was not far off. It was twice as large as the dinner, and my persecution doubled in proportion. I desired, at my usual hour, to go to my repose, and was conducted to my chamber by the gentleman, his lady, and the whole train of children. They importuned me to drink something before I went to bed; and, upon my refusing, left at last a bottle of stingo, as they called it, for fear I should wake, and be thirsty in the night. I was forced in the morning to rise and dress myself in the dark, because they would not suffer my kinsman's servant to disturb me at the hour I desired to be called. I was now resolved to break through all measures to get away; and, after sitting down to a monstrous breakfast of cold beef, mutton, neat's tongues, venison-pasty, and stale beer, took leave of the family. But the gentleman would needs see me part of the way, and carry me a short cut through his own ground, which he told me would save half a mile's riding. This last piece of civility had like to have cost me dear, being once or twice in danger of my neck, by leaping over his ditches, and at last forced to alight in the dirt, when my horse, having slipped his bridle, ran away, and took us up more than an hour to recover him again.

It is evident that none of the absurdities I met with in this visit proceeded from an ill intention, but from a wrong judgment of complaisance, and a misapplication in the rules of it. I cannot so easily excuse the more refined critics upon behaviour, who, having professed no other study, are yet infinitely defective in the most material parts of it. Ned Fashion has been bred all his life about court, and understands to a tittle all the punctilios of a drawing-room. He visits most of the fine women near St. James's, and, upon every occasion, says the civilest and softest things to them of any breathing. To M. Le Sack[a] he owes an easy slide in his bow, and a graceful manner of coming into a room: but, in some other cases, he is very far from being a well-bred person. He laughs at men of far superior understanding to his own, for not being as well dressed as himself; despises all his acquaintance who are not of quality, and in public places has, on that account, often avoided taking notice of some among the best speakers of the house of commons. He rails strenuously at both universities before the members of either; and is never heard to swear an oath, and break in upon religion and morality, except in the company of divines. On the other hand, a man of right sense has all the essentials of good breeding, although he may be wanting in the forms of it. Horatio has spent most of his time at Oxford: he has a great deal of learning, an agreeable wit, and as much modesty as may serve to adorn, without concealing, his other good qualities. In that retired way of living, he seems to have formed a notion of human nature, as he has found it described in the writings of the greatest men, not as he is likely to meet with it in the common course of life. Hence it is that he gives no offence, but converses with great deference, candour, and humanity. His bow, I must confess, is somewhat awkward; but then he has an extensive, universal, and unaffected knowledge, which may, perhaps, a little excuse him. He would make no extraordinary figure at a ball; but I can assure the ladies, in his behalf, and for their own consolation, that he has writ better verses on the sex than any man now living, and is preparing such a poem for the press as will transmit their praises and his own to many generations.

[a] A famous dancing-master.

O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri
(Quod nunquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
Diceret, Hæc mea sunt, veteres migrate coloni.—VIRG.

No. 24.[a]

THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1710-11.

From my own Apartment in Channel-row, March 14.

THE dignity and distinction of men of wit is seldom enough considered, either by themselves or others; their own behaviour, and the usage they meet with being generally very much of a piece. I have at this time in my hands an alphabetical list of the *beaux esprits* about this town, four or five of whom have made the proper use of their genius, by gaining the esteem of the best and greatest men, and by turning it to their own advantage in some establishment of their fortunes, however unequal to their merit; others, satisfying themselves with the honour of having access to great tables, and of being subject to the call of every man of quality, who, upon occasion, wants one to say witty things for the diversion of the company. This treatment never moves my indignation so much as when it is practised by a person who, though he owes his own rise purely to the reputation of his parts, yet appears to be as much ashamed of it as a rich city knight to be denominated from the trade he was first apprenticed to; and affects the air of a man born to his titles, and consequently above the character of a wit or a scholar. If those who possess great endowments of the mind would set a just value upon themselves, they would think no man's acquaintance whatsoever a condescension, nor accept it from the greatest upon unworthy or ignominious terms. I know a certain lord that has often invited a set of people, and proposed for their diversion a buffoon player, and an eminent poet, to be of the party; and which was yet worse, thought them both sufficiently recompensed by the dinner and the honour of his company. This kind of insolence is risen to such a height, that I myself was the other day sent to by a man with a title, whom I had never seen, desiring the favour that I should dine with him, and half a dozen of his select friends. I found afterward, the footman had told my maid below stairs, that my lord, having a mind to be merry, had resolved, right or wrong, to send for honest Isaac. I was sufficiently provoked with the message; however I gave the fellow no other answer than that "I believed he had mistaken the person: for I did not

[a] "Little Harrison came to me, and begged me to dictate a paper to him, which I was forced in charity to do."—*Journal to Stella*, March 14, 1710-11.

remember that his lord had ever been introduced to me." I have reason to apprehend that this abuse has been owing rather to a meanness of spirit in men of parts than to the natural pride or ignorance of their patrons. Young students, coming up to town from the places of their education, are dazzled with the grandeur they everywhere meet; and, making too much haste to distinguish their parts, instead of waiting to be desired and caressed, are ready to pay their court at any rate to a great man, whose name they have seen in a public paper, or the frontispiece of a dedication. It has not always been thus; wit in polite ages has ever begot either esteem or fear: the hopes of being celebrated, or the dread of being stigmatized, procured a universal respect and awe for the persons of such as were allowed to have the power of distributing fame or infamy where they pleased. Aretine had all the princes of Europe his tributaries:[a] and when any of them had committed a folly that laid them open to his censure, they were forced by some present extraordinary to compound for his silence; of which there is a famous instance on record. When Charles V. had miscarried in his African expedition, which was looked upon as the weakest undertaking of that great emperor, he sent Aretine a gold chain, who made some difficulty of accepting it, saying, "It was too small a present, in all reason, for so great a folly." For my own part, in this point I differ from him; and never could be prevailed upon, by any valuable consideration, to conceal a fault or a folly, since I first took the censorship upon me.

No. 28.[b]

Morte carent animæ; semperque, priore relicta
Sede, novis domibus vivunt habitantque receptæ.
Ipse ego (nam memini) Trojani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram ——— Ovid. Met.

SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1710-11.

From my own Apartment, March 22.

My other correspondents will excuse me if I give the precedency to a lady, whose letter, among many more, is just come to hand.

"Dear Isaac,—I burn with impatience to know what and who you are. The curiosity of my whole sex is fallen upon me, and has kept me waking these three nights. I have dreamed often of you within this fortnight, and every time you appeared in a different form. As you value my repose, tell me in which of them I am to be Sylvia, your admirer."

It is natural for a man who receives a favour of this kind from an unknown fair, to frame immediately some idea of her person, which being suited to the opinion we have of our own merit, is commonly as beautiful and perfect as the most lavish imagination can furnish out. Strongly possessed with these notions, I have read over Sylvia's billet; and notwithstanding the reserve I have had upon this matter, am resolved to go a much greater length than I yet ever did, in making myself known to the world, and in particular to my charming correspondent. In order to it I must premise, that the person produced as mine in the playhouse last winter did in nowise appertain to me. It was such a one, however, as agreed well with the impression my writings had made, and served the purpose I intended it for; which was to continue the awe and reverence due to the character I was vested with, and at the same time to let my enemies see how much I was the delight and favourite of this town. This innocent imposture, which I have all along taken care to carry on, as it then was of some use, has since been of regular service to me, and, by being mentioned in one of my papers, effectually recovered my egoity out of the hands of some gentlemen who endeavoured to wrest it from me. This is saying, in short, what I am not: what I am, and have been for many years, is next to be explained. Here it will not be improper to remind Sylvia, that there was formerly such a philosopher as Pythagoras, who, among other doctrines, taught the transmigration of souls; which if she sincerely believes, she will not be much startled at the following relation.

I will not trouble her nor my other readers with the particulars of all the lives I have successively passed through since my first entrance into mortal being, which is now many centuries ago. It is enough that I have in every one of them opposed myself with the utmost resolution to the follies and vices of the several ages I have been acquainted with; that I have often rallied the world into good manners, and kept the greatest princes in awe of my satire. There is one circumstance which I shall not omit, though it may seem to reflect on my character; I mean that infinite love of change which has ever appeared in the disposal of my existence. Since the days of the Emperor Trajan, I have not been confined to the same person for twenty years together; but have passed from one abode to another much quicker than the Pythagorean system generally allows. By this means I have seldom had a body to myself, but have lodged up and down wherever I found a genius suitable to my own. In this manner I continued some time with the top wit of France; at another with that of Italy, who had a statue erected to his memory in Rome. Toward the end of the seventeenth century I set out for England; but the gentleman I came over in dying as soon as he got on shore, I was obliged to look out again for a new habitation. It was not long before I met with one to my mind; for, having mixed myself invisibly with the literati of this kingdom, I found it was unanimously agreed among them, That nobody was endued with greater talents than Hiereus [Swift], or consequently would be better pleased with my company. I slipped down his throat one night as he was fast asleep; and the next morning, as soon as he awaked, he fell to writing a treatise that was received with great applause, though he had the modesty not to set his name to that nor to any other of our productions. Some time after, he published a paper of predictions, which were translated into several languages, and alarmed some of the greatest princes in Europe. To these he prefixed the name of Isaac Bickerstaff, esq., which I have been extremely fond of ever since, and have taken care that most of the writings I have been concerned in should be distinguished by it; though I must observe, that there have been many counterfeits imposed upon the public by this means. This extraordinary man being called out of the kingdom by affairs of his own, I resolved, however, to continue somewhat longer in a country where my works had been so well received, and accordingly bestowed myself with Hilario, [Mr Steele.] His natural wit, his lively turn of humour, and great penetration into human nature, easily determined me to this choice, the effects of which were soon after produced in this paper, called the Tatler. I know not how it happened, but in less than two years' time Hilario grew weary of my company, and gave me warning to be gone. In the height of my resentment, I cast my eyes on a young fellow, [Mr. Harrison,] of no extraordinary qualifications, whom for that very reason I had the more pride in taking under my direction, and enabling him by some means or other to carry on the work I was before engaged in. Lest he should grow too vain upon this encouragement, I to this day keep

[a] There is a letter of his extant, in which he makes his boast that he had laid the Sophi of Persia under contribution.

[b] This paper would seem to be the production of Harrison, with some hints from Swift. There is no doubt that he also furnished hints for many others, both to Steele and Harrison.

him under due mortification. I seldom reside with him when any of his friends are at leisure to receive me, by whose hands, however, he is duly supplied. As I have passed through many scenes of life, and a long series of years, I choose to be considered in the character of an old fellow, and take care that those under my influence should speak consonantly to it. This account I presume, will give no small consolation to Sylvia, who may rest assured that Isaac Bickerstaff is to be seen in more forms than she dreamt of; out of which variety she may choose what is most agreeable to her fancy. On Tuesdays, he is sometimes a black, proper young gentleman, with a mole on his left cheek, [Swift]. On Thursdays, a decent well-looking man, of a middle stature, long flaxen hair, and a florid complexion, [Mr. Henley]. On Saturdays, he is somewhat of the shortest, and may be known from others of that size by talking in a low voice, and passing through the street without much precipitation, [Harrison].

THE SPECTATOR,

No. 50.

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1711.

Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dixit.
Juv. Sat. xiv. 321.

Good sense and nature always speak the same.

When the four Indian kings were in this country about a twelvemonth ago, I often mixed with the rabble, and followed them a whole day together, being wonderfully struck with the sight of everything that is new or uncommon. I have, since their departure, employed a friend to make many inquiries of their landlord the upholsterer, relating to their manners and conversation, as also concerning the remarks which they made in this country; for, next to forming a right notion of such strangers, I should be desirous of learning what ideas they have conceived of us.

The upholsterer, finding my friend very inquisitive about these his lodgers, brought him some time since a little bundle of papers, which he assured him were written by king Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow, and, as he supposes, left behind him by some mistake. These papers are now translated, and contain abundance of very odd observations, which I find this little fraternity of kings made during their stay in the isle of Great Britain. I shall present my reader with a short specimen of them in this paper, and may perhaps communicate more to him hereafter. In the article of London are the following words, which, without doubt, are meant of the church of St. Paul:—

"On the most rising part of the town there stands a huge house, big enough to contain the whole nation of which I am king. Our good brother E Tow O Koam, king of the Rivers, is of opinion it was made by the hands of that great God to whom it is consecrated. The kings of Granajah and of the Six Nations believe that it was created with the earth, and produced on the same day with the sun and moon. But for my own part, by the best information that I could get of this matter, I am apt to think that this prodigious pile was fashioned into the shape it now bears by several tools and instruments, of which they have a wonderful variety in this country. It was probably at first a huge misshapen rock that grew upon the top of the hill, which the natives of the country (after having cut it into a kind of regular figure), bored and hollowed with incredible pains and industry, till they had wrought it into all those beautiful vaults and caverns into which it is divided at this day. As soon as this rock was thus curiously scooped to their liking, a prodigious number of hands must have been employed in chipping the outside of it, which is now as smooth as the surface of a pebble; and is in several places hewn out into pillars, that stand like the trunks of so many trees bound about the top with garlands of leaves. It is probable that when this great work was begun, which must have been many hundred years ago, there was some religion among this people; for they give it the name of a temple, and have a tradition that it was designed for men to pay their devotion in. And indeed there are several reasons which make us think that the natives of this country had formerly among them some sort of worship; for they set apart every seventh day as sacred; but, upon my going into one of these holy houses on that day, I could not observe any circumstances of devotion in their behaviour. There was indeed a man in black, who was mounted above the rest, and seemed to utter something with a great deal of vehemence; but as for those underneath him, instead of paying their worship to the deity of the place, they were most of them bowing and curtseying to one another, and a considerable number of them fast asleep.

"The queen of the country appointed two men to attend us, that had enough of our language to make themselves understood in some few particulars. But we soon perceived these two were great enemies to one another, and did not always agree in the same story. We could make shift to gather out of one of them, that this island was very much infested with a monstrous kind of animals, in the shape of men, called Whigs; and he often told us that he hoped we should meet with none of them in our way, for that, if we did, they would be apt to knock us down for being kings.

"Our other interpreter used to talk very much of a kind of animal called a Tory, that was as great a monster as the Whig, and would treat us ill for being foreigners. These two creatures, it seems, are born with a secret antipathy to one another, and engage when they meet as naturally as the elephant and the rhinoceros. But as we saw none of either of these species, we are apt to think that our guides deceived us with misrepresentations and fictions, and amused us with an account of such monsters as are not really in their country. These particulars we made a shift to pick out from the discourse of our interpreters; which we put together as well as we could, being able to understand but here and there a word of what they said, and afterwards making up the meaning of it among ourselves. The men of the country are very cunning and ingenious in handicraft works, but withal so very idle, that we often saw young lusty raw-boned fellows carried up and down the streets in little covered rooms by a couple of porters, who are hired for that service. Their dress is likewise very barbarous; for they almost strangle themselves about the neck, and bind their bodies with many ligatures, that we are apt to think are the occasion of several distempers among them, which our country is entirely free from. Instead of those beautiful feathers with which we adorn our heads, they often buy up a monstrous bush of hair, which covers their heads, and falls down in a large fleece below the middle of their backs; with which they walk up and down the streets, and are as proud of it as if it was of their own growth.

"We were invited to one of their public diversions, where we hoped to have seen the great men of their country running down a stag, or pitching a bar, that we might have discovered who were the persons of the greatest abilities among them; but, instead of that, they conveyed us into a huge room lighted up with abundance of candles, where this lazy people sat still above three hours, to see several feats of ingenuity performed by others, who it seems were paid for it.

"As for the women of the country, not being able to talk with them, we could only make our remarks

upon them at a distance. They let the hair of their heads grow to a great length; but as the men make a great show with heads of hair that are none of their own, the women, who they say have very fine heads of hair, tie it up in a knot and cover it from being seen. The women look like angels; and would be more beautiful than the sun were it not for little black spots that are apt to break out in their faces, and sometimes rise in very odd figures. I have observed that those little blemishes wear off very soon; but when they disappear in one part of the face they are very apt to break out in another, insomuch that I have seen a spot upon the forehead in the afternoon, which was upon the chin in the morning."

The author then proceeds to show the absurdity of breeches and petticoats; with many other curious observations, which I shall reserve for another occasion. I cannot however conclude this paper without taking notice that, amidst these wild remarks, there now and then appears something very reasonable. I cannot likewise forbear observing, that we are all guilty, in some measure, of the same narrow way of thinking which we meet with in this abstract of the Indian journal, when we fancy the customs, dresses, and manners of other countries are ridiculous and extravagant, if they do not resemble those of our own.

In the Spectator, No. 575, August 2, 1714, the following article was proposed by Dr. Swift:—

"The following question is started by one of the schoolmen: Supposing the body of the earth were a great ball or mass of the finest sand, and that a single grain or particle of this sand should be annihilated every thousand years. Supposing then that you had it in your choice to be happy all the while this prodigious mass of sand was consuming by this slow method, until there was not a grain of it left, on condition you were to be miserable for ever after; or supposing that you might be happy for ever after, on condition you would be miserable until the whole mass of sand were thus annihilated at the rate of one sand in a thousand years; which of these two cases would you make your choice?"

THE GUARDIAN,

No. 96.

AN ESSAY ON NATIONAL REWARDS;

BEING A PROPOSAL FOR BESTOWING THEM ON A PLAN MORE DURABLE AND RESPECTABLE.

Cuncti adsint, meritaque expectent præmia palmæ.—Virg.

There is no maxim in politics more indisputable than that a nation should have many honours to reserve for those who do national services. This raises emulation, cherishes public merit, and inspires every one with an ambition which promotes the good of his country. The less expensive these honours are to the public, the more still do they turn to its advantage.

The Romans abounded with these little honorary rewards, that, without conferring wealth and riches, gave only place and distinction to the person who received them. An oaken garland, to be worn on festivals and public ceremonies, was the glorious recompense of one who had covered a citizen in battle. A soldier would not only venture his life for a mural crown, but think the most hazardous enterprise sufficiently repaid by so noble a donation.

But among all honorary rewards which are neither dangerous nor detrimental to the donor, I remember none so remarkable as the titles which are bestowed by the emperor of China. "These are never given to any subject," says Monsieur Le Comte, "till the subject is dead. If he has pleased his emperor to the last, he is called in all public memorials by the title which the emperor confers on him after his death, and his children take their ranks accordingly." This keeps the ambitious subject in a perpetual dependence, making him always vigilant and active, and in everything conformable to the will of his sovereign.

There are no honorary rewards among us which are more esteemed by the persons who receive them, and are cheaper to the prince, than the giving of medals. But there is something in the modern manner of celebrating a great action in medals, which makes such a reward much less valuable than it was among the Romans. There is generally but one coin stamped upon the occasion, which is made a present to the person who is celebrated on it. By this means the whole fame is in his own custody. The applause that is bestowed upon him is too much limited and confined. He is in possession of an honour which the world perhaps knows nothing of. He may be a great man in his own family; his wife and children may see the monument of an exploit which the public in a little time is a stranger to. The Romans took a quite different method in this particular. Their medals were their current money. When an action deserved to be recorded on a coin, it was stamped perhaps upon 100,000 pieces of money, like our shillings or halfpence, which were issued out of the mint, and became current. This method published every noble action to advantage, and in a short space of time spread through the whole Roman empire. The Romans were so careful to preserve the memory of great events upon their coins, that when any particular piece of money grew very scarce, it was often re-coined by a succeeding emperor many years after the death of the emperor to whose honour it was first struck.

A friend of mine drew up a project of this kind during the late ministry, which would then have been put in execution, had it not been too busy a time for thoughts of that nature. As this project has been very much talked of by the gentleman above mentioned to men of the greatest genius as well as quality, I am informed there is now a design on foot for executing the proposal which was then made, and that we shall have several farthings and halfpence charged on the reverse with many of the glorious particulars of her majesty's reign. This is one of those arts of peace which may very well deserve to be cultivated, and which may be of great use to posterity.

As I have in my possession the copy of the paper above mentioned which was delivered to the late lord treasurer [earl of Godolphin], I shall here give the public a sight of it; for I do not question but that the curious part of my readers will be very well pleased to see so much matter, and so many useful hints upon this subject, laid together in so clear and concise a manner:—

"The English have not been so careful as other polite nations to preserve the memory of their great actions and events on medals. Their subjects are few, their mottoes and devices mean, and the coins themselves not numerous enough to spread among the people, or descend to posterity.

"The French have outdone us in these particulars, and, by the establishment of a society for the invention of proper inscriptions and designs, have the whole history of their present king in a regular series of medals.

"They have failed, as well as the English, in coining so small a number of each kind, and those of such costly metals, that each species may be lost in a few ages, and is at present nowhere to be met with but in the cabinets of the curious.

"The ancient Romans took the only effectual method to disperse and preserve their medals, by making them their current money.

"Everthing glorious or useful, as well in peace as war, gave occasion to a different coin. Not only an expedition, victory, or triumph, but the exercise of a solemn devotion, the remission of a duty or tax, a new temple, sea port, or highway, were transmitted to posterity after this manner.

"The greatest variety of devices are on their copper money, which have most of the designs that are to be met with on the gold and silver, and several peculiar to that metal only. By this means they were dispersed into the remotest corners of the empire, came into the possession of the poor as well as the rich, and were in no danger of perishing in the hands of those that might have melted down coins of a more valuable metal.

"Add to all this, that the designs were invented by men of genius, and executed by a decree of the senate.

"It is therefore proposed:—

"1. That the English farthings and halfpence be recoined upon the union of the two nations.

"2. That they bear devices and inscriptions alluding to all the most remarkable parts of her majesty's reign.

"3. That there be a society established for the finding out of proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices.

"That no subject, inscription, or device, be stamped without the approbation of this society; nor, if it be thought proper, without the authority of the privy-council.

"By this means medals, that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will be of use in the ordinary commerce of life, and at the same time perpetuate the glories of her majesty's reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for public services, and excite the emulation of posterity. To these generous purposes nothing can so much contribute as medals of this kind, which are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable by time, nor confined to any certain place; properties not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other monuments of illustrious actions."

THE INTELLIGENCER,

No. 1.

This periodical paper was published at Dublin, by Sheridan, with the occasional assistance of his illustrious friend, and was extended to twenty numbers.

It may be said, without offence to other cities of much greater consequence to the world, that our town of Dublin does not want its due proportion of folly and vice, both native and imported; and as to those imported, we have the advantage to receive them last, and consequently, after our hoppy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But because there are many effects of folly and vice among us, whereof some are general, others confined to smaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few individuals, there is a society lately established, who, at great expense, have erected an office of intelligence, from which they are to receive weekly information of all important events and singularities which this famous metropolis can furnish. Strict injunctions are given to have the truest information, in order to which certain qualified persons are employed to attend upon duty in their several posts; some at the playhouse, others in churches; some at balls, assemblies, coffee-houses, and meetings for quadrille; some at the several courts of justice, both spiritual and temporal; some at the college, some upon my lord mayor and aldermen in their public affairs; lastly, some to converse with favourite chambermaids, and to frequent those alehouses and brandyshops where the footmen of great families meet in a morning; only the barracks and parliament-house are excepted; because we have yet found no *enfans perdus* bold enough to venture their persons at either. Out of these and some other storehouses, we hope to gather materials enough to inform, or divert, or correct, or vex the town.

But as facts, passages, and adventures of all kinds are likely to have the greatest share in our paper, whereof we cannot always answer for the truth; due care shall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all just offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have cause to blush or be angry; if otherwise, then the guilty person is safe for the future upon his present amendment, and safe for the present from all but his own conscience.

There is another resolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general discontent, and is of so singular a nature that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be absolutely necessary by way of apology for so bold and unpopular an attempt. But so it is, that we have taken a desperate counsel, to produce into the world every distinguished action either of justice, prudence, generosity, charity, friendship, or public spirit, which comes well attested to us. And although we shall neither here be so daring as to assign names, yet we shall hardly forbear to give some hints that perhaps, to the great displeasure of such deserving persons, may endanger a discovery. For we think that even virtue itself should submit to such a mortification, as by its visibility and example will render it more useful to the world. But, however, the readers of these papers need not be in pain of being overcharged with so dull and ungrateful a subject. And yet who knows but such an occasion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have settled a correspondence round the kingdom.

But, after all our boast of materials sent us by our several emissaries, we may probably soon fall short, if the town will not be pleased to lend us further assistance toward entertaining itself. The world best knows its own faults and virtues, and whatever is sent shall be faithfully returned back, only a little embellished according to the custom of authors. We do therefore demand and expect continual advertisements in great numbers to be sent to the printer of this paper, who has employed a judicious secretary to collect such as may be most useful for the public.

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our correspondents, that, on the contrary, we expressly charge and command them, in all the facts they send us, to set down the names, titles, and places of abode, at length; together with a very particular description of the persons, dresses, dispositions, of the several lords, ladies, squires, madams, lawyers, gamesters, toupees, sots, wits, rakes, and informers, whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities and capacities of the persons concerned, and treat them with the respect or familiarity that may be due to their stations and characters, which we are determined to observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.

No. 3

———Ipse per omnes
Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.

The players having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggars' Opera for the season; it may be no unpleasant speculation, to reflect a little upon this dramatic piece, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which has frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment.

Although an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great that the dislikers out of dulness or affectation will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean is, what we call humour; which in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit, if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.

I agree with sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our English tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English nation, because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French productions; and particularly, whoever has a taste for true humour, will find a hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of Le Theatre Italien; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now I take the comedy, or farce, (or whatever name the critics will allow it,) called the Beggars' Opera, to excel in this article of humour; and upon that merit to have met with such prodigious success, both here and in England.

As to poetry, eloquence, and music, which are said to have most power over the minds of men; it is certain that very few have a taste or judgment of the excellences of the two former; and if a man succeed in either, it is upon the authority of those few judges, that lend their taste to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in music; and that among those who crowd the operas, nine in ten got hither merely out of curiosity, fashion, or affectation.

But a taste for humour is in some manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar; except upon subjects too refined and superior to their understanding.

And, as this taste of humour is purely natural, so is humour itself; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we observe it sometimes among common servants, and the meanest of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they possess.

I know very well, that this happy talent is contemptibly treated by critics, under the name of low humour, or low comedy; but I know likewise that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the most wit of any nations in Europe, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what disposition of the mind, what influence of the stars, or what situation of the climate, this endowment is bestowed upon mankind, may be a question fit for philosophers to discuss. It is certainly the best ingredient toward that kind of satire which is most useful, and gives the least offence; which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although some things are too serious, solemn, or sacred, to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed that corruptions in religion, politics, and law, may be proper topics for this kind of satire.

There are two ends that men propose in writing satire; one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private satisfaction and pleasure of the writer; but without any view toward personal malice: the other is a public spirit, prompting men of genius and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both these ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expose vice, as another has to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a court, a ministry, or a senate, are they not amply paid by pensions, titles, and power, while I expect and desire no other reward than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? yet, if those who take offence think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the scene with them whenever they please.

But, if my design be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at least I am sure it is the interest of those very courts and ministers, whose follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intention; for if it be reckoned a high point of wisdom to get the laughers on our side, it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our side who can make millions laugh when they please.

My reason for mentioning courts and ministers, (whom I never think on but with the most profound veneration,) is, because an opinion obtains, that in the Beggars' Opera there appears to be some reflection upon courtiers and statesmen, whereof I am by no means a judge.[a]

It is true, indeed, that Mr. Gay, the author of this piece, has been somewhat singular in the course of his fortunes; for it has happened, that after fourteen years attending the court, with a large stock of real merit, a modest and agreeable conversation, a hundred promises, and five hundred friends, he has failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reason. He lay under the suspicion of having written a libel, or lampoon, against a great minister [sir Robert Walpole]. It is true that great minister was demonstratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr. Gay was not the author; but having lain under the suspicion, it seemed very just that he should suffer the punishment; because in this most reformed age, the virtues of a prime-minister are no more to be suspected than the chastity of Cæsar's wife.

It must be allowed, that the Beggars' Opera is not the first of Mr. Gay's works, wherein he has been faulty with regard to courtiers and statesmen. For, to omit his other pieces, even in his fables, published within two years past, and dedicated to the duke of Cumberland, for which he was promised a reward, he has been thought somewhat too bold upon the courtiers. And although it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not considering that the malignity of some people might misinterpret what he said to the disadvantage of present persons and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. Gay as a politician: and shall consider him henceforward only as author of the Beggars' Opera, wherein he has, by a turn of humour entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the strongest and most odious light; and thereby done eminent service both to religion and morality. This appears from the unparalleled success he has met with. All ranks, parties, and denominations of men, either crowding to see his opera, or reading it with delight in their closets; even ministers of state, whom he is thought to have most offended, (next to those whom the actors represent,) appearing frequently at the theatre, from a consciousness of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjust a parallel, malice, envy, and disaffection to the government have made.

I am assured that several worthy clergymen in this city went privately to see the Beggars' Opera represented: and that the fleering coxcombs in the pit amused themselves with making discoveries, and spreading the names of those gentlemen round the audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a clergyman who would appear openly in his habit at the theatre, with such a vicious crew as might probably stand round him, at such comedies and profane tragedies as are often represented. Besides, I know very well that persons of

[a] It is well known that the scene between Peachum and Lockit was written in ridicule of certain disputes among the ministers of the day.

their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cause of offence. But when the lords chancellors, who are keepers of the king's conscience; when the judges of the land, whose title is reverend; when ladies, who are bound by the rules of their sex to the strictest decency, appear in the theatre without censure; I cannot understand why a young clergyman, who comes concealed, out of curiosity to see an innocent and moral play, should be so highly condemned; nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who said, "he hoped none of his clergy were there." I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections against that reverend body, planted in this city, and I wish there never may. But I should be very sorry that any of them should be so weak, as to imitate a court chaplain* in England, who preached against the Beggars' Opera, which will probably do more good than a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine.

In this happy performance of Mr. Gay's, all the characters are just, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It discovers the whole system of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity established among us, by which neither our lives nor our properties are secure, either in the highways, or in public assemblies, or even in our own houses. It shows the miserable lives, and the constant fate, of those abandoned wretches: for how little they sell their lives and souls; betrayed by their whores, their comrades, and the receivers and purchasers of those thefts and robberies. This comedy contains likewise a satire, which, without inquiring whether it affects the present age, may possibly be useful in times to come; I mean, where the author takes the occasion of comparing the common robbers of the public, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of the politicians in times of corruption.

This comedy likewise exposes, with great justice, that unnatural taste for Italian music among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our northern climate, and the genius of the people, whereby we are overrun with Italian effeminacy, and Italian nonsense. An old gentleman said to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and singers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing, or poisoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but servile attachment to a party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dulness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. Gay.

No. XIX.

(Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.)
Not for yourselves, ye sheep, your fleeces grow.

Having, on the 12th of October last, received a letter signed Andrew Dealer and Patrick Pennyless, I believe the following Paper, just come to my hands, will be a sufficient answer to it.

County of Down, Dec. 2. 1728.

Sir—I am a country gentleman, and a member of parliament, with an estate of about 1400*l.* a-year; which, as a northern landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were esteemed to be not above half value; yet, by the intolerable scarcity of silver, I lie under the greatest difficulties in receiving them, as well as paying my labourers, or buying anything necessary for my family, from tradesmen who are not able to be long out of their money. But the sufferings of me, and those of my rank, are trifles in comparison of what the meaner sort undergo; such as the buyers and sellers at fairs and markets; the shopkeepers in every town, and farmers in general; all those who travel with fish, poultry, pedlery-ware, and other conveniences to sell: but more especially handicraftsmen, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these kinds of people I am forced to employ, until their wages amount to a double pistole, or a moidore, (for we hardly have any gold of lower value left us,) to divide it among themselves as they can: and this is generally done at an alehouse, or brandy shop; where, besides the cost of getting drunk, (which is usually the case,) they must pay tenpence, or a shilling, for changing their piece into silver, to some huckstering fellow, who follows that trade. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their oatmeal, and other necessaries of life, at almost double value; and consequently are not able to discharge half their score, especially under the scarceness of corn for two years past, and the melancholy disappointment of the present crop.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar: these indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren, without the least grounds of provocation; who rejoice at our sufferings, although sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually sent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom, which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and some other lovers of their country have so often observed, with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general, this complaint for the want of silver may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a cut finger, when he is struck with the plague: and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows, may be allowed to feel the smart of wasps while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging and vexatious in every kind of small traffic, and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniences, of perhaps greater moment in themselves, have been tamely submitted to, with far less disquietude and murmur. And the case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that nothing is more easy than a remedy; and, that the want of silver, in proportion to the little gold remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me very lately, that in discoursing with the lord-lieutenant [Lord Carteret] before his last return to England, his excellency said, "He had pressed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper persons; and could not see any difficulty of the least moment, that could prevent us from being made easy upon this article."

Whoever carries to England twenty-seven English shillings, and brings back one moidore of full weight, is a gainer of ninepence Irish: in a guinea, the advantage is threepence; and twopence in a pistole. The bankers who are generally masters of all our gold and silver, with this advantage, have sent over as much of the latter as came into their hands. The value of one thousand moidores in silver would thus amount in clear profit to 37*l.* 10*s.* The shopkeepers, and other traders who go to London to buy goods, followed the same practice; by

* Dr. Thomas Herring, afterwards primate, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn.

which we have been driven to this insupportable distress.

To a common thinker, it would seem, that nothing would be more easy than for the government to redress this evil at any time they shall please. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21*s.* and 6*d.* to only 21*s.*, the consequences to this kingdom were obvious, and manifest to us all: and a sober man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it has never been since. It would surely require no very profound skill in algebra to reduce the difference of ninepence in 30*s.* or threepence in a guinea, to less than a farthing; and so small a fraction could be no temptation either to bankers, to hazard their silver at sea, or tradesmen to load themselves with it in their journeys to England. In my humble opinion, it would be no unseasonable condescension, if the government would graciously please to signify to the poor loyal Protestant subjects of Ireland, either that this miserable want of silver is not possibly to be remedied in any degree by the nicest skill in arithmetic: or else that it does not stand with the good pleasure of England to suffer any silver at all among us. In the former case, it would be madness to expect impossibilities; and, in the other, we must submit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the conqueror.

The question has been often put in printed papers, by the drapier and others, or perhaps by the same writer under different styles, why this kingdom should not be permitted to have a mint of its own, for the coinage of gold, silver, and copper; which is a power exercised by many bishops, and every petty prince, in Germany? But this question has never been answered; nor the least application, that I have heard of, made to the crown from hence for the grant of a public mint; although it stands upon record, that several cities and corporations here, had the liberty of coining silver: I can see no reasons, why we alone, of all nations, are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention; only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial kingdom since Nimrod, which ever wanted power to coin their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any subject to petition either the prince or the parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a subject of Ireland, I profess I cannot determine: nor will undertake that the printer shall not be prosecuted in a court of justice for publishing my wishes, that a poor shopkeeper might be able to change a guinea or a moidore when a customer comes for a crown's worth of goods. I have known less crimes punished with the utmost severity, under the title of disaffection. And I cannot but approve the wisdom of the ancients, who, after Astrea had fled from the earth, at least took care to provide three upright judges for hell. Men's ears among us are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happens to think out of fashion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the toothach, lest our weak and busy dabblers in politics should be ready to swear against him for disaffection.

There was a method practised by sir Ambrose Crawley, the great dealer in iron works, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country, under this great exigence, have not thought fit to imitate. In the several towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave notes instead of money, (from twopence to twenty shillings,) which passed current in all shops and markets, as well as in houses where meat or drink was sold. I see no reason, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with some degree of success; or, at least, may not serve as a poor expedient in this our blessed age of paper; which, as it discharges all our greatest payments, may be equally useful in the smallest, and may just keep us alive, until an English act of Parliament shall forbid it.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters, for the conveniences of small traffic. How happy should we be in comparison of our present condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the shears for want of a mint, upon our foreign gold, by clipping it into half-crowns, and shillings, and even lower denominations; for beggars must be content to live upon scraps; and it would be our felicity, that these scraps could never be exported to other countries while anything better was left.

If neither of these projects will avail, I see nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods, like the wild Indians, with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this disadvantage on our side, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a recompense in bugles or glass in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence, and settle themselves in America: the poorer sort for want of work; the farmers, whose beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and those who have any ready money, or can purchase any by the sale of their goods or leases, because they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any money to buy the very necessaries of life, are hastening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, corn among us carries a very high price; but it is for the same reason that rats and cats, and dead horses, have been often bought for gold in a town besieged.

There is a person of quality in my neighbourhood, who, twenty years ago, when he was just come to age, being unexperienced, and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and, consequently, by the rise of lands since that time, looked upon his estate to be set at half-value: but numbers of these tenants, or their descendants, are now offering to sell their leases by auction even those which were for lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some fee-farms, which the landlord himself has bought in at half the price they would have yielded seven years ago. And some leases let at the same time for lives, have been given up to him without any consideration at all.

This is the most favourable face of all things at present among us; I say among us of the north, who were esteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how soon, this misery and desolation may spread, it is easy to foresee.

The vast sums of money daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our gold in these parts, almost as much as of our silver. And the good wives who come to our houses offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependence lies, for so little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half support their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthusiasm spread among our northern people, of sheltering themselves in the continent of America, has no other foundation than their present insupportable condition at home. I have made all possible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from those plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a voyage in all seasons of the year, and so ill accommodated in their ships

that many of them have died miserably in their passage, but could never get one satisfactory answer. Somebody, they knew not who, had written letters to his friend or cousin from thence inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for aver at a penny an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the English established in those colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground which lies between them and the wild Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of some barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other service than to blunt their enemies' swords, and afterward to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people who transport themselves, are settled into those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the savages; and many have as much land as they can clear from the woods, at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years' purchase by their labour. Now, beside the fox's reason,[a] which inclines all those who have already ventured thither to represent everything in a false light, as well for justifying their own conduct as for getting companions in their misery, the governing people in those plantations have also wisely provided that no letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither, without being first viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some months ago by an honest man, who having transported himself and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of such a voyage, and to discourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this although it be a truth well known, has produced very little effect: which is no manner of wonder; for as it is natural to a man in a fever to turn often, although without any hope of ease; or when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice, to avoid an enemy just at his back; so men in the extremest degree of misery and want will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe that I have very superficially touched the subject I began with, and with the utmost caution; for I know how criminal the least complaint has been thought, however seasonable or just or honestly intended, which has forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at least in my time, be interpreted by innendoes as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected action, for a man to roar under an acute fit of the gout; which, beside the loss and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, so severely afflicted with that distemper.

I wish you good success, but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the least view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but villains and betrayers of their country can be your enemies. Upon which I have little to say, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that sort; and therefore, as you may easily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

A. North.

a Who, having lost his tail, would have persuaded the rest to cut off theirs.

DEDICATION[a]

TO THE TWO FIRST VOLUMES OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS.

Published in 1700, soon after Sir William's decease.

To his most sacred majesty, William III., king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c. These letters of sir William Temple having been left to my care, they are most humbly presented to your majesty, by

Your majesty's most dutiful and obedient subject,

Jonathan Swift.

PREFACE TO SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S WORKS.

The collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of the secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date; and it has succeeded very fortunately for the public, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations which passed in Christendom during the seven years wherein they are dated; as the war from Holland which began in 1665; the treaty between his majesty and the bishop of Munster, with the issue of it; the French invasion of Flanders in the year 1667; the peace concluded between Spain and Portugal by the king's mediation; the treaty at Breda; the triple alliance; the peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the first part; and in the second part the negotiations in Holland in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay; the journey and death of madam; the seizure of Lorrain and his excellency's recalling; with the first unkindness between England and Holland, upon the yacht's transporting his lady and family; and the beginning of the second Dutch war in 1672. With these are intermixed several letters, familiar and pleasant.

I found the book among sir William Temple's papers, with many others, wherewith I had the opportunity of being long conversant, having passed several years in his family.

I pretend no other part than the care that Mr. Downton's book should be correctly transcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the Latin, French, and Spanish; these I took care should be translated and printed in another column, for the use of such readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever fault there may be in the translation, I doubt I must answer for the greater part, and must leave the rest to those friends who were pleased to assist me. I speak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spanish translations I believe need no apology.

It is generally believed that this author has advanced our English tongue to as great a perfection as it can well bear; and yet how great a master he was of it, as I think, never appeared so much as it will in the following letters, wherein the style appears so very different, according to the difference of the persons to whom they were addressed; either men of business or idle, of pleasure or serious, of great or of less parts or abilities, in their several stations; so that one may discover the characters of most of those persons he writes to, from the style of his letters.

At the end of each volume, is added a collection, copied by the same hand, of several letters to this ambassador, from the chief persons employed, either at home or abroad, in these transactions, and during six years' course of his negociations; among which are

a "Neither this dedication, nor tenderness for the man whom once he had loaded with confidence and fondness, revived in king William the remembrance of his promise. Swift awhile attended the court, but soon found his solicitations hopeless."—Johnson.

many from the pensionary John de Witt, and all the writings of this kind that I know of, which remain of that minister, so renowned in his time.

It has been justly complained of as a defect among us, that the English tongue has produced no letters of any value; to supply which it has been the vein of late years, to translate several out of other languages, though I think with little success; yet among many advantages, which might recommend this sort of writing, it is certain that nothing is so capable of giving a true account of stories, as letters are; which describe actions while they are breathing, whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead; so as it has been observed, that the epistles of Cicero to Atticus give a better account of those times, than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following letters the reader will everywhere discover the force and spirit of this author; but that which will most value them to the public, both at home and abroad, is, first, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation, whereon all the wars and invasions, as well as all the negotiations and treaties of peace in Christendom, have since been raised. And next, that they are written by a person who had so great a share in all those transactions and negotiations.

By residing in his family I know the author has had frequent instances from several great persons, both at home and abroad, to publish some memoirs of those affairs and transactions, which are the subject of the following papers; and particularly of the treaties of the triple alliance, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle; but his usual answer was, that whatever memoirs he had written of those times and negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his death some papers might come out, wherein there would be some account of them. By which, as he often told me, he meant these letters.

I had begun to fit them for the press during the author's life, but never could prevail for leave to publish them; though he was pleased to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give me his directions for digesting them in order. It has since pleased God to take this great and good person to himself; and he having done me the honour to leave and recommend to me the care of his writings, I thought I could not at present do a greater service to my country, or to the author's memory, than by making these papers public.

By way of introduction, I need only take notice, that after the peace of the Pyrenees, and his majesty's happy restoration in 1660, there was a general peace in Christendom, (except only the remainder of a war between Spain and Portugal,) until the year 1665; when that between England and Holland began, which produced a treaty between his majesty and the bishop of Munster. And this commences the following letters.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD PART OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MISCELLANEA, 1701.

The two following essays, "Of Popular Discontents," and "Of Health and Long Life," were written many years before the author's death. They were revised and corrected by himself; and were designed to have been part of a third miscellanea, to which some others were to have been added, if the latter part of his life had been attended with any sufficient degree of health.

For the third paper, relating to the controversy about "Ancient and Modern Learning," I cannot well inform the reader upon what occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another kingdom; but it appears never to have been finished by the author.

The two next papers contain the heads of two essays intended to have been written upon the "Different Conditions of Life and Fortune," and upon "Conversation." I have directed they should be printed among the rest, because I believe there are few who will not be content to see even the first draught of anything from the author's hand.

At the end I have added a few translations from Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus, or rather imitations, done by the author above thirty years ago; whereof the first was printed among other eclogues of Virgil, in the year 1679, but without any mention of the author. They were indeed not intended to have been made public, till I was informed of several copies that were got abroad, and those very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many spurious additions.

Jonathan Swift.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S LETTERS, 1703.

The following papers are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the author ever gave me his particular commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcribed in his lifetime. I have in all things followed his directions as strictly as I could; but accidents unforeseen having since intervened, I have thought convenient to lessen the bulk of this volume. To which end, I have omitted several letters addressed to persons with whom this author corresponded without any particular confidence, further than upon account of their posts: because great numbers of such letters, procured out of the office, or by other means, (how justifiable I shall not examine,) have been already printed: but, running wholly upon long dry subjects of business, have met no other reception than merely what the reputation of the author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this trade, I should, upon some considerations, have longer forborne sending these into the world. But I daily hear, that new discoveries of *original* letters are hasting to the press: to stop the current of which, I am forced to an earlier publication than I designed. And therefore I take this occasion to inform the reader, that these letters, ending with the author's revocation from his employments abroad, (which in less than two years was followed by his retirement from all public business,) are the last he ever intended for the press; having been selected by himself from great numbers yet lying among his papers.

If I could have been prevailed with by the rhetoric of booksellers, or any other little regards, I might easily, instead of retrenching, have made very considerable additions: and by that means have perhaps taken the surest course to prevent the interloping of others. But, if the press must needs be loaded, I would rather it should not be by my means. And therefore I may hope to be allowed one word in the style of a publisher, (an office liable to much censure without the least pretensions to merit or to praise,) that if I have not been much deceived in others and myself, the reader will hardly find one letter in this collection unworthy of the author, or which does not contain something either of entertainment or of use.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD PART OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S MEMOIRS;*

FROM THE PEACE CONCLUDED 1679 TO THE TIME OF THE AUTHOR'S RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC BUSINESS.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1709.]

Et ille quidem plenus annis obiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recusavit.—Plin. Epist. ii. 1.

It was perfectly in compliance to some persons for

* It appears that though sir William Temple had left no

whose opinion I have great deference, that I so long withheld the publication of the following papers. They seemed to think that the freedom of some passages in these memoirs might give offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those affairs which are here related, could not be transmitted to posterity with any advantage to their reputation. But whether this objection be in itself of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no restraint in that particular; since I am not of an age to remember those transactions, nor had any acquaintance with those persons whose counsels or proceedings are condemned, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this author is very free in exposing the weakness and corruptions of ill ministers, so he is as ready to commend the abilities and virtue of others, as may be observed from several passages of these memoirs; particularly of the late earl of Sunderland, with whom the author continued in the most intimate friendship to his death; and who was father of that most learned and excellent lord, now secretary of state: as likewise, of the present earl of Rochester; and the earl of Godolphin, now lord treasurer, represented by this impartial author as a person at that time deservedly entrusted with so great a part in the prime ministry; an office he now executes again with such universal applause, so much to the queen's honour and his own, and to the advantage of his country, as well as of the whole confederacy.

There are two objections I have sometimes heard to have been offered against those memoirs that were printed in the author's lifetime, and which these now published may perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the matter; that the author speaks too much of himself: next, as to the style; that he affects the use of French words, as well as some turns of expression peculiar to that language.

I believe, those who make the former criticism do not well consider the nature of memoirs: it is to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of writing; and sir William Temple is not only the first, but I think the only Englishman (at least of any consequence), who ever attempted it. The best French memoirs are writ by such persons as were the principal actors in those transactions they pretend to relate, whether of wars or negotiations. Those of sir William Temple are of the same nature; and therefore, in my judgment, the publisher[a] (who sent them into the world without the author's privity) gave them a wrong title when he called them "Memoirs of what passed in Christendom," &c., whereas it should rather have been "Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen," which was plainly the sense of the author, who in the epistle tells his son, that "in compliance with his desire, he will leave him some memoirs of what passed in his public employments abroad;" and in the book itself, when he deduces an account of the state of war in Christendom, he says, it is only to prepare the reader for a relation of that famous treaty; where he and sir Lionel Jenkins were the only mediators that continued any considerable time; and as the author was first in commission, so in point of abilities or credit, either abroad or at home, there was no sort of comparison between the two persons. Those memoirs, therefore, are properly a relation of a general treaty of peace, wherein the author had the principal as well as the most honourable part in quality of mediator; so that the frequent mention of himself seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offered in defence of the following papers; because, during the greatest part of the period they treat of, the author was in chief confidence with the king his master. To which may be added, that, in the few preliminary lines at the head of the first page, the author professes he writ those papers "for the satisfaction of his friends hereafter, upon the grounds of his retirement, and his resolution never to meddle again with public affairs." As to the objection against the style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French words and turns of expression; it is to be considered that at the treaty of Nimeguen, all business, either by writing or discourse, passed in the French tongue; and the author having lived so many years abroad, in that and foreign embassies, where all business, as well as conversation, ran in that language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon public affairs without some tincture of it in his style though in his other writings there be little or nothing of it to be observed; and as he has often assured me, it was a thing he never affected; so, upon the objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French words in these, and placed English in their stead, though perhaps not so significant.

There is one thing proper to inform the reader, why these Memoirs are called the Third Part, there having never been published but one part before, where, in the beginning, the author mentions a former part, and in the conclusion promises a third. The subject of the first part was chiefly the triple alliance, during the negotiation of which my lord Arlington was secretary of state and chief minister. Sir William Temple often assured me he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his letters during his embassies at the Hague and Aix la-Chapelle, should be printed after his death, in some manner to supply that loss.

What it was that moved sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectured from some passages in the second part, formerly printed. In one place, the author has these words: "My lord Arlington, who made so great a figure in the former part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all credit," &c. In other parts he tells us, "That lord was of the ministry which broke the triple league; advised the Dutch war and French alliance; and, in short, was the bottom of all those ruinous measures which the court of England was then taking;" so that, as I have been told from a good hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that lord a person fit to be celebrated for his part in forwarding that famous league while he was secretary of state, who had made such counterpaces to destroy it. At the end I have subjoined an Appendix, containing, besides one or two other particulars, a Speech of sir William Temple's in the house of commons; and an Answer of the King's to an Address of that House, relating to the Bill of Exclusion; both which are mentioned in these Memoirs.

I have only farther to inform the reader, that, although these papers were corrected by the author, yet he had once intended to insert some additions in several places, as appeared by certain hints or memorandums in the margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of health, I cannot determine; one passage relating to sir William Jones he was pleased to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix.[a] The rest I know nothing of; but the thread of the story is entire without them.

special commands with Swift respecting the third part of his memoirs, he nevertheless intended them for publication. Owing to some political allusions, sir William's friends wished to suppress them, and Swift, by their publication, incurred their extreme displeasure, in particular of sir William's sister, lady Gifford.

[a] They were first published in 1689, by R. Chiswell.

[a] Sir William Jones was reputed one of the best speakers in the house, and was very zeal us in his endeavours for promoting the bill of exclusion (in 1679.)

A MEDITATION UPON A BROOMSTICK.

ACCORDING TO THE STYLE AND MANNER OF THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE'S MEDITATIONS.

"In the yearly visits which Swift made to London, during his stay there he passed much of his time at Lord Berkeley's, officiating as chaplain to the family, and attending her ladyship in her private devotions; after which the doctor, by her desire, used to read to her some moral or religious discourse. The Countess had at this time taken a great liking to Mr. Boyle's Meditations, and was determined to go through them in that manner; but as Swift had by no means the same relish for that kind of writing which her ladyship had, he soon grew weary of the task; and a whim coming into his head, resolved to get rid of it in a way which might occasion some sport in the family; for which they had as high a relish as himself. The next time he was employed in reading one of these Meditations, he took an opportunity of conveying away the book, and dexterously inserted a leaf, on which he had written his own Meditation on a Broomstick; after which he took care to have the book restored to its proper place, and in his next attendance on my lady, when he was desired to proceed to the next Meditation, Swift opened upon the place where the leaf had been inserted, and with great composure read the title, 'A Meditation on a Broomstick.' Lady Berkeley, a little surprised at the oddity of the title, stopped him, repeating the words, 'A Meditation on a Broomstick! What a strange subject! But there is no knowing what useful lessons of instruction this wonderful man may draw from things apparently the most trivial. Pray let us hear what he says upon it.' Swift then, with an inflexible gravity of countenance, proceeded to read the Meditation, in the same solemn tone which he had used in delivering the former. Lady Berkeley, not at all suspecting a trick, in the fulness of her prepossession, was every now and then, during the reading of it, expressing her admiration of this extraordinary man, who could draw such fine moral reflections from so contemptible a subject: with which, though Swift must have been inwardly not a little tickled, yet he preserved a most perfect composure of features, so that she had not the least room to suspect any deceit. Soon after, some company coming in, Swift pretended business, and withdrew, foreseeing what was to follow. Lady Berkeley, full of the subject, soon entered upon the praises of those heavenly Meditations of Mr. Boyle. 'But,' said she, the doctor has been just reading one to me, which has surprised me more than all the rest.' One of the company asked which of the Meditations she meant? She answered directly, in the simplicity of her heart, 'I mean, that excellent Meditation upon the Broomstick.' The company looked at each other with some surprise, and could scarce refrain from laughing. But they all agreed that they had never heard of such a Meditation before. 'Upon my word,' said my lady, 'there it is, look into that book, and convince yourselves.' One of them opened the book, and found it there indeed, but in Swift's handwriting; upon which a general burst of laughter ensued; and my lady, when the first surprise was over, enjoyed the joke as much as any of them; saying, 'What a vile trick has that rogue played me! But it is his way, he never baulks his humour in anything.' The affair ended in a great deal of harmless mirth, and Swift, you may be sure, was not asked to proceed any further into the Meditations."

This single stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected corner, I once knew in a flourishing state in a forest: it was full of sap, full of leaves, and full of boughs: but now, in vain does the busy art of man pretend to vie with nature, by tying that withered bundle of twigs to its sapless trunk: it is now, at best, but the reverse of what it was, a tree turned upside down, the branches on the earth, and the root in the air; it is now handled by every dirty wench, condemned to do her drudgery, and, by a capricious kind of fate, destined to make other things clean, and be nasty itself: at length, worn to the stumps in the service of the maids, it is either thrown out of doors, or condemned to the last use, of kindling a fire. When I beheld this I sighed, and said within myself, **Surely man is a Broomstick!** Nature sent him into the world strong and lusty, in a thriving condition, wearing his own hair on his head, the proper branches of this reasoning vegetable, until the axe of intemperance has lopped off his green boughs, and left him a withered trunk: he then flies to art, and puts on a periwig, valuing himself upon an unnatural bundle of hairs (all covered with powder), that never grew on his head; but now, should this our broomstick pretend to enter the scene, proud of those birchen spoils it never bore, and all covered with dust, though the sweepings of the finest lady's chamber, we should be apt to ridicule and despise its vanity. Partial judges that we are of our own excellences and other men's defaults!

But a broomstick, perhaps, you will say, is an emblem of a tree standing on its head; and pray what is man, but a topsyturvy creature, his animal faculties perpetually mounted on his rational, his head where his heels should be, grovelling on the earth! and yet, with all his faults, he sets up to be a universal reformer and corrector of abuses, a remover of grievances, rakes into every slut's corner of nature, bringing hidden corruption to the light, and raises a mighty dust where there was none before; sharing deeply all the while in the very same pollutions he pretends to sweep away; his last days are spent in slavery to women, and generally the least deserving; till, worn out to the stumps, like his brother besom, he is either kicked out of doors, or made use of to kindle flames for others to warm themselves by.

A TRITICAL ESSAY

UPON THE FACULTIES OF THE MIND.

TO ————.

Sir,—Being so great a lover of antiquities, it was reasonable to suppose, you would be very much obliged with anything that was new. I have been of late offended with many writers of essays and moral discourses, for running into stale topics and threadbare quotations, and not handling their subject fully and closely; all which errors I have carefully avoided in the following essay, which I have proposed as a pattern for young writers to imitate. The thoughts and observations being entirely new, the quotations untouched by others, the subject of mighty importance, and treated with much order and perspicuity, it has cost me a great deal of time; and I desire you will accept and consider it as the utmost effort of my genius.

A TRITICAL ESSAY, &c.

Philosophers say, that man is a microcosm, or little world, resembling in miniature every part of the great; and, in my opinion, the body natural may be compared to the body politic; and if this be so, how can the Epicurean's opinion be true, that the universe was formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms: which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the letters of the alphabet, could fall by chance into a most ingenious and learned treatise of philosophy. *Risum teneatis amici?* This false opinion must needs create many more: it is like an error in the first concoction, which cannot be corrected in the second; the foundation is weak, and whatever superstructure you raise upon it, must, of necessity, fall to the ground. Thus men are led from one error to another, until, with Ixion, they embrace a cloud instead of Juno; or, like the dog in the fable, lose the substance in gaping at the shadow. For such opinions cannot cohere; but, like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, must separate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain author, that Alexander wept because he had no more worlds to conquer: which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous concourse of atoms could create one: but this is an opinion fitter for that many-headed beast, the vulgar, to entertain than for so wise a man as Epicurus; the corrupt part of his sect only borrowed his name, as the monkey did the cat's claw to draw the chestnut out of the fire.

However, the first step to the cure is to know the disease; and though truth may be difficult to find,

because, as the philosopher observes, she lives in the bottom of a well, yet we need not, like blind men, grope in open daylight. I hope I may be allowed, among so many far more learned men, to offer my mite, since a stander-by may sometimes, perhaps, see more of the game than he that plays it. But I do not think a philosopher obliged to account for every phenomenon in nature, or drown himself with Aristotle, for not being able to solve the ebbing and flowing of the tide in that fatal sentence he passed upon himself, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.* Wherein he was at once the judge and the criminal, the accuser and executioner. Socrates, on the other hand, who said he knew nothing, was pronounced by the oracle to be the wisest man in the world.

But to return from this digression: I think it as clear as any demonstration of Euclid, that nature does nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her secret recesses, we should find that the smallest blade of grass, or most contemptible weed, has its particular use: but she is chiefly admirable in her minutest compositions; the least and most contemptible insect most discovers the art of nature, if I may so call it, though nature, which delights in variety, will always triumph over art: and as the poet observes,

Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usque recurret.

But the various opinions of philosophers have scattered through the world as many plagues of the mind as Pandora's box did those of the body; only with this difference, that they have not left hope at the bottom. And if truth be not fled with Astrea, she is certainly as hidden as the source of Nile, and can be found only in Utopia. Not that I would reflect on those wise sages, which would be a sort of ingratitude; and he that calls a man ungrateful, sums up all the evil that a man can be guilty of,

Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dicis.

But, what I blame the philosophers for (though some may think it a paradox) is chiefly their pride; nothing less than an *ipse dixit*, and you must pin your faith on their sleeve. And though Diogenes lived in a tub, there might be for aught I know as much pride under his rags as in the fine-spun garments of the divine Plato. It is reported of this Diogenes, that when Alexander came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask, the cynic only answered, "Take not from me what thou canst not give me, but stand from between me and the light;" which was almost as extravagant as the philosopher that flung his money into the sea, with this remarkable saying———

How different was this man from the usurer, who, being told his son would spend all he had got, replied, "He cannot take more pleasure in spending than I did in getting it." These men could see the faults of each other, but not their own; those they flung into the bag behind; *non videmus id manticæ quod in tergo est.* I may perhaps be censured for my free opinions by those carping Momuses whom authors worship, as the Indians do the devil, for fear. They will endeavour to give my reputation as many wounds as the man in the almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps, like flies, they may buzz so often about the candle, till they burn their wings. They must pardon me if I venture to give them this advice, not to rail at what they cannot understand; it does but discover that self-tormenting passion of envy, than which the greatest tyrant never invented a more cruel torment:

Invidiâ Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus.—

I must be so bold to tell my critics and witlings, that they can no more judge of this than a man that is born blind can have any true idea of colours. I have always observed that your empty vessels sound loudest: I value their lashes as little as the sea did those of Xerxes, when he whipped it. The utmost favour a man can expect from them is, that which Polyphemus promised Ulysses, that he would devour him the last: they think to subdue a writer, as Cæsar did his enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici.* I confess I value the opinion of the judicious few, a Rymer, a Dennis, or a W——k; but for the rest, to give my judgment at once, I think the long dispute among the philosophers about a *vacuum* may be determined in the affirmative, that it is to be found in a critic's head. They are at best but the drones of the learned world, who devour the honey and will not work themselves: and a writer need no more regard them than the moon does the barking of a little senseless cur. For, in spite of their terrible roaring, you may, with half an eye, discover the ass under the lion's skin.

But to return to our discourse: Demosthenes being asked what was the first part of an orator, replied action: what was the second, action: what was the third, action: and so on, *ad infinitum.* This may be true in oratory; but contemplation in other things exceeds action. And, therefore, a wise man is never less alone than when he is alone: *Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.*

And Archimedes, the famous mathematician, was so intent upon his problems that he never minded the soldiers who came to kill him. Therefore, not to detract from the just praise which belongs to orators, they ought to consider that nature, which gave us two eyes to see and two ears to hear, has given us but one tongue to speak; wherein, however, some do so abound, that the virtuosi who have been so long in search for the perpetual motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some men admire republics, because orators flourish there most, and are the greatest enemies of tyranny; but my opinion is, that one tyrant is better than a hundred. Besides, these orators inflame the people, whose anger is really but a short fit of madness.

Ira furor brevis est.

After which, laws are like cobwebs, which may catch small flies, but let wasps and hornets break through. But in oratory the greatest art is to hide art. *Artis est celare artem.*

But this must be the work of time, we must lay hold on all opportunities, and let slip no occasion; else we shall be forced to weave Penelope's web, unravel in the night what we spun in the day. And therefore I have observed, that Time is painted with a lock before, and bald behind, signifying thereby, that we must take time (as we say) by the forelock, for when it is once past, there is no recalling it.

The mind of man is at first (if you will pardon the expression) like a *tabula rasa*, or like wax, which, while it is soft, is capable of any impression, till time has hardened it. And at length Death, that grim tyrant, stops us in the midst of our career. The greatest conquerors have at last been conquered by death, which spares none, from the sceptre to the spade: *Mors omnibus communis.*

All rivers go to the sea, but none return from it. Xerxes wept when he beheld his army, to consider that in less than a hundred years they would be all dead. Anacreon was choked with a grape-stone; and violent joy kills as well as violent grief. There is nothing in this world constant, but inconstancy; yet Plato thought, that if Virtue would appear to the world in her own native dress, all men would be enamoured with her. But now, since interest governs the world, and men neglect the golden mean, Jupiter himself, if he came to the earth, would be despised, unless it were, as he

did to Danae, in a golden shower: for men now-a-days worship the rising sun, and not the setting:

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.

Thus have I, in obedience to your commands, ventured to expose myself to censure in this critical age. Whether I have done right to my subject must be left to the judgment of my learned reader: however, I cannot but hope that my attempting of it may be encouragement for some able pen to perform it with more success.

A PROPOSAL

FOR CORRECTING, IMPROVING, AND ASCERTAINING THE ENGLISH TONGUE. IN A LETTER TO THE MOST HONOURABLE ROBERT EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER, LORD HIGH TREASURER OF GREAT BRITAIN.

FIRST PRINTED IN MAY, 1712.

"I have been six hours to-day morning writing nineteen pages of a letter to lord-treasurer, about forming a society, or academy, to correct and fix the English language. It will not be above five or six more. I will send it him to-morrow; and will print it, if he desires me."—*Journal to Stella*, Feb. 21, 1711-12.

"I finished the rest of my letter to lord-treasurer to-day and sent it to him."—*Ibid.* Feb. 22.

"Lord-treasurer has lent the long letter I writ him to Prior; and I can't get Prior to return it. I want to have it printed; and to make up this academy for the improvement of our language."—*Ibid.* March 11.

"My letter to the lord-treasurer about the English tongue is now printing; and I suffer my name to be put at the end of it, which I never did before in my life."—*Ibid.* May 10, 1712.

"Have you seen my letter to the lord-treasurer? There are two answers come out to it already, though it is no politics, but a harmless proposal about the improvement of the English tongue. I believe, if I writ an essay upon a straw some fool would answer it."—*Ibid.* May 31.

"You never told me how my letter to lord-treasurer passes in Ireland."—*Ibid.* July 1.

"What care I, whether my letter to lord treasurer be commended there or not? Why does not somebody among you answer it, as three or four have done here?"—*Ibid.* July 17.

London, Feb. 22, 1711-12.

My Lord,—What I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship some time ago in conversation, was not a new thought, just then started by accident or occasion, but the result of long reflection; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments, by the opinion of some very judicious persons with whom I consulted. They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater use towards the improvement of knowledge and politeness than some effectual method for correcting, enlarging, and ascertaining our language; and they think it a work very possible to be compassed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a ministry, and the care of proper persons chosen for such an undertaken.[a] I was glad to find your lordship's answer in so different a style from what has been commonly made use of on the like occasions for some years past, That all such thoughts must be deferred to a time of peace: a topic which some have carried so far, that they would not have us by any means think of preserving our civil or religious constitution, because we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the distinguishing marks of your ministry, my lord, that you have a genius above all such regards, and that no reasonable proposal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confess the merit of this candour and condescension is very much lessened, because your lordship hardly leaves us room to offer our good wishes, removing all our difficulties, and supplying our wants faster than the most visionary projector can adjust his schemes. And, therefore, my lord, the design of this paper is not so much to offer you ways and means, as to complain of a grievance, the redressing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the nation's debts, or opening a trade into the South-sea; and though not of such immediate benefit as either of these, or any other of your glorious actions, yet perhaps, in future ages, not less to your honour.

My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, complain to your lordship, as first minister, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar. But lest your lordship should think my censure too severe, I shall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordship will agree with me in the reason, why our language is less refined than those of Italy, Spain, or France. 'Tis plain that the Latin tongue, in its purity, was never in this island, towards the conquest of which few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever so vulgar in Britain as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Further, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country against the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Meantime the Britons, left to shift for themselves, and daily harassed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who, consequently, reduced the greatest part of the island to their own power, drove the Britons into the most remote and mountainous parts, and the rest of the country, in customs, religion, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reason why there are more Latin words[a] remaining in the British tongue, than in the old Saxon, which, excepting some few variations in the orthography, is the same in most original words with our present English, as well as with German and other Northern dialects.

Edward the Confessor having lived long in France, appears to be the first who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a fashion, as it is now with us. William the Conqueror proceeded much further; bringing over with him vast numbers of that nation, scattering them in every monastery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it universal in the kingdom. This at least is the opinion generally received; but your lordship has fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progress here under Harry II., who had large territories on that continent both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For some centuries after there was a constant intercourse between France and England, by the dominions we possessed there, and the conquests we made; so that our language, between two and three hundred years ago, seems to have had a greater mixture with French than at present, many words having been afterward rejected, and some since the time of Spenser, although we have still retained not a few, which have been long anti-

[a] "Dr. Swift proposed a plan of this nature (the forming a society to fix a standard to the English language) to his friend, as he thought him, the lord-treasurer Oxford, but without success."—Chesterfield.

[a] "As for our *English* tongue; the great alterations it has undergone in the two last centuries are principally owing to that vast stock of *Latin* words which we have transplanted into our own soil."—Bentley.

quated in France. I could produce several instances of both kinds, if it were of any use or entertainment.

To examine into the several circumstances by which the language of a country may be altered would force me to enter into a wide field. I shall only observe, that the Latin, the French, and the English, seem to have undergone the same fortune. The first, from the days of Romulus to those of Julius Cæsar, suffered perpetual changes; and by what we meet in those authors who occasionally speak on that subject, as well as from certain fragmeots of old laws, it is manifest that the Latin 300 years before Tully, was as unintelligible in his time as the English and French of the same period are now; and these two have changed as much since William the Conqueror (which is but little less than 700 years) as the Latin appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language or the French will decline as fast as the Roman did, is a question that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reasons for the corruptions of the last; as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the study of eloquence, there being no further use or encouragement for popular orators; their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to several towns in Gaul, Spain, and Gemany, and other distant parts, as far as Asia; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into Rome; the slavish disposition of the senate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyric, the most barren of all subjects; the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to express it, with several others that might be assigned; not to mention those invasions from the Goths and Vandals, which are too obvious to insist on.

The Roman language arrived at great perfection before it began to decay, and the French for these last fifty years, has been polishing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconsistency of that people, and the affectation of some late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the most ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes use of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the English tongue is not arrived to such a degree of perfection as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; and if it were once refined to a certain standard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at least till we are invaded and made a conquest by some other state; and even then our best writings might probably be preserved with care, and grow into esteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without such great revolutions as these (to which we are, I think, less subject than kingdoms upon the continent) I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary. From Homer to Plutarch are above a thousand years; so long at least the purity of the Greek tongue may be allowed to last, and we know not how far before. The Grecians spread their colonies round all the coast of Asia Minor, even to the northern parts lying towards the Euxine, in every island of the Ægean sea, and several others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preserved entire for many ages, after they themselves became colonies to Rome, and till they were overrun by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The Chinese have books in their language above two thousand years old, neither have the frequent conquests of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spanish, and Italian have admitted few or no changes for some ages past. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of; neither is there any occasion to consider them.

Having taken this compass, I return to those considerations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your lordship. The period wherein the English tongue received most improvement I take to commence with the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. It is true, there was a very ill taste both of style and wit, which prevailed under king James I.; but that seems to have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equalled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastic jargon prevailed in every writing as was not shaken off in many years after. To this succeeded that licentiousness which entered with the Restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which last was not likely to be much improved by those, who at that time made up the court of king Charles II.; either such who had followed him in his banishment, or who had been altogether conversant in the dialect of those fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in the same country: so that the court, which used to be the standard of propriety and correctness of speech, was then, and, I think, has ever since continued, the worst school in England for that accomplishment; and so will remain till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may set out into the world with some foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeness. The consequence of this defect upon our language may appear from the plays and other compositions written for entertainment within fifty years past; filled with a succession of affected phrases, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current style of the court, or from those who, under the character of men of wit and pleasure, pretended to give the law. Many of these refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give rise to some new word, and propagate it in most conversations, though it had neither humour nor significancy. If it struck the present taste, it was soon transferred into the plays and current scribbles of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, instead of early obviating such corruptions, were too often seduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another set of men who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the English tongue; I mean the poets from the time of the Restoration. These gentlemen, although they could not be insensible how much our language was already overstocked with monosyllables, yet, to save time and pains, introduced that barbarous custom of abbreviating words to fit them to the measure of their verses; and this they have frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious sounds that none but a northern ear could endure. They have joined the most obdurate consonants with one intervening vowel, only to shorten a syllable; and their taste in time became so depraved, that what was at first a poetical license, not to be justified, they made their choice, alleging that the words pronounced at length sounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the same custom in prose; so that most of the books we see now-a-days are full of those manglings and abbreviations. Instances of this abuse are innumerable: what does your lordship think

of the words drudg'd, disturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd, and a thousand others everywhere to be met with in prose as well as verse? where, by leaving out a vowel to save a syllable, we form so jarring a sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cause (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which has contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs; and, in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct; all which, reduced to writing, would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are so fond of this conceit that it is sometimes a difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are so curtailed, and varied from their original spelling, that whoever has been used to plain English will hardly know them by sight.

Several young men at the universities, terribly possessed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worse extreme, and think all politeness to consist in reading the daily trash sent down to them from hence; this they call knowing the world, and reading men and manners. Thus furnished, they come up to town, reckon all their errors for accomplishments, borrow the newest set of phrases; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffeehouse, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of style; and the orthography refined to the utmost. To this we owe those monstrous productions which, under the name of Trips, Spies, Amusements, and other conceited appellations, have overrun us for some years past. To this we owe that strange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the humour of the age. And I wish I could say, these quaint fopperies were wholly absent from graver subjects. In short, I would undertake to show your lordship several pieces, where the beauties of this kind are so predominant that, with all your skill in languages, you could never be able to read or understand them.

But I am very much mistaken if many of these false refinements among us do not arise from a principle which would quite destroy their credit, if it were well understood and considered. For I am afraid, my lord, that with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual disposition to shorten our words by retrenching the vowels, is nothing else but a tendency to lapse into the barbarity of those northern nations from whom we are descended, and whose languages labour all under the same defect. For it is worthy our observation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the same northern ancestors with ourselves, are with the utmost difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with ease, because our syllables resemble theirs in the roughness and frequency of consonants. Now, as we struggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expense of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the sun, and fence against the northern blast, we sometimes, by the help of a good soil, equal the production of warmer countries, who have no need to be at so much cost and care. It is the same thing with respect to the politer arts among us; and the same defect of heat which gives a fierceness to our natures may contribute to that roughness of our language, which bears some analogy to the harsh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a genius more than the rest of our neighbours: but you, lordship will be of my opinion, that we ought to struggle with these natural disadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ whenever we design to correct them, which is a work that has hitherto been assumed by the least qualified hands. So that if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have trusted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to sound, to the judgment of the women, than of illiterate court fops, half-witted poets, and university boys. For it is plain that women, in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally discard the consonants as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your lordship appears very trifling: that more than once, where some of both sexes were in company, I have persuaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, just as it came into their heads; and upon reading this gibberish, we have found that which the men had wrote, by the frequent encountering of rough consonants, to sound like High Dutch; and the other, by the women, like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquids. Now, though I would by no means give ladies the trouble of advising us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking that, since they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worse designs are carried on, our conversation has very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice should be made of such persons as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work, without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules by which they design to proceed. What methods they will take is not for me to prescribe. Your lordship, and other persons in great employments, might please to be of the number: and I am afraid such a society would want your instruction and example, as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, observed of late the style of some great ministers very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The persons who are to undertake this work will have the example of the French before them, to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Beside the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

But what I have most at heart is, that some method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language for ever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, it is better a language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worse; as the Romans did, when they began to quit their simplicity of style for affected refinements, such as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many barbarities, even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers is usually confined to these two islands, and it is hard it should be limited in time, as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our speech. It is your lordship's observation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we should hardly be able to understand anything that was written among us a hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for those books being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of

standard for language, especially to the common people. And I doubt whether the alterations since introduced have added much to the beauty or strength of the English tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that simplicity which is one of the greatest perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are so conversant in the sacred writings, and so great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no translation our country ever yet produced, has come up to that of the Old and New Testament: and by the many beautiful passages which I have often had the honour to hear your lordship cite from thence, I am persuaded that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style much fitter for that work than any we see in our present writings; which I take to be owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greatest part of our liturgy, compiled long before the translation of the Bible now in use, and little altered since, there seem to be in it as great strains of true sublime eloquence as are anywhere to be found in our language; which every man of good taste will observe in the communion service, that of burial, and other parts.

But when I say that I would have our language after it is duly correct, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to, be afterward antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for; because then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinsic worth, and not thrown aside on account of unintelligible words and phrases, which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of fashion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vast spreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumstances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the ancients would still have been read and understood with pleasure and ease. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch, yet the former author was probably as well understood in Trajan's time as the latter. What Horace says of words going off and perishing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum ære perennius!*

Writing by memory only, as I do at present, I would gladly keep within my depth; and therefore shall not enter into further particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to show the usefulness of this design, and to make some general observations, leaving the rest to that society which I hope will owe its institution and patronage to your lordship. Besides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having, about a year ago, communicated to the public much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who, for a long time did thrice a-week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers, and is supposed to pursue the same design at present, under the title of Spectator. This author, who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning whom I have had the happiness to converse with; and therefore I imagine that such a society would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your lordship must allow that such a work as this brought to perfection would very much contribute to the glory of her majesty's reign; which ought to be recorded in words more durable than brass, and such as our posterity may read a thousand years hence, with pleasure as well as admiration. I always disapproved that false compliment to princes, that the most lasting monument they can have is the hearts of their subjects. It is indeed their greatest present felicity to reign in their subjects' hearts; but these are too perishable to preserve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful historians. And I take it to be your lordship's duty, as prime minister, to give order for inspecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the history of so great and good a princess. Besides, my lord, as disinterested as you appear to the world, I am convinced that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite passion than yourself; I mean that desire of true and lasting honour which you have borne along with you through every stage of your life. To this you have often sacrificed your interest, your ease, and your health; for preserving and increasing this, you have exposed your person to secret treachery and open violence. There is not, perhaps, an example in history of any minister, who, in so short a time, has performed so many great things, and overcome so many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced that you fear God, honour your queen, and love your country as much as any of your fellow-subjects, yet I must believe that the desire of fame has been no inconsiderable motive to quicken you in the pursuit of those actions which will best deserve it. But, at the same time, I must be so plain as to tell your lordship, that if you will not take some care to settle our language, and put it into a state of continuance, I cannot promise that your memory shall be preserved above a hundred years, further than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former centuries, there was more effectual care taken by our ancestors to preserve the memory of times and persons, than we find in this age of learning and politeness, as we are pleased to call it. The rude Latin of the monks is still very intelligible; whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, so barren and so barbarous, so subject to continual succeeding changes, they could not now be understood, unless by antiquaries who make it their study to expound them. And we must at this day have been content with such poor abstracts of our English story, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us; and even these, in the next age, would be likewise swallowed up in succeeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promise your lordship is, that, about two hundred years hence, some painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of studying old language, may inform the world, that in the reign of queen Anne, Robert, earl of Oxford, a very wise and excellent man, was made high treasurer, and saved his country, which in those days was almost ruined by a foreign war, and a domestic faction. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new history; but the rest of your character, which I, or any other writer, may now value ourselves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your ministry, for which you are already so celebrated in most parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquate style and manner they are delivered in.

How then shall any man, who has a genius for history equal to the best of the ancients, be able to undertake such a work with spirit and cheerfulness, when he considers that he will be read with pleasure but a very few years, and, in an age or two, shall hardly be understood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent statuary to work upon mouldering stone. Those who apply their studies to preserve the

memory of others will always have some concern for their own; and I believe it is for this reason that so few writers among us, of any distinction, have turned their thoughts to such a discouraging employment; for the best English historian must lie under this mortification, that when his style grows antiquated, he will be only considered as a tedious relater of facts, and perhaps consulted in his turn, among other neglected authors, to furnish materials for some future collector.

I doubt your lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered thoughts upon a subject that deserves to be treated with ability and care. However, I must beg leave to add a few words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which will be justly thought very improper from one in my station to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordship's administration, you are the most inexcusable person alive. All your other virtues, my lord, will be defective without this; your affability, candour, and good-nature; that perpetual agreeableness of conversation, so disengaged in the midst of such a weight of business and opposition; even your justice, prudence and magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large portion in most parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating of those many virtues which otherwise would have been less adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these obligations without letting the arts, in their turn, share your influence and protection: besides, who knows but some true genius may happen to arise under your ministry, *exortus ut ætherius sol.* Every age might perhaps produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not sunk under the censure and obloquy of plodding, servile, imitating pedants. I do not mean, by a true genius, any bold writer who breaks through the rules of decency to distinguish himself by the singularity of his opinions; but one who, upon a deserving subject, is able to open new scenes, and discover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before; every stroke of whose pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compass of their lives. I know, my lord, your friends will offer, in your defence, that in your private capacity you never refused your purse and credit to the service and support of learned or ingenious men; and that, ever since you have been in public employment, you have constantly bestowed your favours to the most deserving persons. But I desire your lordship not to be deceived; we never will admit of these excuses, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your excessive public thrift. But here again I am afraid most good subjects will interpose in your defence, by alleging the desperate condition you found the nation in, and the necessity there was for so able and faithful a steward to retrieve it, if possible, by the utmost frugality. We grant all this, my lord; but then it ought likewise to be considered, that you have already saved several millions to the public, and that what we ask is too inconsiderable to break into any rules of the strictest good husbandry. The French king bestows about half a dozen pensions to learned men in several parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom; which in the whole do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince than any million he has otherwise employed. For learning, like all true merit, is easily satisfied; while the false and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks it has enough. The smallest favour given by a great prince, as a mark of esteem to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praise and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known, some years ago, several pensions given to particular persons, (how deservedly I shall not inquire,) any one of which, if divided into several parcels, and distributed by the crown to those who might, upon occasion, distinguish themselves by some extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply sufficient to answer the end. Or, if any such persons were above money, (as every great genius certainly is, with very moderate conveniences of life,) a medal or some mark of distinction would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myself turning projector before I am aware; although it be one of the last characters under which I should desire to appear before your lordship, especially when I have the ambition of aspiring to that of being, with the greatest respect and truth, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, most obliged, and most humble servant,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

AN ESSAY ON MODERN EDUCATION.

FROM frequently reflecting upon the course and method of educating youth in this and a neighbouring kingdom, with the general success and consequence thereof, I am come to this determination,—that education is always the worse, in proportion to the wealth and grandeur of the parents; nor do I doubt in the least, that if the whole world were now under the dominion of one monarch, (provided I might be allowed to choose where he should fix the seat of his empire,) the only son and heir of that monarch would be the worst educated mortal that ever was born since the creation; and I doubt the same proportion will hold through all degrees and titles, from an emperor downward to the common gentry.

I do not say that this has been always the case; for, in better times, it was directly otherwise, and a scholar may fill half his Greek and Roman shelves with authors of the noblest birth, as well as highest virtue: nor do I tax all nations at present with this defect, for I know there are some to be excepted, and particularly Scotland, under all the disadvantages of its climate and soil, if that happiness be not rather owing even to those very disadvantages. What is then to be done, if this reflection must fix on two countries, which will be most ready to take offence, and which, of all others, it will be least prudent or safe to offend?

But there is one circumstance yet more dangerous and lamentable: for if, according to the *postulatum* already laid down, the higher quality any youth is of he is in greater likelihood to be worse educated, it behoves me to dread and keep far from the verge of *scandalum magnatum.*

Retracting therefore that hazardous *postulatum*, I shall venture no further at present than to say, that perhaps some additional care in educating the sons of nobility and principal gentry might not be ill employed. If this be not delivered with softness enough, I must for the future be silent.

In the mean time, let me ask only two questions, which relate to England. I ask, first, how it comes about that, for above sixty years past, the chief conduct of affairs has been generally placed in the hands of new men, with very few exceptions? The noblest blood of England having been shed in the grand rebellion, many great families became extinct, or were supported only by minors. When the king was restored, very few of those lords remained who began, or at least had improved, their education under the reigns of king

James or king Charles I., of which lords the two principal were the marquis of Ormond and the earl of Southampton. The minors had, during the rebellion and usurpation, either received too much tincture of bad principles from those fanatic times, or, coming to age at the Restoration, fell into the vices of that dissolute reign.

I date from this era the corrupt method of education among us, and, in consequence thereof, the necessity the crown lay under of introducing new men into the chief conduct of public affairs, or to the office of what we now call prime-ministers; men of art, knowledge, application and insinuation, merely for want of a supply among the nobility. They were generally (though not always) of good birth; sometimes younger brothers, at other times such, who, although inheriting good estates, yet happened to be well educated, and provided with learning. Such, under that king, were Hyde, Bridgeman, Clifford, Osborn, Godolphin, Ashley Cooper: few or none under the short reign of king James II.: under king William, Somers, Montague, Churchill, Vernon, Boyle, and many others: under the queen, Harley, St. John, Harcourt, Trevor: who, indeed, were persons of the best private families, but unadorned with titles. So in the following reign, Mr. Robert Walpole was for many years prime-minister, in which post he still happily continues: his brother Horace is ambassador extraordinary to France. Mr. Addison and Mr. Craggs, without the least alliance to support them, have been secretaries of state.

If the facts have been thus for above sixty years past, (whereof I could, with a little further recollection, produce many more instances,) I would ask again, how it has happened, that in a nation plentifully abounding with nobility, so great share in the most competent parts of public management has been for so long a period chiefly intrusted to commoners; unless some omissions or defects of the highest import may be charged upon those to whom the care of educating our noble youth had been committed? For, if there be any difference between human creatures in the point of natural parts, as we usually call them, it should seem that the advantage lies on the side of children born from noble and wealthy parents; the same traditional sloth and luxury which render their body weak and effeminate, perhaps refining and giving a freer motion to the spirits beyond what can be expected from the gross, robust issue of meaner mortals. Add to this the peculiar advantages which all young noblemen possess by the privileges of their birth. Such as a free access to courts, and a universal deference paid to their persons.

But, as my lord Bacon charges it for a fault on princes, that they are impatient to compass ends without giving themselves the trouble of consulting or executing the means, so, perhaps, it may be the disposition of young nobles, either from the indulgence of parents, tutors, and governors, or their own inactivity, that they expect the accomplishments of a good education without the least expense of time or study to acquire them.

What I said last I am ready to retract, for the case is infinitely worse; and the very maxims set up to direct modern education are enough to destroy all the seeds of knowledge, honour, wisdom, and virtue among us. The current opinion prevails, that the study of Greek and Latin is loss of time; that public schools, by mingling the sons of noblemen with those of the vulgar, engage the former in bad company; that whipping breaks the spirits of lads well born; that universities make young men pedants; that to dance, fence, speak French, and know how to behave yourself among great persons of both sexes, comprehends the whole duty of a gentleman.

I cannot but think this wise system of education has been much cultivated among us by those worthies of the army who, during the last war, returned from Flanders at the close of each campaign, became the dictators of behaviour, dress, and politeness, to all those youngsters who frequent chocolate-coffee-gaming-houses, drawing-rooms, operas, levees, and assemblies: where a colonel, by his pay, perquisites, and plunder, was qualified to outshine many peers of the realm; and by the influence of an exotic habit and demeanour, added to other foreign accomplishments, gave the law to the whole town, and was copied as the standard pattern of whatever was refined in dress, equipage, conversation, or diversions.

I remember, in those times, an admired original of that vocation sitting in a coffeehouse near two gentlemen, whereof one was of the clergy, who were engaged in some discourse that savoured of learning. This officer thought fit to interpose, and professing to deliver the sentiments of his fraternity, as well as his own, (and probably he did so of too many among them,) turned to the clergyman, and spoke in the following manner: "D—n me, doctor, say what you will, the army is the only school for gentlemen. Do you think my lord Marlborough beat the French with Greek and Latin? D—n me, a scholar when he comes into good company, what is he but an ass? D—n me, I would be glad by G—d to see any of your scholars with his nouns and his verbs, and his philosophy, and trigonometry, what a figure he would make at a siege, or blockade, or rencountering——D—n me," &c.[a] After which he proceeded with a volley of military terms, less significant, sounding worse, and harder to be understood than any that were ever coined by the commentators upon Aristotle. I would not here be thought to charge the soldiery with ignorance and contempt of learning without allowing exceptions, of which I have known many; but, however, the worst example, especially in a great majority, will certainly prevail.

I have heard that the late earl of Oxford, in the time of his ministry, never passed by White's chocolate-house (the common rendezvous of infamous sharpers and noble cullies) without bestowing a curse upon that famous academy as the bane of half the English nobility. I have likewise been told another passage concerning that great minister, which, because it gives a humourous idea of one principal ingredient in modern education, take as follows:—Le Sack, the famous French dancing master, in great admiration, asked a friend whether it were true that Mr. Harley was made an earl and lord treasurer? and finding it confirmed said, "Well; I wonder what the devil the queen could see in him; for I attended him two years, and he was the greatest dunce that ever I taught."[b]

Another hinderance to good education, and I think the greatest of any, is that pernicious custom in rich and noble families of entertaining French tutors in their houses. These wretched pedagogues are enjoined by the father to take special care that the boy shall be perfect in his French; by the mother, that master must not walk till he is hot, nor be suffered to play with other boys, nor be wet in his feet, nor daub his clothes, and to see the dancing master attends constantly, and does his duty; she further insists, that he be not kept too long poring on his book, because he is subject to sore eyes, and of a weakly constitution.

By these methods the young gentleman is, in every article, as fully accomplished at eight years old as at eight and twenty, age adding only to the growth of his person and his vice; so that if you should look at him in his boyhood through the magnifying end of a per-

[a] Swift has versified part of this passage in his poem on Hamilton's Bawn.

[b] The story of Le Sack many of the dean's friends have heard him tell, as he had it from the earl himself.

spective, and in his manhood through the other, it would be impossible to spy any difference; the same airs, the same strut, the same cock of his hat, and posture of his sword, (as far as the change of fashions will allow,) the same understanding, the same compass of knowledge, with the very same absurdity, impudence, and impertinence of tongue.

He is taught from the nursery that he must inherit a great estate, and has no need to mind his book, which is a lesson he never forgets to the end of his life. His chief solace is to steal down and play at spanfarthing with the page or young blackamoor, or little favourite footboy, one of which is his principal confident and bosom friend.

There is one young lord* in this town, who, by an unexampled piece of good fortune, was miraculously snatched out of the gulph of ignorance, confined to a public school for a due term of years, well whipped when he deserved it, clad no better than his comrades, and always their playfellow on the same foot; had no precedence in the school, but what was given him by his merit, and lost it whenever he was negligent. It is well known how many mutinies were bred at this unprecedented treatment, what complaints among his relations, and other great ones of both sexes; that his stockings with silver clocks were ravished from him; that he wore his own hair; that his dress was undistinguished; that he was not fit to appear at a ball or assembly, nor suffered to go to either: and it was with the utmost difficulty he became qualified for his present removal, where he may probably be further persecuted, and possibly with success, if the firmness of a very worthy governor and his own good dispositions will not preserve him. I confess I cannot but wish he may go on in the way he began; because I have a curiosity to know by so singular an experiment, whether truth, honour, justice, temperance, courage, and good sense, acquired by a school and college education, may not produce a very tolerable lad, although he should happen to fail in one or two of those accomplishments which in the general vogue are held so important to the finishing of a gentleman.

It is true, I have known an academical education to have been exploded in public assemblies; and have heard more than one or two persons of high rank declare, they could learn nothing more at Oxford and Cambridge than to drink ale and smoke tobacco; wherein I firmly believed them, and could have added some hundred examples from my own observation in one of those universities, but they all were of young heirs sent thither only for form; either from schools where they were not suffered by their careful parents to stay above three months in the year; or from under the management of French family tutors, who yet often attended them to their college, to prevent all possibility of their improvement; but I never yet knew any one person of quality, who followed his studies at the university and carried away his just proportion of learning, that was not ready upon all occasions to celebrate and defend that course of education, and to prove a patron of learned men.

There is one circumstance in a learned education which ought to have much weight, even with those who have no learning at all. The books read at school and college are full of incitements to virtue, and discouragements from vice, drawn from the wisest reasons, the strongest motives, and the most influencing examples. Thus young minds are filled early with an inclination to good, and an abhorrence of evil, both which increase in them, according to the advances they make in literature; and although they may be, and too often are, drawn by the temptations of youth, and the opportunities of a large fortune, into some irregularities, when they come forward into the great world, yet it is ever with reluctance and compunction of mind, because their bias to virtue still continues. They may stray sometimes, out of infirmity or compliance; but they will soon return to the right road, and keep it always in view. I speak only of those excesses which are too much the attendants of youth and warmer blood; for as to the points of honour, truth, justice, and other noble gifts of the mind, wherein the temperature of the body has no concern, they are seldom or ever known to be wild.

I have engaged myself very unwarily in too copious a subject for so short a paper. The present scope I would aim at is, to prove that some proportion of human knowledge appears requisite to those who by their birth or fortune are called to the making of laws, and, in a subordinate way, to the execution of them; and that such knowledge is not to be obtained, without a miracle, under the frequent, corrupt, and sottish methods of educating those who are born to wealth or titles. For I would have it remembered that I do by no means confine these remarks to young persons of noble birth; the same errors running through all families where there is wealth enough to afford that their sons (at least the eldest) may be good for nothing. Why should my son be a scholar when it is not intended that he should live by his learning? By this rule, if what is commonly said be true, that "money answers all things," why should my son be honest, temperate, just, or charitable, since he has no intention to depend upon any of these qualities for a maintenance?

When all is done, perhaps, upon the whole, the matter is not so bad as I would make it; and God, who works good out of evil, acting only by the ordinary course and rule of nature, permits this continual circulation of human things, for his own unsearchable ends. The father grows rich by avarice, injustice, oppression; he is a tyrant in the neighbourhood over slaves and beggars, whom he calls his tenants. Why should he desire to have qualities infused into his son which himself never possessed, or knew, or found the want of, in the acquisition of his wealth? The son, bred in sloth and idleness, becomes a spendthrift, a cully, a profligate, and goes out of the world a beggar, as his father came in: thus the former is punished for his own sins, as well as for those of the latter. The dunghill, having raised a huge mushroom of short duration, is now spread to enrich other men's lands. It is indeed of worse consequence where noble families are gone to decay; because their titles and privileges outlive their estates: and politicians tell us, that nothing is more dangerous to the public than a numerous nobility without merit or fortune. But even here God has likewise prescribed some remedy in the order of nature; so many great families coming to an end by the sloth, luxury, and abandoned lusts, which enervated their breed through every succession, producing gradually a more effeminate race wholly unfit for propagation.

* Lord Mountcashel, bred at Dr. Sheridan's school.

HINTS TOWARD AN ESSAY ON CONVERSATION.

I HAVE observed few obvious subjects to have been so seldom, or at least so slightly, handled as this; and indeed I know few so difficult to be treated as it ought, nor yet upon which there seems so much to be said.

Most things pursued by men for the happiness of public or private life, our wit or folly have so refined, that they seldom subsist but in idea; a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with some others, require so many ingredients, so good in their

several kinds, and so much niceness in mixing them, that for some thousands of years men have despaired of reducing their schemes to perfection: but in conversation it is, or might be, otherwise; for here we are only to avoid a multitude of errors, which, although a matter of some difficulty, may be in every man's power, for want of which it remains as mere an idea as the other. Therefore it seems to me, that the truest way to understand conversation, is to know the faults and errors to which it is subject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himself whereby it may be regulated, because it requires few talents to which most men are not born, or at least may not acquire, without any great genius or study. For nature has left every man a capacity of being agreeable, though not of shining in company; and there are a hundred men sufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults that they might correct in half an hour, are not so much as tolerable.

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this subject by mere indignation, to reflect that so useful and innocent a pleasure, so fitted for every period and condition of life, and so much in all men's power, should be so much neglected and abused.

And in this discourse it will be necessary to note those errors that are obvious, as well as others which are seldomer observed, since there are few so obvious, or acknowledged, into which most men, some time or other, are not apt to run.

For instance: nothing is more generally exploded than the folly of talking too much; yet I rarely remember to have seen five people together, where some one among them has not been predominant in that kind, to the great constraint and disgust of all the rest. But among such as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable to the sober deliberate talker, who proceeds with much thought and caution, makes his preface, branches out into several digressions, finds a hint that puts him in mind of another story, which he promises to tell you when this is done; comes back regularly to his subject, cannot readily call to mind some person's name, holding his head, complains of his memory; the whole company all this while in suspense; at length says, it is no matter, and so goes on. And, to crown the business, it perhaps proves at last a story the company has heard fifty times before; or, at best, some insipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in conversation is that of those who affect to talk of themselves: some, without any ceremony, will run over the history of their lives; will relate the annals of their diseases, with the several symptoms and circumstances of them; will enumerate the hardships and injustice they have suffered in court, in parliament, in love, or in law. Others are more dexterous, and with great art will lie on the watch to hook in their own praise: they will call a witness to remember they always foretold what would happen in such a case, but none would believe them; they advised such a man from the beginning, and told him the consequences, just as they happened; but he would have his own way. Others make a vanity of telling their faults; they are the strangest men in the world; they cannot dissemble; they own it is a folly; they have lost abundance of advantages by it; but if you would give them the world, they cannot help it; there is something in their nature that abhors insincerity and constraint; with many other insufferable topics of the same altitude.

Of such mighty importance every man is to himself, and ready to think he is so to others; without once making this easy and obvious reflection, that his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than theirs have with him; and how little that is he is sensible enough.

Where a company has met, I often have observed two persons discover, by some accident, that they were bred together at the same school or university; after which the rest are condemned to silence, and to listen while these two are refreshing each other's memory, with the arch tricks and passages of themselves and their comrades.

I know a great officer of the army who will sit for some time with a supercilious and impatient silence, full of anger and contempt for those who are talking; at length, of a sudden, demanding audience, decide the matter in a short dogmatical way; then withdraw within himself again, and vouchsafe to talk no more, until his spirits circulate again to the same point.

There are some faults in conversation which none are so subject to as the men of wit, nor ever so much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths without endeavouring to say a witty thing, they think it is so many words lost: it is a torment to the hearers, as much as to themselves, to see them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual constraint, with so little success. They must do something extraordinary in order to acquit themselves, and answer their character, else the standers-by may be disappointed, and be apt to think them only like the rest of mortals. I have known two men of wit industriously brought together in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all the mirth at their own expense.

I know a man of wit who is never easy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preside: he neither expects to be informed or entertained, but to display his own talents. His business is to be good company, and not good conversation; and therefore he chooses to frequent those who are content to listen, and profess themselves his admirers. And indeed the worst conversation I ever remember to have heard in my life was that at Will's coffeehouse, where the wits (as they were called) used formerly to assemble; that is to say, five or six men who had writ plays, or at least prologues, or had share in a miscellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling compositions, in so important an air as if they had been the noblest efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them; and they were usually attended with an humble audience of young students from the inns of court, or the universities; who, at due distance, listened to these oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philosophy, their heads filled with trash, under the name of politeness, criticism, and belles lettres.

By these means the poets, for many years past, were all overrun with pedantry. For, as I take it, the word is not properly used; because pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own knowledge in common discourse, and placing too great a value upon it; by which definition, men of the court, or the army, may be as guilty of pedantry as a philosopher or a divine; and it is the same vice in women, when they are over copious upon the subject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china. For which reason, although it be a piece of prudence, as well as good manners, to put men upon talking on subjects they are best versed in, yet that is a liberty a wise man could hardly take; because, beside the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by.

The great town is usually provided with some player, mimic, or buffoon, who has a general reception at the good tables; familiar and domestic with persons of the first quality, and usually sent for at every meeting to divert the company; against which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppetshow; your business is only to laugh in season, either out of inclination or civility, while this merry companion is acting

his part. It is a business he has undertaken, and we are to suppose he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel, when, in select and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to pass an evening, this jester should be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for any other conversation, beside the indignity of confounding men's talents at so shameful a rate.

Raillery is the finest part of conversation; but, as it is our usual custom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us, so we have done with this, and turned it all into what is generally called repartee, or being smart; just as when an expensive fashion comes up, those who are not able to reach it, content themselves with some paltry imitation. It now passes for raillery to run a man down in discourse, to put him out of countenance, and make him ridiculous; sometimes to expose the defects of his person or understanding; on all which occasions, he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation of not being able to take a jest. It is admirable to observe one who is dexterous at this art, singling out a weak adversary, getting the laugh on his side, and then carrying all before him. The French, from whence we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and so had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery was to say something that at first appeared a reproach or reflection, but, by some turn of wit, unexpected and surprising, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the person it was addressed to. And surely one of the best rules in conversation is, never to say a thing which any of the company can reasonably wish we had rather left unsaid: nor can there anything be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unsatisfied with each other or themselves.

There are two faults in conversation, which appear very different, yet arise from the same root, and are equally blameable; I mean an impatience to interrupt others; and the uneasiness of being interrupted ourselves. The two chief ends of conversation are to entertain and improve those we are among, or to receive those benefits ourselves; which whoever will consider, cannot easily run into either of these two errors; because, when any man speaks in company, it is to be supposed he does it for his hearers' sake, and not his own; so that common discretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it; nor, on the other side, to interrupt him who is in possession, because that is in the grossest manner to give the preference to our own good sense.

There are some people whose good manners will not suffer them to interrupt you, but, what is almost as bad, will discover abundance of impatience, and lie upon the watch until you have done, because they have started something in their own thoughts, which they long to be delivered of. Meantime, they are so far from regarding what passes, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reserve, for fear it should slip out of their memory; and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwise range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced.

There is a sort of rude familiarity, which some people, by practising among their intimates, have introduced into their general conversation, and would have it pass for innocent freedom or humour; which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeness we have are purely forced by art, and are so ready to lapse into barbarity. This, among the Romans, was the raillery of slaves, of which we have many instances in Plautus. It seems to have been introduced among us by Cromwell, who, by preferring the scum of the people, made it a court entertainment, of which I have heard many particulars; and considering all things were turned upside down, it was reasonable and judicious: although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the smallest word misplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel.

There are some men excellent at telling a story, and provided with a plentiful stock of them, which they can draw out upon occasion in all companies; and, considering how low conversation runs now among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent; however, it is subject to two unavoidable defects, frequent repetition, and being soon exhausted; so that, whoever values this gift in himself, has need of a good memory, and ought frequently to shift his company, that he may not discover the weakness of his fund; for those who are thus endued have seldom any other revenue, but live upon the main stock.

Great speakers in public are seldom agreeable in private conversation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice, and often venturing. Natural elocution, although it may seem a paradox, usually springs from a barrenness of invention, and of words; by which men who have only one stock of notions upon every subject, and one set of phrases to express them in, they swim upon the superficies, and offer themselves on every occasion; therefore men of much learning, and who know the compass of a language, are generally the worst talkers on a sudden, until much practice has inured and emboldened them; because they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions and of words, which they cannot readily choose, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice; which is no disadvantage in private conversation; where, on the other side, the talent of haranguing is, of all others, most unsupportable.

Nothing has spoiled men more for conversation than the character of being wits; to support which they never fail of encouraging a number of followers and admirers, who list themselves in their service, wherein they find their accounts on both sides by pleasing their mutual vanity. This has given the former such an air of superiority, and made the latter so pragmatical, that neither of them are well to be endured. I say nothing here of the itch of dispute and contradiction, telling of lies, or of those who are troubled with the disease called the wandering of the thoughts, so that they are never present in mind at what passes in discourse; for whoever labours under any of these possessions, is as unfit for conversation as a madman in Bedlam.

I think I have gone over most of the errors in conversation that have fallen under my notice or memory, except some that are merely personal, and others too gross to need exploding; such as lewd or profane talk; but I pretend only to treat the errors of conversation in general, and not the several subjects of discourse, which would be infinite. Thus we see how human nature is most debased, by the abuse of that faculty which is held the great distinction between men and brutes: and how little advantage we make of that, which might be the greatest, the most lasting, and the most innocent, as well as useful pleasure of life: in default of which we are forced to take up with those poor amusements of dress and visiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours; whereby the nobility and gentry of both sexes are entirely corrupted, both in body and mind, and have lost all notions of love, honour, friendship, generosity: which, under the name of fopperies, have been for some time laughed out of doors.

This degeneracy of conversation, with the pernicious consequences thereof upon our humours and dispositions, has been owing, among other causes, to the custom arisen, for some time past, of excluding women from any share in our society, further than in parties at

play, or dancing, or in the pursuit of an amour. I take the highest period of politeness in England (and it is of the same date in France) to have been the peaceable part of king Charles I.'s reign, and from what we read of those times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from some who lived in that court, the methods then used for raising and cultivating conversation were altogether different from ours: several ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had assemblies at their houses, where persons of the best understanding, and of both sexes, met to pass the evenings in discoursing upon whatever agreeable subjects were occasionally started; and although we are apt to ridicule the sublime Platonic notions they had, or personated, in love and friendship, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reason, and that a little grain of the romance is no ill ingredient to preserve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into everything that is sordid, vicious, and low. If there were no other use in the conversation of ladies, it is sufficient that it would lay a restrain upon those odious topics of immodesty and indecencies, into which the rudeness of our northern genius is so apt to fall. And, therefore, it is observable in those sprightly gentlemen about the town, who are so very dexterous at entertaining a vizard mask in the park or the playhouse, that in the company of ladies of virtue and honour, they are silent and disconcerted, and out of their element.

There are some people who think they sufficiently acquit themselves, and entertain their company, with relating facts of no consequence, nor at all out of the road of such common incidents as happen every day; and this I have observed more frequently among the Scots than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minutest circumstances of time or place; which kind of discourse, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and phrases, as well as accent and gesture peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much; but to continue it long is certainly one; for, if the majority of those who are got together be naturally silent or cautious, the conversation will flag, unless it be often renewed by one among them, who can start new subjects, provided he does not dwell upon them, that leave room for answers and replies.

A LETTER
OF ADVICE TO A YOUNG POET.

TOGETHER WITH A PROPOSAL FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF POETRY IN IRELAND.

Sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit.——

HOR. DE ART. POET. 400.

December 1, 1720.

SIR,—As I have always professed a friendship for you, and have therefore been more inquisitive into your conduct and studies than is usually agreeable to young men, so I must own I am not a little pleased to find, by your last account, that you have entirely bent your thoughts to English poetry with design to make it your profession and business. Two reasons incline me to encourage you in this study; one the narrowness of your present circumstances; the other, the great use of poetry to mankind and society, and in every employment of life. Upon these views I cannot but commend your wise resolution to withdraw so early from other unprofitable and severe studies, and betake yourself to that which, if you have good luck, will advance your fortune and make you an ornament to your friends and your country. It may be your justification, and farther encouragement, to consider, that history, ancient or modern, cannot furnish you an instance of one person, eminent in any station, who was not in some measure versed in poetry, or at least a well-wisher to the professors of it; neither would I despair to prove, if legally called thereto, that it is impossible to be a good soldier, divine, or lawyer, or even so much as an eminent bellman or balladsinger, without some taste of poetry, and a competent skill in versification; but I say the less of this, because the renowned sir P. Sidney has exhausted the subject before me in his Defence of Poesie, on which I shall make no other remark but this, that he argues there as if he really believed himself.

For my own part, having never made one verse since I was at school, where I suffered too much for my blunders in poetry to have any love to it ever since, I am not able, from any experience of my own, to give you those instructions you desire; neither will I declare (for I love to conceal my passions) how much I lament my neglect of poetry in those periods of my life which were properest for improvements in that ornamental part of learning; besides, my age and infirmities might well excuse me to you, as being unqualified to be your writing-master, with spectacles on and a shaking hand. However that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an affair of so much importance to your credit and happiness, I shall here give you some scattered thoughts upon the subject, such as I have gathered by reading and observation.

There is a certain little instrument, the first of those in use with scholars, and the meanest, considering the materials of it, whether it be a joint of wheaten straw (the old Arcadian pipe) or just three inches of slender wire, or a stripped feather, or a corking-pin. Furthermore, this same diminutive tool, for the posture of it, usually reclines its head on the thumb of the right hand, sustains the foremost finger upon its breast, and is itself supported by the second. This is commonly known by the name of a fescue; I shall here, therefore, condescend to be this little elementary guide, and point out some particulars, which may be of use to you in your hornbook of poetry.

In the first place, I am not yet convinced that it is at all necessary for a modern poet to believe in God, or have any serious sense of religion; and in this article you must give me leave to suspect your capacity; because religion being what your mother taught you, you will hardly find it possible, at least not easy, all at once to get over those early prejudices, so far as to think it better to be a great wit than a good Christian, though herein the general practice is against you; so that if, upon inquiry, you find in yourself any such softnesses, owing to the nature of your education, my advice is, that you forthwith lay down your pen, as having no further business with it in the way of poetry; unless you will be content to pass for an insipid, or will submit to be hooted at by your fraternity, or can disguise your religion, as well-bred men do their learning, in complaisance to company.

For poetry, as it has been managed for some years past by such as make a business of it, (and of such only I speak here, for I do not call him a poet that writes for his diversion, any more than that gentleman a fiddler who amuses himself with a violin,) I say, our poetry of late has been altogether disengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, because it has been found by experience of our professors, that the smallest quantity of religion, like a single drop of malt liquor in claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest poetical genius.

Religion supposes heaven and hell, the word of God, and sacraments, and twenty other circumstances, which, taken seriously, are a wonderful check to wit and humour, and such as a true poet cannot possibly give in to, with a saving to his poetical licence; but

yet it is necessary for him that others should believe those things seriously that his wit may be exercised on their wisdom for so doing; for though a wit need not have religion, religion is necessary to a wit, as an instrument is to the hand that plays upon it; and for this the moderns plead the example of their great idol Lucretius, who had not been by half so eminent a poet (as he truly was) but that he stood tiptoe on religion, *Religio pedibus subjecta*, and, by that rising ground, had the advantage of all the poets of his own or following times, who were not mounted on the same pedestal.

Besides, it is further to be observed, that Petronius, another of their favourites, speaking of the qualifications of a good poet, insists chiefly on the *liber spiritus;* by which I have been ignorant enough heretofore to suppose he meant a good invention, or great compass of thought or a sprightly imagination: but I have learned a better construction, from the opinion and practice of the moderns; and, taking it literally for a free spirit, *i. e.* a spirit, or mind, free or disengaged from all prejudices concerning God, religion, and another world, it is to me a plain account why our present set of poets are, and hold themselves obliged to be, freethinkers.

But, although I cannot recommend religion upon the practice of some of our most eminent English poets, yet I can justly advise you, from their example, to be conversant in the Scriptures, and, if possible, to make yourself entirely master of them; in which, however, I intend nothing less than imposing upon you a task of piety. Far be it from me to desire you to believe them, or lay any great stress upon their authority; in that you may do as you think fit; but to read them as a piece of necessary furniture for a wit and a poet; which is a very different view from that of a Christian. For I have made it my observation, that the greatest wits have been the best textuaries: our modern poets are all, to a man, almost as well read in the Scriptures as some of our divines, and often abound more with the phrase. They have read them historically, critically, musically, comically, poetically, and every other way except religiously, and have found their account in doing so. For the Scriptures are undoubtedly a fund of wit, and a subject for wit. You may, according to the modern practice, be witty upon them, or out of them; and, to speak the truth, but for them, I know not what our playwrights would do for images, allusions, similitudes, examples, or even language itself. Shut up the sacred books, and I would be bound our wit would run down like an alarum, or fall as the stocks did, and ruin half the poets, in these kingdoms. And if that were the case, how would most of that tribe, (all, I think, but the immortal Addison, who made a better use of his Bible, and a few more,) who dealt so freely in that fund, rejoice that they had drawn out in time, and left the present generation of poets to be the bubbles!

But here I must enter one caution, and desire you to take notice, that in this advice of reading the Scriptures, I had not the least thought concerning your qualification that way for poetical orders; which I mention, because I find a notion of that kind advanced by one of our English poets; and is, I suppose, maintained by the rest. He says to Spenser, in a pretended vision,

> "——With nauns said on, ordain me fit
> For the great cure and ministry of wit."

Which passage is, in my opinion, a notable allusion to the Scriptures; and, making but reasonable allowances for the small circumstance of profaneness, bordering close upon blasphemy, is inimitably fine; beside some useful discoveries made in it, as, that there are bishops in poetry, that these bishops must ordain young poets, and with laying on hands; and that poetry is a cure of souls; and, consequently speaking, those who have such cures ought to be poets, and too often are so: and indeed, as of old, poets and priests were one and the same function, the alliance of those ministerial offices is to this day happily maintained in the same persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable reason for that appellation which they so much affect, I mean the modest title of divine poets. However, having never been present at the ceremony of ordaining to the priesthood of poetry, I own I have no notion of the thing, and shall say the less of it here.

The Scriptures then being generally both the fountain and subject of modern wit, I could do no less than give them the preference in your reading. After a thorough acquaintance with them, I would advise you to turn your thoughts to human literature, which yet I say more in compliance with vulgar opinions than according to my own sentiments.

For, indeed, nothing has surprised me more than to see the prejudices of mankind as to this matter of human learning, who have generally thought it necessary to be a good scholar, in order to be a good poet; than which nothing is falser in fact, or more contrary to practice and experience. Neither will I dispute the matter if any man will undertake to show me one professed poet now in being who is anything of what may be justly called a scholar; or is the worse poet for that, but perhaps the better, for being so little encumbered with the pedantry of learning: it is true the contrary was the opinion of our forefathers, which we of this age have devotion enough to receive from them on their own terms, and unexamined, but not sense enough to perceive it was a gross mistake in them. So Horace has told us:

> Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons,
> Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ.

But to see the different casts of men's heads, some, not inferior to that poet in understanding, (if you will take their own word for it,) do see no consequence in this rule, and are not ashamed to declare themselves of a contrary opinion. Do not many men write well in common account, who have nothing of that principle? Many are too wise to be poets, and others too much poets to be wise. Must a man, forsooth, be no less than a philosopher to be a poet, when it is plain that some of the greatest idiots of the age are our prettiest performers that way? And for this I appeal to the judgment and observation of mankind. Sir P. Sidney's notable remark upon this nation may not be improper to mention here. He says, "In our neighbour country, Ireland, where true learning goes very bare, yet are their poets held in devout reverence;" which shows, that learning is no way necessary either to the making of a poet, or judging of him. And further, to see the fate of things, notwithstanding our learning here is as bare as ever, yet are our poets not held, as formerly, in devout reverence; but are, perhaps, the most contemptible race of mortals now in this kingdom, which is no less to be wondered at than lamented.

Some of the old philosophers were poets, as, according to the forementioned author, Socrates and Plato were: which, however, is what I did not know before; but that does not say that all poets are, or that any need be, philosophers, otherwise than as those are so called who are a little out at the elbows. In which sense the great Shakespeare might have been a philosopher; but was no scholar yet was an excellent poet. Neither do I think a late most judicious critic so much mistaken, as others do, in advancing this opinion, that "Shakespeare had been a worse poet, had he been a better scholar:" and sir W. Davenant is another instance in the same kind. Nor must it be forgotten

that Plato was an avowed enemy to poets; which is, perhaps, the reason why poets have been always at enmity with his profession; and have rejected all learning and philosophy, for the sake of that one philosopher. As I take the matter, neither philosophy, nor any part of learning is more necessary to poetry (which, if you will believe the same author, is "the sum of all learning") than to know the theory of light and the several proportions and diversifications of it in particular colours is to a good painter.

Whereas, therefore, a certain author, called Petronius Arbiter, going upon the same mistake, has confidently declared, that one ingredient of a good poet is "*mens ingenti literarum flumine inundata;*" I do on the contrary declare, that this his assertion (to speak of it in the softest terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandsome reflection on all the gentlemen poets of these times: for, with his good leave, much less than a flood or inundation will serve the turn; and, to my certain knowledge, some of our greatest wits in your poetical way have not as much real learning as would cover a sixpence in the bottom of a basin; nor do I think the worse of them; for, to speak my private opinion, I am for every man's working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better stock than the owner knows it to be. I think flowers of wit ought to spring, as those in a garden do, from their own root and stem, without foreign assistance. I would have a man's wit rather like a fountain, that feeds itself invisibly, than a river that is supplied by several streams from abroad.

Or if it be necessary, as the case is with some barren wits, to take in the thoughts of others in order to draw forth their own, as dry pumps will not play till water is thrown into them; in that necessity, I would recommend some of the approved standard authors of antiquity for your perusal, as a poet and a wit, because, maggots being what you look for, as monkeys do for vermin in their keepers' heads, you will find they abound in good old authors, as in rich old cheese, not in the new; and for that reason you must have the classics, especially the most worm-eaten of them, often in your hands.

But with this caution, that you are not to use those ancients, as unlucky lads do their old fathers, and make no conscience of picking their pockets and pillaging them. Your business is not to steal from them, but to improve upon them, and make their sentiments your own; which is an effect of great judgment; and, though difficult, yet very possible, without the scurvy imputation of filching; for I humbly conceive, though I light my candle at my neighbour's fire, that does not alter the property, or make the wick, the wax, or the flame, or the whole candle less my own.

Possibly you may think it a very severe task, to arrive at a competent knowledge of so many of the ancients as excel in their way; and it would indeed be really so, but for the short and easy method lately found out, of abstracts, abridgments, summaries, &c., which are admirable expedients for being very learned with little or no reading; and have the same use with burning-glasses, to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the reader's imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern device of consulting indexes, which is to read books Hebraically, and begin where others usually end. And this is a compendious way of coming to an acquaintance with authors; for authors are to be used like lobsters, you must look for the best meat in the tails, and lay the bodies back again in the dish. Your cunningest thieves (and what else are readers, who only read to borrow, *i. e.* to steal,) use to cut off the portmanteau from behind, without staying to dive into the pockets of the owner. Lastly, you are taught thus much in the very elements of philosophy; for one of the finest rules in logic is, *Finis est primus in intentione.*

The learned world is therefore most highly indebted to a late painful and judicious editor of the classics, who has laboured in that new way with exceeding felicity. Every author, by his management, sweats under himself, being overloaded with his own index, and carries, like a north-country pedlar, all his substance and furniture upon his back, and with as great variety of trifles. To him let all young students make their compliments for so much time and pains saved in the pursuit of useful knowledge; for whoever shortens a road, is a benefactor to the public, and to every particular person who has occasion to travel that way.

But to proceed, I have lamented nothing more in my time than the disuse of some ingenious little plays in fashion with young folks when I was a boy, and to which the great facility of that age, above ours, in composing, was certainly owing: and if anything has brought a damp upon the versification of these times, we have no further than this to go for the cause of it. Now, could these sports be happily revived, I am of opinion your wisest course would be to apply your thoughts to them, and never fail to make a party when you can, in those profitable diversions. For example, crambo is of extraordinary use to good rhyming, and rhyming is what I have ever accounted the very essential of a good poet; and in that notion I am not singular; for the aforesaid sir P. Sidney has declared "That the chief life of modern versifying consists in the like sounding of words, which we call rhyme;" which is an authority, either without exception, or above any reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would sound a pipkin; and if it rings well upon the knuckle, be sure there is no flaw in it. Verse without rhyme, is a body without a soul, (for the "chief life consisteth in the rhyme,") or a bell without a clapper; which, in strictness, is no bell, as being neither of use nor delight. And the same ever honoured knight, with so musical an ear, had that veneration for the tunableness and chiming of verse, that he speaks of a poet as one that has "the reverend title of a rhymer." Our celebrated Milton has done these nations great prejudice in this particular, having spoiled as many reverend rhymers, by his example, as he has made real poets.

For which reason I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the useful design (for which he is never enough to be commended,) of bestowing rhyme upon Milton's "Paradise Lost," which will make the poem, in that only defective, more heroic and sonorous than it hitherto has been. I wish the gentleman success in the performance; and, as it is a work in which a young man could not be more happily employed, or appear in with greater advantage to his character, so I am concerned that it did not fall out to be your province.

With much the same view, I would recommend to you the witty play of pictures and mottoes, which will furnish your imagination with great store of images and suitable devices. We of these kingdoms have found our account in this diversion, as little as we consider or acknowledge it; for to this we owe our eminent felicity in posies of rings, mottoes of snuff-boxes, the humours of sign-posts, with their elegant inscriptions, &c.; in which kind of productions not any nation in the world, no not the Dutch themselves, will presume to rival us.

For much the same reason it may be proper for you

to have some insight into the play called, "What is it like?" as of great use in common practice to quicken slow capacities, and improve the quickest; but the chief end of it is to supply the fancy with varieties of similies for all subjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeness, which have not the least imaginable conformity in nature, which is properly creation, and the very business of a poet, as his name implies; and let me tell you, a good poet can no more be without a stock of similies by him than a shoemaker without his lasts. He should have them sized, and ranged, and hung up in order in his shop, ready for all customers, and shaped to the feet of all sorts of verse; and here I could more fully (and I long to do it) insist upon the wonderful harmony and resemblance between a poet and a shoemaker in many circumstances common to both; such as the binding of their temples, the stuff they work upon, and the paring-knife they use, &c., but that I would not digress, nor seem to trifle in so serious a matter.

Now, I say, if you apply yourself to these diminutive sports (not to mention others of equal ingenuity, such as draw gloves, cross purposes, questions and commands, and the rest), it is not to be conceived what benefit (of nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your invention. To these devote your spare hours, or rather spare all your hours to them, and then you will act as becomes a wise man, and make even diversions an improvement; like the inimitable management of the bee, which does the whole business of life at once, and at the same time both feeds, and works, and diverts itself.

Your own prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to take a place every evening among the ingenious, in the corner of a certain coffeehouse in this town, where you will receive a turn equally right as to wit, religion, and politics; as likewise to be as frequent at the playhouse as you can afford without selling your books. For, in our chaste theatre, even Cato himself might sit to the falling of the curtain: besides, you will meet sometimes with tolerable conversation among the players: they are such a kind of men as may pass, upon the same sort of capacities, for wits off the stage, as they do for fine gentlemen upon it. Besides that, I have known a factor deal in as good ware, and sell as cheap, as the merchant himself that employs him.

Add to this the expediency of furnishing out your shelves with a choice collection of modern miscellanies, in the gayest edition; and of reading all sorts of plays, especially the new, and above all, those of our own growth, printed by subscription; in which article of Irish manufacture, I readily agree to the late proposal, and am altogether for "rejecting and renouncing everything that comes from England." To what purpose should we go thither for coals or poetry, when we have a vein within ourselves equally good and more convenient? Lastly,

A commonplace book is what a provident poet cannot subsist without, for this proverbial reason, that "great wits have short memories;" and whereas, on the other hand, poets, being liars by profession, ought to have good memories; to reconcile these, a book of this sort is in the nature of a supplemental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day's reading or conversation. There you enter not only your own original thoughts (which, a hundred to one, are few and insignificant), but such of other men's as you think fit to make your own, by entering them there. For, take this for a rule, when an author is in your books, you have the same demand upon him for his wit as a merchant has for your money when you are in his.

By these few and easy prescriptions (with the help of a good genius), it is possible you may in a short time, arrive at the accomplishments of a poet, and shine in that character. As for your manner of composing, and choice of subjects, I cannot take upon me to be your director; but I will venture to give you some short hints, which you may enlarge upon at your leisure. Let me entreat you, then, by no means to lay aside that notion peculiar to our modern refiners in poetry, which is, that a poet must never write or discourse as the ordinary part of mankind do, but in number and verse, as an oracle; which I mention the rather, because, upon this principle, I have known heroes brought into the pulpit, and a whole sermon composed and delivered in blank verse, to the vast credit of the preacher, no less than the real entertainment and great edification of the audience; the secret of which I take to be this: when the matter of such discourses is but mere clay, or, as we usually call it, sad stuff, the preacher, who can afford no better, wisely moulds, and polishes, and dries, and washes this piece of earthenware, and then bakes it with poetic fire; after which it will ring like any pancrock, and is a good dish to set before common guests, as every congregation is that comes so often for entertainment to one place.

There was a good old custom in use, which our ancestors had, of invoking the muses at the entrance of their poems; I suppose, by way of craving a blessing: this the graceless moderns have in a great measure laid aside, but are not to be followed in that poetical impiety; for, although to nice ears such invocations may sound harsh and disagreeable (as tuning instruments is before a concert), they are equally necessary. Again, you must not fail to dress your muse in a forehead cloth of Greek or Latin; I mean, you are always to make use of a quaint motto to all your compositions; for, beside that this artifice bespeaks the reader's opinion of the writer's learning, it is otherwise useful and commendable. A bright passage in the front of a poem is a good mark, like a star in a horse's face; and the piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *os magna sonaturum*, which, if I remember right, Horace makes one qualification of a good poet, may teach you not to gag your muse, or stint yourself in words and epithets which cost you nothing, contrary to the practice of some few out-of-the-way writers, who use a natural and concise expression, and affect a style like unto a Shrewsbury cake, short and sweet upon the palate; they will not afford you a word more than is necessary to make them intelligible, which is as poor and niggardly as it would be to set down no more meat than your company will be sure to eat up. Words are but lackeys to sense, and will dance attendance without wages or compulsion; *Verba non invita sequentur.*

Furthermore, when you set about composing, it may be necessary for your ease, and better distillation of wit, to put on your worst clothes, and the worse the better; for an author, like a limbeck, will yield the better for having a rag about him: besides that, I have observed a gardener cut the outward rind of a tree (which is the surtout of it) to make it bear well; and this is a natural account of the usual poverty of poets, and is an argument why wits, of all men living, ought to be ill clad. I have always a sacred veneration for any one I observe to be a little out of repair in his person, as supposing him either a poet or a philosopher; because the richest minerals are ever found under the most ragged and withered surface of the earth.

As for your choice of subjects, I have only to give you this caution: that as a handsome way of praising is certainly the most difficult point in writing or speaking, I would by no means advise any young man to make his first essay in panegyric beside the danger of

it: for a particular encomium is ever attended with more ill-will than any general invective, for which I need give no reasons; wherefore my counsel is, that you use the point of your pen, not the feather: let your first attempt be a *coup d'éclat* in the way of a libel, lampoon, or satire. Knock down half a score reputations, and you will infallibly raise your own; and so it be with wit, no matter with how little justice; for fiction is your trade.

Every great genius seems to ride upon mankind, like Pyrrhus on his elephant; and the way to have the absolute ascendant of your resty nag, and to keep your seat is, at your first mounting, to afford him the whip and spurs plentifully; after which, you may travel the rest of the day with great alacrity. Once kick the world, and the world and you will live together at a reasonable good understanding. You cannot but know that those of your profession have been called *genus irritabile vatum;* and you will find it necessary to qualify yourself for that waspish society, by exerting your talent of satire upon the first occasion, and to abandon good nature only to prove yourself a true poet, which you will allow to be a valuable consideration: in a word, a young robber is usually entered by a murder; a young hound is blooded when he comes first into the field; a young bully begins with killing his man; and a young poet must show his wit, as the other his courage, by cutting, and slashing, and laying about him, and banging mankind.

Lastly, it will be your wisdom to look out betimes for a good service for your muse, according to her skill and qualifications, whether in the nature of a dairymaid, a cook, or charwoman: I mean, to hire out your pen to a party, which will afford you both pay and protection; and when you have to do with the press (as you will long to be there), take care to bespeak an importunate friend, to extort your productions with an agreeable violence; and which, according to the cue between you, you must surrender *digito male pertinaci:* there is a decency in this; for it no more becomes an author, in modesty, to have a hand in publishing his own works than a woman in labour to lay herself.

I would be very loath to give the least umbrage or offence by what I have here said, as I may do, if I should be thought to insinuate that these circumstances of good writing have been unknown to, or not observed by, the poets of this kingdom: I will do my countrymen the justice to say, they have written by the foregoing rules with great exactness, and so far as hardly to come behind those of their profession in England, in perfection of low writing. The sublime, indeed, is not so common with us; but ample amends is made for that want, in great abundance of the admirable and amazing, which appears in all our compositions. Our very good friend (the knight aforesaid), speaking of the force of poetry, mentions "rhyming to death, which (adds he) is said to be done in Ireland;" and, truly, to our honour be it spoken, that power, in a great measure, continues with us to this day.

I would now offer some poor thoughts of mine for the encouragement of poetry in this kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aching heart for the ill plight of that noble profession here; and it has been my late and early study how to bring it into better circumstances. And, surely, considering what monstrous wits, in the poetic way, do almost daily start up and surprise us in this town; what prodigious geniuses we have here (of which I could give instances without number), and withal of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that science here, for it is plain our linen manufacture is advanced by the great waste of paper made by our present set of poets; not to mention other necessary uses of the same to shopkeepers, especially grocers, apothecaries, and pastrycooks, and I might add, but for our writers, the nation would in a little time be utterly destitute of bum-fodder, and must of necessity import the same from England and Holland, where they have it in great abundance, by the indefatigable labour of their own wits: I say, these things considered, I am humbly of opinion it would be worth the care of our governors to cherish gentlemen of the quill, and give them all proper encouragements here. And, since I am upon the subject, I shall speak my mind very freely, and if I add saucily, it is no more than my birthright as a Briton.

Seriously, then, I have many years lamented the want of a Grub-street in this our large and polite city, unless the whole may be called one. And this I have accounted an unpardonable defect in our constitution, ever since I had any opinions I could call my own. Every one knows Grub-street is a market for small ware in wit, and as necessary, considering the usual purgings of the human brain, as the nose is upon a man's face: and for the same reason, we have here a court, a college, a playhouse, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper, clear of taxes, and every other circumstance to provoke wit; and yet those whose province it is have not thought fit to appoint a place for evacuations of it, which is a very hard case, as may be judged by comparisons.

And truly this defect has been attended with unspeakable inconveniences; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the commonwealth of letters, I am of opinion we suffer in our health by it: I believe our corrupted air and frequent thick fogs are in a great measure owing to the common exposal of our wit; and that, with good management, our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town without infecting the whole, as the case is at present, to the great offence of our nobility and gentry, and others of nice noses. When writers of all sizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious productions in every street as they please, what can the consequence be, but that the town must be poisoned, and become such another jakes, as, by report of great travellers, Edinburgh is at night; a thing well to be considered in these pestilential times.

I am not of the society for reformation of manners, but, without that pragmatical title, I should be glad to see some amendment in the matter before us; wherefore, I humbly bespeak the favour of the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and common council, together with the whole circle of arts in this town, and do recommend this affair to their most political consideration; and I persuade myself they will not be wanting in their best endeavours, when they can serve two such good ends at once, as both to keep the town sweet and encourage poetry in it. Neither do I make any exceptions as to satirical poets and lampoon writers in consideration of their office; for though, indeed, their business is to rake into kennels, and gather up the filth of streets and families (in which respect they may be, for aught I know, as necessary to the town as scavengers or chimney-sweeps), yet I have observed, they too have themselves, at the same time, very foul clothes, and, like dirty persons, leave more filth and nastiness than they sweep away.

In a word, what I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of importance to my country) is, that some private street, or blind alley, of this town, may be fitted up, at the charge of the public, as an apartment for the muses, (like those at Rome and Amsterdam, for their female relations,) and be wholly consigned to the uses of our wits, furnished completely with all appurtenances,

such as authors, supervisors, presses, printers, hawkers, shops, and warehouses, abundance of garrets, and every other implement and circumstance of wit; the benefit of which would obviously be this, viz., that we should then have a safe repository for our best productions, which at present are handed about in single sheets or manuscripts, and may be altogether lost, (which were a pity,) or, at the best, are subject, in that loose dress, like handsome women, to great abuse.

Another point that has cost me some melancholy reflections, is the present state of the playhouse; the encouragement of which has an immediate influence upon the poetry of the kingdom; as a good market improves the tillage of the neighbouring country, and enriches the ploughman; neither do we of this town seem enough to know or consider the vast benefit of a playhouse to our city and nation: that single house is the fountain of all our love, wit, dress, and gallantry. It is the school of wisdom; for there we learn to know what's what; which, however, I cannot say is always in that place sound knowledge. There our young folks drop their childish mistakes, and come first to perceive their mothers' cheat of the parsley-bed; there, too, they get rid of natural prejudices, especially those of religion and modesty, which are great restraints to a free people. The same is a remedy for the spleen, and blushing, and several distempers occasioned by the stagnation of the blood. It is likewise a school of common swearing; my young master, who at first but minced an oath, is taught there to mouth it gracefully, and to swear, as he reads French, *ore rotundo*. Profaneness was before to him in the nature of his best suit, or holiday-clothes; but upon frequenting the playhouse, swearing, cursing, and lying, become like his everyday coat, waistcoat, and breeches. Now, I say, common swearing, a produce of this country as plentiful as our corn, thus cultivated by the playhouse, might, with management, be of wonderful advantage to the nation, as a projector of the swearer's bank has proved at large. Lastly, the stage, in great measure, supports the pulpit; for I know not what our divines could have to say there against the corruptions of the age, but for the playhouse, which is the seminary of them. From which it is plain the public is a gainer by the playhouse, and consequently ought to countenance it; and, were I worthy to put in my word, or prescribe to my betters, I could say in what manner.

I have heard that a certain gentleman has great design to serve the public, in the way of their diversion, with due encouragement; that is, if he can obtain some concordatum-money, or yearly salary, and handsome contribution; and well he deserves the favours of the nation: for to do him justice, he has an uncommon skill in pastimes, having altogether applied his studies that way, and travelled full many a league, by sea and land, for this his profound knowledge. With that view alone he has visited all the courts and cities in Europe, and has been at more pains than I shall speak of, to take an exact draught of the playhouse at the Hague, as a model for a new one here. But what can a private man do by himself in so public an undertaking? It is not to be doubted but, by his care and industry, vast improvements may be made, not only in our playhouse, (which is his immediate province,) but in our gaming ordinaries, groom-porters, lotteries, bowling-greens, ninepin-alleys, bear-gardens, cockpits, prizes, puppets, and raresshows, and whatever else concerns the elegant divertisements of this town. He is truly an original genius; and I felicitate this our capital city on his residence here, where I wish him long to live and flourish, for the good of the commonwealth.

Once more: if any further application shall be made on the other side, to obtain a charter for a bank here, I presume to make a request, that poetry may be a sharer in that privilege, being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded, as our stocks; but I fear our neighbours, who envy our wit as much as they do our wealth or trade, will give no encouragement to either. I believe, also, it might be proper to erect a corporation of poets in this city. I have been idle enough in my time to make a computation of wits here, and do find we have three hundred performing poets, and upward, in and about this town, reckoning six score to the hundred, and allowing for demies, like pint bottles; including also the several denominations of imitators, translators, and familiar letter-writers, &c. One of these last has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and such a one as, I dare say, the late British Spectator, in his decline, would have called, "an excellent specimen of the true sublime;" or "a noble poem;" or "a fine copy of verses on a subject perfectly new," the author himself; and had given it a place among his latest lucubrations.

But, as I was saying, so many poets, I am confident, are sufficient to furnish out a corporation, in point of number. Then, for the several degrees of subordinate members requisite to such a body, there can be no want; for, although we have not one masterly poet, yet we abound with wardens and beadles; having a multitude of poetasters, poetitoes, parcel-poets, poet-apes, and philo-poets, and many of inferior attainments in wit, but strong inclinations to it, which are, by odds, more than all the rest. Nor shall I ever be at ease till this project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to myself) shall be reduced to practice. I long to see the day when our poets will be a regular and distinct body, and wait upon the lord mayor on public days, like other good citizens, in gowns turned up with green, instead of laurel; and when I myself, who make the proposal, shall be free of their company.

To conclude: what if our government had a poet-laureat here, as in England? what if our university had a professor of poetry here, as in England? what if our lord mayor had a city bard here, as in England? and, to refine upon England, what if every corporation, parish, and ward in this town, had a poet in fee, as they have not in England? Lastly, what if every one, so qualified, were obliged to add one more than usual to the number of his domestics, and, beside a fool and a chaplain, (which are often united in one person,) would retain a poet in his family? for, perhaps, a rhymer is as necessary among servants of a house, as a dobbin with his bells at the head of a team. But these things I leave to the wisdom of my superiors.

While I have been directing your pen, I should not forget to govern my own, which has already exceeded the bounds of a letter: I must therefore take my leave abruptly, and desire you, without further ceremony, to believe that I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

JONATHAN SWIFT.

A LETTER

TO A VERY YOUNG LADY ON HER MARRIAGE.

"This letter ought to be read by all new-married women and will be read with pleasure and advantage by the most distinguished and accomplished ladies."—ORRERY. Mrs. Pilkington says that this letter was written on lady Betty Moore' marriage with Mr. George Rochfort. Mr. Faulkner, the more sound authority, supposes it addressed to Mrs John Rochford, daughter of Dr Staunton.

MADAM,—The hurry and impertinence of receiving and paying visits on account of your marriage being now over, you are beginning to enter into a course of life, where you will want much advice to divert you from falling into many errors, fopperies, and follies, to which your sex is subject. I have always borne an

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entire friendship to your father and mother; and the person they have chosen for your husband has been, for some years past, my particular favourite. I have long wished you might come together, because I hoped that, from the goodness of your disposition, and by following the counsel of wise friends, you might in time make yourself worthy of him. Your parents were so far in the right that they did not produce you much into the world, whereby you avoided many wrong steps which others have taken, and have fewer ill impressions to be removed; but they failed, as it is generally the case, in too much neglecting to cultivate your mind; without which it is impossible to acquire or preserve the friendship and esteem of a wise man, who soon grows weary of acting the lover, and treating his wife like a mistress, but wants a reasonable companion, and a true friend through every stage of his life. It must be therefore your business to qualify yourself for those offices; wherein I will not fail to be your director, as long as I shall think you deserve it, by letting you know how you are to act, and what you ought to avoid.

And beware of despising or neglecting my instructions, whereon will depend not only your making a good figure in the world, but your own real happiness, as well as that of the person who ought to be the dearest to you.

I must therefore desire you, in the first place, to be very slow in changing the modest behaviour of a virgin: it is usual in young wives, before they have been many weeks married, to assume a bold forward look and manner of talking, as if they intended to signify in all companies that they were no longer girls, and consequently that their whole demeanour, before they got a husband, was all but a countenance and constraint upon their nature: whereas, I suppose, if the votes of wise men were gathered, a very great majority would be in favour of those ladies who, after they were entered into that state, rather chose to double their portion of modesty and reservedness.

I must likewise warn you strictly against the least degree of fondness to your husband before any witness whatsoever, even before your nearest relations, or the very maids of your chamber. This proceeding is so exceeding odious and disgustful to all who have either good breeding or good sense, that they assign two very unamiable reasons for it; the one is gross hypocrisy, and the other has too bad a name to mention. If there is any difference to be made, your husband is the lowest person in company either at home or abroad, and every gentleman present has a better claim to all marks of civility and distinction from you. Conceal your esteem and love in your own breast, and reserve your kind looks and language for private hours, which are so many in the four and twenty, that they will afford time to employ a passion as exalted as any that was ever described in a French romance.

Upon this head I should likewise advise you to differ in practice from those ladies who affect abundance of uneasiness while their husbands are abroad; start with every knock at the door, and ring the bell incessantly for the servants to let in their master; will not eat a bit at dinner or supper if the husband happens to stay out; and receive him at his return with such a medley of chiding and kindness, and catechizing him where he has been, that a shrew from Billingsgate would be a more easy and eligible companion.

Of the same leaven are those wives who, when their husbands are gone a journey, must have a letter every post, upon pain of fits and hysterics: and a day must be fixed for their return home, without the least allowance for business or sickness, or accidents, or weather; upon which I can only say, that in my observation, those ladies, who are apt to make the greatest clutter on such occasions, would liberally have paid a messenger for bringing them news, that their husbands had broken their necks on the road.

You will perhaps be offended, when I advise you to abate a little of that violent passion for fine clothes so predominant in your sex. It is a little hard that ours, for whose sake you wear them, are not admitted to be of your council. I may venture to assure you, that we will make an abatement at any time of four pounds a yard in a brocade, if the ladies will but allow a suitable addition of care in the cleanliness and sweetness of their persons. For the satirical part of mankind will needs believe, that it is not impossible to be very fine and very filthy; and that the capacities of a lady are sometimes apt to fall short, in cultivating cleanliness and finery together. I shall only add, upon so tender a subject, what a pleasant gentleman said concerning a silly woman of quality; that nothing could make her supportable but cutting off her head; for his ears were offended by her tongue, and his nose by her hair and teeth.

I am wholly at a loss how to advise you in the choice of company, which, however, is a point of as great importance as any in your life. If your general acquaintance be among the ladies, who are your equals or superiors, provided they have nothing of what is commonly called an ill reputation, you think you are safe; and this, in the style of the world, will pass for good company. Whereas, I am afraid it will be hard for you to pick out one female acquaintance in this town from whom you will not be in manifest danger of contracting some foppery, affectation, vanity, folly, or vice. Your only safe way of conversing with them is, by a firm resolution to proceed in your practice and behaviour directly contrary to whatever they shall say or do, and this I take to be a good general rule, with very few exceptions. For instance, in the doctrines they usually deliver to young married women for managing their husbands, their several accounts of their own conduct in that particular, to recommend it to your imitation, the reflections they make upon others of their sex for acting differently, their directions how to come off with victory upon any dispute or quarrel you may have with your husband, the arts by which you may discover and practise upon his weak side: when to work by flattery and insinuation, when to melt him with tears, and when to engage him with a high hand: in these and a thousand other cases it will be prudent to retain as many of their lectures in your memory as you can, and then determine to act in full opposition to them all.

I hope your husband will interpose his authority to limit you in the trade of visiting: half a dozen fools are, in all conscience, as many as you should require; and it will be sufficient for you to see them twice a-year, for I think the fashion does not exact that visits should be paid to friends.

I advise that your company at home should consist of men rather than women. To say the truth, I never yet knew a tolerable woman to be fond of her own sex. I confess, when both are mixed and well chosen, and put their best qualities forward, there may be an intercourse of civility and good will, which, with the addition of some degree of sense, can make conversation or any amusement agreeable. But a knot of ladies, got together by themselves, is a very school of impertinence and detraction, and it is well if those be the worst.

Let your men acquaintance be of your husband's choice, and not recommended to you by any she companions, because they will certainly fix a coxcomb upon you, and it will cost you some time and pains before you can arrive at the knowledge of distinguishing such a one from a man of sense.

Never take a favourite waiting-maid into your cabinet council, to entertain you with histories of

those ladies whom she has formerly served, of their diversions and their dresses, to insinuate how great a fortune you brought, and how little you are allowed to squander, to appeal to her from your husband, and to be determined by her judgment, because you are sure it will be always for you, to receive and discard servants by her approbation or dislike; to engage you by her insinuations in misunderstandings with your best friends; to represent all things in false colours, and to be the common emissary of scandal.

But the grand affair of your life will be to gain and preserve the friendship and esteem of your husband. You are married to a man of good education and learning, of an excellent understanding and an exact taste. It is true, and it is happy for you, that these qualities in him are adorned with great modesty, a most amiable sweetness of temper, and an unusual disposition to sobriety and virtue; but neither good nature nor virtue will suffer him to esteem you against his judgment; and although he is not capable of using you ill, yet you will in time grow a thing indifferent, and perhaps contemptible, unless you can supply the loss of youth and beauty with more durable qualities. You have but a very few years to be young and handsome in the eyes of the world, and as few months to be so in the eyes of a husband who is not a fool; for I hope you do not still dream of charms and raptures, which marriage ever did, and ever will, put a sudden end to. Besides, yours was a match of prudence and common good liking, without any mixture of that ridiculous passion which has no being but in playbooks and romances.

You must therefore use all endeavours to attain to some degree of those accomplishments which your husband most values in other people, and for which he is most valued himself. You must improve your mind by closely pursuing such a method of study as I shall direct or approve of. You must get a collection of history and travels, which I will recommend to you, and spend some hours every day in reading them, and making extracts from them if your memory be weak. You must invite persons of knowledge and understanding to an acquaintance with you, by whose conversation you may learn to correct your taste and judgment; and when you can bring yourself to comprehend and relish the good sense of others, you will arrive in time to think rightly yourself, and to become a reasonable and agreeable companion. This must produce in your husband a true rational love and esteem for you, which old age will not diminish. He will have a regard for your judgment and opinion in matters of the greatest weight; you will be able to entertain each other without a third person to relieve you by finding discourse. The endowments of your mind will even make your person more agreeable to him; and when you are alone, your time will not lie heavy upon your hands for want of some trifling amusement.

As little respect as I have for the generality of your sex, it has sometimes moved me with pity to see the lady of the house forced to withdraw immediately after dinner, and this in families where there is not much drinking; as if it were an established maxim, that women are incapable of all conversation. In a room where both sexes meet, if the men are discoursing upon any general subject, the ladies never think it their business to partake in what passes, but in a separate club entertain each other with the price and choice of lace and silk, and what dresses they liked or disapproved at the church or the playhouse. And when you are among yourselves, how naturally after the first compliments do you apply your hands to each other's lappets, and ruffles, and mantuas; as if the whole business of your lives and the public concern of the world depended upon the cut or colour of your dress. As divines say, that some people take more pains to be damned than it would cost them to be saved; so your sex employ more thought, memory, and application to be fools than would serve to make them wise and useful. When I reflect on this I cannot conceive you to be human creatures, but a certain sort of species hardly a degree above a monkey; who has more diverting tricks than any of you, is an animal less mischievous and expensive, might in time be a tolerable critic in velvet and brocade, and for aught I know, would equally become them.

I would have you look upon finery as a necessary folly, which all great ladies did whom I have ever known: I do not desire you to be out of the fashion, but to be the last and least in it. I expect that your dress shall be one degree lower than your fortune can afford; and in your own heart I would wish you to be an utter contemner of all distinctions which a finer petticoat can give you; because it will neither make you richer, handsomer, younger, better natured, more virtuous or wise than if it hung upon a peg.

If you are in company with men of learning, though they happen to discourse of arts and sciences out of your compass, yet you will gather more advantage by listening to them than from all the nonsense and frippery of your own sex; but if they be men of breeding as well as learning, they will seldom engage in any conversation where you ought not to be a hearer, and in time have your part. If they talk of the manners and customs of the several kingdoms of Europe, of travels into remoter nations, of the state of your own country, or of the great men and actions of Greece and Rome; if they give their judgment upon English and French writers either in verse or prose, or of the nature and limits of virtue and vice; it is a shame for an English lady not to relish such discourses, not to improve by them, and endeavour by reading and information to have her share in those entertainments, rather than turn aside, as it is the usual custom, and consult with the woman who sits next her about a new cargo of fans.

It is a little hard that not one gentleman's daughter in a thousand should be brought to read or understand her own natural tongue, or to be judge of the easiest books that are written in it; as any one may find who can have the patience to hear them, when they are disposed to mangle a play or novel, where the least word out of the common road is sure to disconcert them; and it is no wonder, when they are not so much as taught to spell in their childhood, nor can ever attain to it in their whole lives. I advise you therefore to read aloud, more or less, every day to your husband, if he will permit you, or to any other friend (but not a female one) who is able to set you right; and as for spelling, you may compass it in time by making collections from the books you read.

I know very well that those who are commonly called learned women have lost all manner of credit by their impertinent talkativeness and conceit of themselves; but there is an easy remedy for this, if you once consider, that after all the pains you may be at you never can arrive in point of learning to the perfection of a schoolboy. The reading I would advise you to is only for improvement of your own good sense, which will never fail of being mended by discretion. It is a wrong method and ill choice of books that makes those learned ladies just so much the worse for what they have read, and therefore it shall be my care to direct you better, a task for which I take myself to be not ill-qualified, because I have spent more time and have had more opportunities than many others to observe and discover from what source the various follies of women are derived.

Pray, observe how insignificant things are the common race of ladies when they have passed their youth

and beauty, how contemptible they appear to the men, and yet more contemptible to the younger part of their own sex, and have no relief, but in passing their afternoons in visits, where they are never acceptable, and their evenings at cards among each other, while the former part of the day is spent in spleen and envy, or in vain endeavours to repair by art and dress the ruins of time. Whereas I have known ladies at sixty, to whom all the polite part of the court and town paid their addresses, without any further view than that of enjoying the pleasure of their conversation.

I am ignorant of any one quality that is amiable in a man which is not equally so in a woman: I do not except even modesty and gentleness of nature. Nor do I know one vice or folly which is not equally detestable in both. There is indeed one infirmity which is generally allowed you, I mean that of cowardice; yet there should seem to be something very capricious, that when women profess their admiration for a colonel or a captain, on account of his valour, they should fancy it a very graceful and becoming quality in themselves, to be afraid of their own shadows; to scream in a barge when the weather is calmest, or in a coach at a ring: to run from a cow at a hundred yards distance, to fall into fits at the sight of a spider, an earwig, or a frog. At least, if cowardice be a sign of cruelty, (as it is generally granted,) I can hardly think it an accomplishment so desirable as to be thought worth improving by affectation.

And as the same virtues equally become both sexes, so there is no quality whereby women endeavour to distinguish themselves from men for which they are not just so much the worst, except that only of reservedness; which, however, as you generally manage it, is nothing else but affectation or hypocrisy. For, as you cannot too much discountenance those of our sex who presume to take unbecoming liberties before you; so you ought to be wholly unconstrained in the company of deserving men, when you have had sufficient experience of their discretion.

There is never wanting in this town a tribe of bold, swaggering, rattling ladies, whose talents pass among coxcombs for wit and humour; their excellency lies in rude, shocking expressions, and what they call running a man down. If a gentleman in their company happens to have any blemish in his birth or person, if any misfortune has befallen his family or himself for which he is ashamed, they will be sure to give him broad hints of it without any provocation. I would recommend you to the acquaintance of a common prostitute rather than to that of such termagants as these. I have often thought that no man is obliged to suppose such creatures to be women, but to treat them like insolent rascals disguised in female habits, who ought to be stripped and kicked down stairs.

I will add one thing, although it be a little out of place, which is to desire that you will learn to value and esteem your husband for those good qualities which he really possesses, and not to fancy others in him which he certainly has not. For, although this latter is generally understood to be a mark of love, yet it is indeed nothing but affectation or ill judgment. It is true, he wants so very few accomplishments, that you are in no great danger of erring on this side; but my caution is occasioned by a lady of your acquaintance, married to a very valuable person, whom yet she is so unfortunate as to be always commending for those perfections to which he can least pretend.

I can give you no advice upon the article of expense; only I think you ought to be well informed how much your husband's revenue amounts to, and be so good a computer as to keep within it in that part of the management which falls to your share; and not to put yourself in the number of those politic ladies, who think they gain a great point when they have teased their husbands to buy them a new equipage, a laced head, or a fine petticoat, without once considering what long score remained unpaid to the butcher.

I desire you will keep this letter in your cabinet, and often examine impartially your whole conduct by it: and so God bless you, and make you a fair example to your sex, and a perpetual comfort to your husband and your parents.[a]

I am, with great truth and affection, Madam, your most faithful friend and humble servant.

RESOLUTIONS WHEN I COME TO BE OLD.

WRITTEN IN 1699.

In compliance with the dean's own request, and agreeably to one of these resolutions, Dr. Sheridan faithfully admonished Swift of his parsimonious disposition as his faculties began to fail. "Doctor," answered Swift, with an expressive look, "do you remember the bishop of Grenada in Gil Blas?" Their cordiality ceased from that moment.

Not to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unless they desire it.

Not to be peevish, or morose, or suspicious.

Not to scorn present ways, or wits, or fashions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the same story over and over to the same people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency or cleanliness, for fear of falling into nastiness.

Not to be over severe with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weaknesses.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to, knavish tattling servants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, or trouble any but those who desire it.

To desire some good friend to inform me which of these resolutions I break or neglect, and wherein, and reform accordingly.

Not to talk much, nor of myself.

Not to boast of my former beauty, or strength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hæreditatem captant, odisse ac vitare.*

Not to be positive or opinionative.

Not to set for observing all these rules, for fear I should observe none.

THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS, MORAL AND DIVERTING.[b]

OCTOBER 1706.

We have just enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love, one another.

Reflect on things past, as wars, negotiations, factions, &c. we enter so little into those interests that we wonder how men could possibly be so busy and concerned for things so transitory; look on the present times, we find the same humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wise man endeavours, by considering all circum-

[a] "The reader of this letter may be allowed to doubt whether Swift's opinion of female excellence ought implicitly to be admitted; for if his general thoughts on women were such as he exhibits, a very little sense in a lady would enrapture, and a very little virtue would astonish him. Stella's supremacy, therefore, was perhaps only local. She was great because her associates were little."

[b] Mr. Pope and dean Swift, being in the country, agreed to write down such involuntary thoughts as occurred to them during their walks; and these are such as belong to the dean.

stances to make conjectures, and form conclusions; but the smallest accident intervening, (and in the course of affairs it is impossible to foresee all,) does often produce such turns and changes, that at last he is just as much in doubt of events as the most ignorant and unexperienced person.

Positiveness is a good quality for preachers and orators, because he that would obtrude his thoughts and reasons upon a multitude, will convince others the more as he appears convinced himself.

How is it possible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not so much as take warning?

I forget whether advice be among the lost things, which Ariosto says may be found in the moon; that and time ought to have been there.

No preacher is listened to but Time, which gives us the same train and turn of thought that elder people have in vain tried to put into our heads before.

When we desire or solicit anything, our minds run wholly on the good side or circumstances of it; when it is obtained, our minds run wholly on the bad ones.

In a glasshouse, the workmen often fling in a small quantity of fresh coals, which seems to disturb the fire, but very much enlivens it. This seems to allude to a gentle stirring of the passions, that the mind may not languish.

Religion seems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurse it, as it had in its infancy.

All fits of pleasure are balanced by an equal degree of pain or languor; it is like spending this year part of the next year's revenue

The latter part of a wise man's life is taken up in curing the follies, prejudices, and false opinions he had contracted in the former.

Would a writer know how to behave himself with relation to posterity, let him consider in old books what he finds that he is glad to know, and what omissions he most laments.

Whatever the poets pretend, it is plain they give immortality to none but themselves: it is Homer and Virgil we reverence and admire, not Achilles or Æneas. With historians it is quite the contrary; our thoughts are taken up with the actions, persons and events we read, and we little regard the authors.

When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the dunces are all in confederacy against him.

Men who possess all the advantages of life are in a state where there are many accidents to disorder and discompose, but few to please them.

It is unwise to punish cowards with ignominy; for if they had regarded that, they would not have been cowards: death is their proper punishment, because they fear it most.

The greatest inventions were produced in the times of ignorance; as the use of the compass, gunpowder, and printing; and by the dullest nation, as the Germans.

One argument to prove that the common relations of ghosts and spectres are generally false, may be drawn from the opinion held, that spirits are never seen by more than one person at a time; that is to say, it seldom happens to above one person in a company to be possessed with any high degree of spleen or melancholy.

I am apt to think that, in the day of judgment, there will be small allowance given to the wise for their want of morals, and to the ignorant for their want of faith, because both are without excuse. This renders the advantages equal of ignorance and knowledge But some scruples in the wise, and some vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the strength of temptation to each.

The value of several circumstances in story lessens very much by distance of time, though some minute circumstances are very valuable; and it requires great judgment in a writer to distinguish.

It is grown a word of course for writers to say, This critical age, as divines say, This sinful age.

It is pleasant to observe how free the present age is in laying taxes on the next: future ages shall talk of this; this shall be famous to all posterity: whereas their time and thoughts will be taken up about present things, as ours are now.

The chameleon, who is said to feed upon nothing but air, has of all animals the nimblest tongue.

When a man is made a spiritual peer, he loses his surname; when a temporal, his Christian name.

It is in disputes, as in armies; where the weaker side sets up false lights, and makes a great noise, to make the enemy believe them more numerous and strong than they really are.

Some men, under the notion of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honesty, and religion.

In all well-instituted commonwealths, care has been taken to limit men's possessions; which is done for many reasons, and, among the rest, for one which, perhaps, is not often considered, that when bounds are set to men's desires, after they have acquired as much as the laws will permit them, their private interest is at an end, and they have nothing to do but to take care of the public.

There are but three ways for a man to revenge himself of the censure of the world; to despise it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live so as to avoid it: the first of these is usually pretended, the last is almost impossible, the universal practice is for the second.

Herodotus tells us, that in cold countries beasts very seldom have horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleasant application.

I never heard a finer piece of satire against lawyers, than that of astrologers, when they pretend, by rules of art, to tell when a suit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff or defendant; thus making the matter depend entirely upon the influence of the stars, without the least regard to the merits of the cause.

The expression in Apocrypha about Tobit and his dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed; yet Homer has the same words of Telemachus more than once; and Virgil says something like it of Evander. And I take the book of Tobit to be partly poetical.

I have known some men possessed of good qualities which were very serviceable to others, but useless to themselves; like a sun-dial on the front of a house, to inform the neighbours and passengers, but not the owner within.

If a man would register all his opinions upon love, politics, religion, learning, &c. beginning from his youth, and so go on to old age, what a bundle of inconsistencies and contradictions would appear at last!

What they do in heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not we are told expressly, that they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

When a man observes the choice of ladies now-a-days in the dispensing of their favours, can he forbear paying some veneration to the memory of those mares mentioned by Xenophon, who, while their manes were on, that is, while they were in their beauty, would never admit the embraces of an ass.

It is a miserable thing to live in suspense; it is the life of a spider.

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.
Ovid. Metam.

The stoical scheme of supplying our wants by

lopping off our desires, is like cutting off our feet, when we want shoes.

Physicians ought not to give their judgment of religion, for the same reason that butchers are not admitted to be jurors upon life and death.

The reason why so few marriages are happy, is because young ladies spend their time in making nets, not in making cages.

If a man will observe as he walks the streets, I believe he will find the merriest countenances in mourning coaches.

Nothing more unqualifies a man to act with prudence than a misfortune that is attended with shame and guilt.

The power of fortune is confessed only by the miserable; for the happy impute all their success to prudence and merit.

Ambition often puts men upon doing the meanest offices: so climbing is performed in the same posture with creeping.

Ill company is like a dog, who dirts those most whom he loves best.

Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

Although men are accused for not knowing their own weakness, yet, perhaps, as few know their own strength. It is in men as in soils, where sometimes there is a vein of gold, which the owner knows not of.

Satire is reckoned the easiest of all wit; but I take it to be otherwise in very bad times: for it is as hard to satirize well a man of distinguished vices, as to praise well a man of distinguished virtues. It is easy enough to do either to people of moderate characters.

Invention is the talent of youth, and judgment of age: so that our judgment grows harder to please when we have fewer things to offer it: this goes through the whole commerce of life. When we are old, our friends find it difficult to please us, and are less concerned whether we be pleased or not.

No wise man ever wished to be younger.

An idle reason lessens the weight of the good ones you gave before.

The motives of the best actions will not bear too strict an inquiry. It is allowed, that the cause of most actions, good or bad, may be resolved into the love of ourselves; but the self-love of some men inclines them to please others; and the self-love of others is wholly employed in pleasing themselves. This makes the great distinction between virtue and vice. Religion is the best motive of all actions, yet religion is allowed to be the highest instance of self-love.

When the world has once begun to use us ill, it afterwards continues the same treatment with less scruple or ceremony as men do to a whore.

Old men view best at a distance, with the eyes of their understanding, as well as with those of nature.

Some people take more care to hide their wisdom than their folly

Arbitrary power is the natural object of temptation to a prince, as wine or women to a young fellow, or a bribe to a judge, or avarice to old age, or vanity to a woman.

Anthony Henley's farmer dying of an asthma, said, "Well, if I can get this breath once out, I'll take care it shall never get in again."

The humour of exploding many things under the name of trifles, fopperies, and only imaginary goods, is a very false proof either of wisdom or magnanimity, and a great check to virtuous actions. For instance, with regard to fame: there is in most people a reluctance and unwillingness to be forgotten. We observe, even among the vulgar, how fond they are to have an inscription over their grave. It requires but little philosophy to discover and observe that there is no intrinsic value in all this; however, if it be founded in our nature, as an incitement to virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

Complaint is the largest tribute heaven receives, and the sincerest part of our devotion.

The common fluency of speech in many men, and most women, is owing to a scarcity of matter, and a scarcity of words; for whoever is a master of language, and has a mind full of ideas, will be apt, in speaking, to hesitate upon the choice of both; whereas common speakers have only one set of ideas and one set of words to clothe them in; and these are always ready at the mouth: so people come faster out of a church when it is almost empty, than when a crowd is at the door.

Few are qualified to shine in company; but it is in most men's power to be agreeable. The reason, therefore, why conversation runs so low at present, is not the defect of understanding, but pride, vanity, ill-nature, affectation, singularity, positiveness, or some other vice, the effect of a wrong education.

To be vain is rather a mark of humility than pride. Vain men delight in telling what honours have been done them, what great company they have kept, and the like, by which they plainly confess that these honours were more than their due, and such as their friends would not believe, if they had not been told; whereas a man truly proud, thinks the greatest honours below his merit, and consequently scorns to boast. I therefore deliver it as a maxim, that whoever desires the character of a proud man, ought to conceal his vanity.

Law, in a free country, is, or ought to be, the determination of the majority of those who have property in land.

One argument used to the disadvantage of Providence, I take to be a very strong one in its defence. It is objected, that storms and tempests, unfruitful seasons, serpents, spiders, flies, and other noxious or troublesome animals, with many other instances of the same kind, discover an imperfection in nature, because human life would be much easier without them: but the design of Providence may clearly be perceived in this proceeding. The motions of the sun and moon, in short, the whole system of the universe, as far as philosophers have been able to discover and observe, are in the utmost degree of regularity and perfection; but wherever God has left to man the power of interposing a remedy by thought or labour, there he has placed things in a state of imperfection, on purpose to stir up human industry, without which life would stagnate, or indeed rather could not subsist at all: *Curis acuuntur mortalia corda.*

Praise is the daughter of present power.

How inconsistent is man with himself!

I have known several persons of great fame for wisdom in public affairs and councils governed by foolish servants:

I have known great ministers, distinguished for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces:

I have known men of great valour cowards to their wives:

I have known men of the greatest cunning perpetually cheated:

I knew three great ministers, who could exactly compute and settle the accompts of a kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own economy.

The preaching of divines helps to preserve well-inclined men in the course of virtue, but seldom or never reclaims the vicious.

Princes usually make wiser choices than the servants whom they trust for the disposal of places: I have known a prince more than once choose an able minister; but I never observed that minister to use his

credit in the disposal of an employment to a person whom he thought the fittest for it. One of the greatest in this age [Harley] owned, and excused the matter, from the violence of parties, and the unreasonableness of friends.

Small causes are sufficient to make a man uneasy, when great ones are not in the way: for want of a block he will stumble at a straw.

Dignity, high station, or great riches, are in some sort necessary to old men, in order to keep the younger at a distance, who are otherwise too apt to insult them upon the score of their age.

Every man desires to live long; but no man would be old.

Love of flattery, in most men, proceeds from the mean opinion they have of themselves; in women, from the contrary.

If books and laws continue to increase as they have done for fifty years past, I am in concern for future ages, how any man will be learned, or any man a lawyer.

Kings are commonly said to have long hands; I wish they had as long ears.

Princes in their infancy, childhood, and youth are said to discover prodigious parts and wit, to speak things that surprise and astonish: strange, so many hopeful princes, and so many shameful kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue: if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another sort.

Politics, as the word is commonly understood, are nothing but corruptions, and consequently of no use to a good king, or a good ministry: for which reason all courts are so full of politics.

Silenus, the foster-father of Bacchus, is always carried by an ass, and has horns on his head. The moral is, that drunkards are led by fools, and have a great chance to be cuckolds.

Venus, a beautiful, good-natured lady, was the goddess of love; Juno, a terrible shrew, the goddess of marriage: and they were always mortal enemies.

Those who are against religion, must needs be fools; and therefore we read that of all animals, God refused the first-born of an ass.

A very little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleased with a few words spoken plain by a parrot.

A nice man is a man of nasty ideas.

Apollo was held the god of physic, and sender of diseases. Both were originally the same trade, and still continue.

Old men and comets have been reverenced for the same reason; their long beards, and pretences to foretel events.

A person was asked at court, "what he thought of an ambassador, and his train, who were all embroidery and lace, full of bows, cringes, and gestures?" He said, "it was Solomon's importation, gold and apes."

There is a story in Pausanias of a plot for betraying a city discovered by the braying of an ass; the cackling of geese saved the Capitol; and Catalina's conspiracy was discovered by a whore. These are the only three animals, as far as I remember, famous in history as evidences and informers.

Most sorts of diversion in men, children, and other animals, are in imitation of fighting.

Augustus, meeting an ass with a lucky name, foretold himself good fortune. I meet many asses, but none of them have lucky names.

If a man makes me keep my distance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the same time.

Who can deny that all men are violent lovers of truth when we see them so positive in their errors, which they will maintain out of their zeal to truth, although they contradict themselves every day of their lives?

That was excellently observed, say I, when I read a passage in an author, where his opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be mistaken.

Very few men, properly speaking, live at present, but are providing to live another time.

As universal a practice as lying is, and as easy a one as it seems, I do not remember to have heard three good lies in all my conversation, even from those who were most celebrated in that faculty.

Laws penned with the utmost care and exactness, and in the vulgar language, are often perverted to wrong meanings; then why should we wonder that the Bible is so?

A man seeing a wasp creeping into a vial filled with honey that was hung on a fruit-tree, said thus: "Why, thou sottish animal, art thou mad to go into the vial, where you see many hundred of your kind dying before you?"—"The reproach is just," answered the wasp, "but not from you men, who are so far from taking example by other people's follies that you will not take warning by your own. If after falling several times into this vial, and escaping by chance, I should fall in again, I should then but resemble you."

An old miser kept a tame jackdaw, that used to steal pieces of money and hide them in a hole; which the cat observing, asked, "Why he would hoard up those round shining things that he could make no use of?"—"Why," said the jackdaw, "my master has a whole chest full, and makes no more use of them than I."

Men are contented to be laughed at for their wit, but not for their folly.

If the men of wit and genius would resolve never to complain in their works of critics and detractors, the next age would not know that they ever had any.

After all the maxims and systems of trade and commerce, a stander-by would think the affairs of the world were most ridiculously contrived.

There are few countries which, if well cultivated, would not support double the number of their inhabitants, and yet fewer where one-third part of the people are not extremely stinted even in the necessaries of life. I send out twenty barrels of corn, which would maintain a family in bread for a year, and I bring back in return a vessel of wine, which half a dozen good fellows would drink in less than a month, at the expense of their health and reason.

A motto for the jesuits:—

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

A man would have but few spectators if he offered to show for threepence how he could thrust a red hot iron into a barrel of gunpowder, and it should not take fire.

Query, Whether churches are not dormitories of the living as well as of the dead?

Harry Killegrew said to lord Wharton, "You would not swear at that rate if you thought you were doing God honour."

A copy of verses kept in the cabinet, and only shown to a few friends, is like a virgin much sought after and admired; but when printed and published, is like a common whore, whom anybody may purchase for half-a crown.

Louis XIV. of France spent his life in turning a good name into a great.

Since the union of divinity and humanity is the great article of our religion, it is odd to see some clergymen, in their writings of divinity, wholly devoid of humanity.

The Epicureans began to spread at Rome in the em-

pire of Augustus, as the Socinians, and even the Epicureans too, did in England toward the end of king Charles II.'s reign; which is reckoned, though very absurdly, our Augustan age. They both seem to be corruptions occasioned by luxury and peace, and by politeness beginning to decline.

Sometimes I read a book with pleasure, and detest the author.

At a bookseller's shop some time ago, I saw a book with this title: "Poems by the Author of the Choice." Not enduring to read a dozen lines, I asked the company with me, whether they had ever seen the book, or heard of the poem whence the author denominated himself; they were all as ignorant as I. But I find it common with these small dealers in wit and learning, to give themselves a title from their first adventure, as Don Quixote usually did from his last. This arises from that great importance which every man supposes himself to be of.

One Dennis, commonly called "the critic," who had writ a threepenny pamphlet against the power of France, being in the country, and hearing of a French privateer hovering about the coast, although he were twenty miles from the sea, fled to town, and told his friends, "they need not wonder at his haste; for the king of France, having got intelligence where he was, had sent a privateer on purpose to catch him."

Dr. Gee, prebendary of Westminster, who had writ a small paper against popery, being obliged to travel for his health, affected to disguise his person and change his name, as he passed through Portugal, Spain, and Italy; telling all the English he met, "that he was afraid of being murdered, or put into the Inquisition." He was acting the same farce at Paris, till Mr. Prior (who was then secretary to the embassy) quite disconcerted the doctor by maliciously discovering the secret; and offering to engage, body for body, that not a creature would hurt him, or had ever heard of him or his pamphlet.

A chambermaid to a lady of my acquaintance, thirty miles from London, had the very same turn of thought; when talking with one of her fellow-servants, she said, "I hear it is all over London already that I am going to leave my lady:" and so had a footman, who, being newly married, desired his comrade to tell him freely what the town said of it.

When somebody was telling a certain great minister that people were discontented, "Pho," said he, "half a dozen fools are prating in a coffeehouse, and presently think their own noise about their ears is made by the world."

The death of a private man is generally of so little importance to the world, that it cannot be a thing of great importance in itself, and yet I do not observe, from the practice of mankind, that either philosophy or nature have sufficiently armed us against the fears which attend it. Neither do I find anything able to reconcile us to it, but extreme pain, shame, or despair; for poverty, imprisonment, ill fortune, grief, sickness, and old age, do generally fail.

Whence comes the custom of bidding a woman look upon her apron-strings to find an excuse? Was it not from the apron of fig-leaves worn by Eve, when she covered herself and was the first of her sex who made a bad excuse for eating the forbidden fruit?

I never wonder to see men wicked, but I often wonder to see them not ashamed.

Do not we see how easily we pardon our own actions and passions, and the very infirmities of our bodies: why should it be wonderful to find us pardon our own dulness?

There is no vice or folly that requires so much nicety and skill to manage as vanity; nor any which, by ill management, makes so contemptible a figure.

Observation is an old man's memory.

Eloquence, smooth and cutting, is like a razor whetted with oil.

Imaginary evils soon become real ones by indulging our reflections on them; as he who in a melancholy fancy sees something like a face on the wall or the wainscot, can, by two or three touches with a lead-pencil, make it look visible, and agreeing with what he fancied.

Men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of public business, because they are apt to go out of the common road by the quickness of their imagination. This I once said to my lord Bolingbroke, and desired he would observe, that the clerks in his office used a sort of ivory knife with a blunt edge to divide a sheet of paper, which never failed to cut it even, only requiring a steady hand: whereas if they should make use of a sharp pen-knife, the sharpness would make it go often out of the crease and disfigure the paper.

"He who does not provide for his own house," St. Paul says, "is worse than an infidel." And I think, he who provides only for his own house, is just equal with an infidel.

Jealousy, like fire, may shrivel up horns, but it makes them stink.

A footman's hat should fly off to everybody: and therefore Mercury, who was Jupiter's footman, had wings fastened to his cap.

When a man pretends love, but courts for money, he is like a juggler, who conjures away your shilling, and conveys something very indecent under the hat.

All panegyrics are mingled with an infusion of poppy.

I have known men happy enough at ridicolo, who upon grave subjects were perfectly stupid; of which Dr. Echard of Cambridge, who writ "The Contempt of the Clergy" was a great instance.

One top of Parnassus was sacred to Bacchus, the other to Apollo.

Matrimony has many children; Repentance, Discord, Poverty, Jealousy, Sickness, Spleen, Loathing, &c.

Vision is the art of seeing things invisible.

The two maxims of any great man at court are, always to keep his countenance, and never to keep his word.

I asked a poor man how he did? He said he was like a washball, always in decay.

Hippocrates, Aph. 32. sect. 6., observes, that stuttering people are always subject to a looseness. I wish physicians had power to remove the profusion of words in many people to the inferior parts.

A man dreamed he was a cuckold; a friend told him it was a bad sign, because when a dream is true, Virgil says it passes through the horned gate.

Love is a flame, and therefore we say beauty is attractive; because physicians observe that fire is a great drawer.

Civis, the most honourable name among the Romans; a citizen a word of contempt among us.

A lady who had gallantries and several children, told her husband he was like the austere man, who reaped where he did not sow.

We read that an ass's head was sold for eighty pieces of silver; they have lately been sold ten thousand times dearer, and yet they were never more plentiful.

I must complain the cards are ill shuffled till I have a good hand.

When I am reading a book, whether wise or silly, it seems to me to be alive and talking to me.

Whoever live at a different end of the town from me, I look upon as persons not of the world, and only myself and the scene about me to be in it.

When I was young, I thought all the world, as well

as myself, was wholly taken up in discoursing upon the last new play.

My lord Cromarty, after fourscore, went to his country house in Scotland, with a resolution to stay six years there and live thriftily, in order to save up money, that he might spend in London.

It is said of the horses in the vision, that "their power was in their mouths and in their tails." What is said of horses in the vision, in reality may be said of women.

Elephants are always drawn smaller than life, but a flea always larger.

When old folks tell us of many passages in their youth between them and their company, we are apt to think how much happier those times were than the present.

Why does the elder sister dance barefoot, when the younger is married before her? Is it not that she may appear shorter and consequently be thought younger than the bride?

No man will take counsel, but every man will take money: therefore money is better than counsel.

I never yet knew a wag (as the term is,) who was not a dunce.

A person reading to me a dull poem of his own making, I prevailed on him to scratch out six lines together; in turning over the leaf, the ink being wet, it marked as many lines on the other side; whereof the poet complaining, I bid him be easy, "for it would be better if those were out too."

At Windsor I was observing to my lord Bolingbroke, "that the tower where the maids of honour lodged (who at that time were very handsome) was much frequented with crows." My lord said, "it was because they smelled carrion."

A TREATISE ON GOOD MANNERS AND GOOD BREEDING.[a]

Good manners is the art of making those people easy with whom we converse.

Whoever makes the fewest persons uneasy is the best bred in the company.

As the best law is founded upon reason, so are the best manners. And as some lawyers have introduced unreasonable things into common law, so likewise many teachers have introduced absurd things into common good manners.

One principal point of this art is, to suit our behaviour to the three several degrees of men; our superiors, our equals, and those below us.

For instance, to press either of the two former to eat or drink is a breach of manners; but a tradesman or a farmer must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them that they are welcome.

Pride, ill-nature, and want of sense, are the three great sources of ill-manners: without some one of these defects, no man will behave himself ill for want of experience, or of what, in the language of fools, is called knowing the world.

I defy any one to assign an incident wherein reason will not direct us what to say or do in company, if we are not misled by pride or ill nature.

Therefore I insist that good sense is the principal foundation of good manners; but because the former is a gift which very few among mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon fixing some rules upon common behaviour best suited to their general customs or fancies, as a kind of artificial good sense, to supply the defects of reason. Without which the gentlemanly part of dunces would be perpetually at cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in squabbles about women or play. And, God be thanked, there hardly happens a duel in a year, which may not be imputed to one of these three motives. Upon which account, I should be exceedingly sorry to find the legislature make any new laws against the practice of duelling; because the methods are easy and many for a wise man to avoid a quarrel with honour, or engage in it with innocence. And I can discover no political evil in suffering bullies, sharpers, and rakes, to rid the world of each other by a method of their own, where the law has not been able to find an expedient.

As the common forms of good manners were intended for regulating the conduct of those who have weak understandings; so they have been corrupted by the persons for whose use they were contrived. For these people have fallen into a needless and endless way of multiplying ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesome to those who practise them, and insupportable to everybody else: insomuch that wise men are often more uneasy at the over-civility of these refiners than they could possibly be in the conversation of peasants or mechanics.

The impertinencies of this ceremonial behaviour are nowhere better seen than at those tables where the ladies preside, who value themselves upon account of their good breeding; where a man must reckon upon passing an hour without doing any one thing he has a mind to; unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled decorum of the family. She determines what he loves best, and how much he shall eat; and if the master of the house happens to be of the same disposition he proceeds in the same tyrannical manner to prescribe in the drinking part: at the same time you are under the necessity of answering a thousand apologies for your entertainment. And although a good deal of this humour is pretty well worn off among many people of the best fashion, yet too much of it still remains, especially in the country; where an honest gentleman assured me, that having been kept four days against his will at a friend's house, with all the circumstances of hiding his boots, locking up the stable, and other contrivances of the like nature, he could not remember, from the moment he came into the house to the moment he left it, any one thing wherein his inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole family had entered into a combination to torment him.

But, beside all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous accidents I have observed among these unfortunate proselytes to ceremony. I have seen a duchess fairly knocked down, by the precipitancy of an officious coxcomb running to save her the trouble of opening a door. I remember, upon a birth-day at court, a great lady was rendered utterly disconsolate by a dish of sauce let fall by a page directly upon her head-dress and brocade, while she gave a sudden turn to her elbow upon some point of ceremony with the person who sat next to her. Monsieur Buys, the Dutch envoy, whose politics and manners were much of a size, brought a son with him, about thirteen years old, to a great table at court. The boy and his father, whatever they put on their plates, they first offered round in order, to every person in company; so that we could not get a minute's quiet during the whole dinner. At last their two plates happened to encounter, and with so much violence, that, being china, they broke in twenty pieces, and stained half the company with wet sweet-meats and cream.

There is a pedantry in manners, as in all arts and sciences; and sometimes in trades. Pedantry is properly the over-rating of any kind of knowledge we pretend to. And if that kind of knowledge be a trifle

[a] "The result of much good sense, some good nature, and a little self-denial for the sake of others, and with a view to obtain the same indulgence from them."—Lord Chesterfield.

in itself, the pedantry is the greater. For which reason I look upon fiddlers, dancing-masters, heralds, masters of the ceremony, &c. to be greater pedants than Lipsius, or the elder Scaliger. With this kind of pedants, the court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked; I mean from the gentleman usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the gentleman porter: who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant race of people that this island can afford, and with the smallest tincture of good manners; which is the only trade they profess. For, being wholly illiterate, and conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole system of breeding within the forms and circles of their several offices: and, as they are below the notice of ministers, they live and die in court under all revolutions, with great obsequiousness to those who are in any degree of credit or favour, and with rudeness and insolence to everybody else. Whence I have long concluded, that good manners are not a plant of the court growth: for if they were, those people, who have understandings directly of a level for such acquirements, who have served such long apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For, as to the great officers, who attend the prince's person or councils, or preside in his family, they are a transient body, who have no better a title to good manners than their neighbours, nor will probably have recourse to gentlemen ushers for instruction. So that I know little to be learned at court upon this head, except in the material circumstance of dress; wherein the authority of the maids of honour must indeed be allowed to be almost equal to that of a favourite actress.

I remember a passage my lord Bolingbroke told me; that going to receive prince Eugene of Savoy at his landing, in order to conduct him immediately to the queen, the prince said he was much concerned that he could not see her majesty that night; for Monsieur Hoffman (who was then by) had assured his highness that he could not be admitted into her presence with a tied-up periwig; that his equipage was not arrived; and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his valets and pages. My lord turned the matter into a jest, and brought the prince to her majesty; for which he was highly censured by the whole tribe of gentlemen ushers; among whom Monsieur Hoffman, an old dull resident of the emperor's, had picked up this material point of ceremony; and which I believe was the best lesson he had learned in five-and-twenty years' residence.

I make a difference between good manners and good breeding; although, in order to vary my expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the art of remembering and applying certain settled forms of general behaviour. But good breeding is of a much larger extent; for, beside an uncommon degree of literature sufficient to qualify a gentleman for reading a play or a political pamphlet, it takes in a great compass of knowledge; no less than that of dancing, fighting, gaming, making the circle of Italy, riding the great horse, and speaking French; not to mention some other secondary or subaltern accomplishments, which are more easily acquired. So that the difference between good breeding and good manners lies in this, that the former cannot be attained to by the best understandings without study and labour; whereas a tolerable degree of reason will instruct us in every part of good manners, without other assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this subject than to point out some particulars, wherein the very essentials of good manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which does very much disturb the good commerce of the world, by introducing a traffic of mutual uneasiness in most companies.

First, A necessary part of good manners is a punctual observance of time at our own dwellings, or those of others, or at third places; whether upon matter of civility, business, or diversion; which rule, though it be a plain dictate of common reason, yet the greatest minister I ever knew was the greatest trespasser against it; by which all his business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him, as deficient in point of good manners. I have known more than one ambassador and secretary of state, with a very moderate portion of intellectuals, execute their offices with good success and applause, by the mere force of exactness and regularity. If you duly observe time for the service of another, it doubles the obligation; if upon your own account, it would be manifest folly, as well as ingratitude, to neglect it; if both are concerned, to make your equal or inferior attend on you to his own disadvantage is pride and injustice.

Ignorance of forms cannot properly be styled ill manners, because forms are subject to frequent changes; and consequently, being not founded upon reason, are beneath a wise man's regard. Besides, they vary in every country; and after a short period of time, very frequently in the same; so that a man who travels must needs be at first a stranger to them in every court through which he passes; and, perhaps, at his return, as much a stranger in his own; and after all, they are easier to be remembered or forgotten than faces or names.

Indeed, among the many impertinencies that superficial young men bring with them from abroad, this bigotry of forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the rest; who look upon them not only as if they were matters capable of admitting of choice, but even as points of importance; and are therefore zealous on all occasions to introduce and propagate the new forms and fashions they have brought back with them; so that, usually speaking, the worst bred person in company is a young traveller just returned from abroad.

HINTS ON GOOD MANNERS.

Good manners is the art of making every reasonable person in the company easy, and to be easy ourselves.

What passes for good manners in the world generally produces quite contrary effects.

Many persons of both sexes, whom I have known, and who passed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the most troublesome in company to others and themselves.

Nothing is so great an instance of ill manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you please none: if you flatter only one or two, you affront the rest.

Flattery is the worst and falsest way of showing our esteem.

Where the company meets, I am confident the few reasonable persons are every minute tempted to curse the man or woman among them who endeavours to be most distinguished for their good manners.

A man of sense would rather fast till night than dine at some tables, where the lady of the house is possessed with good manners; uneasiness, pressing to eat, teazing with civility; less practised in England than here.

Courts are the worst of all schools to teach good manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dress, are no part of good manners; and therefore every man of good understanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occasion.

To speak in such a manner as may possibly offend any reasonable person in company, is the highest instance of ill manners. Good manners chiefly consist in action,

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not in words. Modesty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of England under four reigns, the two last but for a short time; and whatever good manners or politeness I observed in any of them, was not of the court growth, but imported; for a courtier by trade, as gentlemen ushers, bed-chamberwomen, maids of honour, * * *

OF GOOD MANNERS AS TO CONVERSATION.

Men of wit and good understanding, as well as breeding, are sometimes deceived, and give offence by conceiving a better opinion of those with whom they converse than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the most innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praise, to be mistaken for abuse and reflection.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to suffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradictors, long talkers, those who are absent in company, interrupters, not listeners, loud laughers.

Of those men and women whose face is ever in a smile, talk ever with a smile, condole with a smile, &c.

Argument, as usually managed, is the worst sort of conversation; as it is generally in books the worst sort of reading.

Good conversation is not to be expected in much company, because few listen, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are discovered, let the company be ever so large.

Perpetual aiming at wit, a very bad part of conversation. It is done to support a character; it generally fails: it is a sort of insult on the company, and a constraint upon the speaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or business, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners. Divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakness. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * * * *

OF MEAN AND GREAT FIGURES MADE BY SEVERAL PERSONS.

OF THOSE WHO HAVE MADE GREAT FIGURES IN SOME PARTICULAR ACTION OR CIRCUMSTANCES OF THEIR LIVES.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, after his victory, (at the Straits at Mount Taurus,) when he entered the tent, where the queen and the princesses of Persia fell at his feet.

Socrates, the whole last day of his life, and particularly from the time he took the poison until the moment he expired.

Cicero, when he was recalled from his banishment, the people, through every place he passed, meeting him with shouts of joy and congratulation, and all Rome coming out to receive him.

Regulus, when he went out of Rome attended by his friends to the gates, and returned to Carthage according to his word of honour, although he knew he must be put to a cruel death for advising the Romans to pursue their war with that commonwealth.

Scipio the elder, when he dismissed a beautiful captive lady presented to him after a great victory, turning his head aside to preserve his own virtue.

The same Scipio, when he and Hannibal met before the battle, if the fact be true.

Cincinnatus, when the messengers sent by the senate to make him dictator, found him at the plough.

Epaminondas, when the Persian ambassador came to his house, and found him in the midst of poverty.

The earl of Strafford, the day that he made his own defence at his trial.

King Charles the Martyr, during his whole trial, and at his death.

The Black Prince, when he waited at supper on the king of France, whom he had conquered and taken prisoner the same day.

Virgil, when, at Rome, the whole audience rose up, out of veneration, as he entered the theatre.

Mahomet the Great, when he cut off his beloved mistress's head, on a stage erected for that purpose, to convince his soldiers, who taxed him for preferring his love to his glory.

Cromwell, when he quelled a mutiny in Hyde Park.

Harry the Great of France, when he entered Paris, and sat at cards the same night with some great ladies, who were his mortal enemies.

Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, at his trial.

Cato of Utica, when he provided for the safety of his friends, and had determined to die.

Sir Thomas More, during his imprisonment, and at his execution.

Marius, when the soldier sent to kill him in the dungeon was struck with so much awe and veneration that his sword fell from his hand.

Douglas, when the ship he commanded was on fire, and he lay down to die in it, because it should not be said that one of his family ever quitted their post.

OF THOSE WHO HAVE MADE A MEAN CONTEMPTIBLE FIGURE IN SOME ACTION OR CIRCUMSTANCE OF THEIR LIVES.

Anthony, at Actium, when he fled after Cleopatra.

Pompey, when he was killed on the sea-shore, in Egypt.

Nero and Vitellius, when they were put to death.

Lepidus, when he was compelled to lay down his share of the triumvirate.

Cromwell, the day he refused the kingship out of fear.

Perseus, king of Macedon, when he was led in triumph.

Richard II., of England, after he was deposed.

The late king of Poland, when the king of Sweden forced him to give up his kingdom; and when he took it again, upon the king of Sweden's defeat by the Muscovites.

King James II., of England, when the prince of Orange sent to him at midnight to leave London.

King William III., of England, when he sent to beg the house of commons to continue his Dutch guards, and was refused.

The late queen Anne of England, when she sent Whitworth to Muscovy on an embassy of humiliation, for an insult committed here on that prince's ambassador.

The lord chancellor Bacon, when he was convicted of bribery.

The late duke of Marlborough, when he was forced, after his own disgrace, to carry his duchess's gold key to the queen.

The old earl of Pembroke, when a Scotch lord gave him a lash with a whip at Newmarket, in presence of all the nobility, and he bore it with patience.

King Charles II., of England, when he entered into the second Dutch war; and in many other actions during his whole reign.

Philip II., of Spain, after the defeat of the Armada.

The emperor Charles V., when he resigned his crown, and nobody would believe his reasons.

King Charles I., of England, when, in gallantry to his queen, he thought to surprise her with a present of a diamond buckle, which he pushed down her breast, and tore her flesh with the tongue; upon which she drew it out, and flung it on the ground.

Fairfax, the parliament general, at the time of king Charles's trial.

Julius Cæsar, when Anthony offered to put a diadem on his head, and the people shouted for joy to see him

decline it; which he never offered to do, until he saw their dislike in their countenances.

Coriolanus, when he withdrew his army from Rome at the entreaty of his mother.

Hannibal, at Antiochus's court.

Beau Fielding, at fifty years old, when, in a quarrel upon the stage, he was run into his breast, which he opened and showed to the ladies, that he might move their love and pity; but they all fell a-laughing.

The count de Bussy Rabutin, when he was recalled to court after twenty years' banishment into the country, and affected to make the same figure he did in his youth.

The earl of Sunderland, when he turned Papist, in the time of king James II., and underwent all the forms of a heretic converted.

Pope Clement VII., when he was taken prisoner at Rome, by the emperor Charles V.'s forces.

Queen Mary of Scotland, when she suffered Bothwell to ravish her, and pleaded that as an excuse for marrying him.

King John of England, when he gave up his kingdom to the pope, to be held as a fief to the see of Rome.

PUBLIC ABSURDITIES IN ENGLAND.

It is a common topic of satire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of ministers of state, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obscure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a dish of coffee, shall presume to censure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form schemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this is usually ridiculed as a pragmatical disposition to politics, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may possibly be true: and yet I am grossly deceived if any sober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, customs, and general rules of life which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reason be tempted, according to the present turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were sanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the mistake of wise and good men, that they expect more reason and virtue from human nature than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any sort capable of. Whoever has been present at councils or assemblies of any sort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have observed such results and opinions to have frequently passed a majority, as he would be ashamed to advance in private conversation. I say nothing of cruelty, oppression, injustice, and the like, because these are fairly to be accounted for in all assemblies, as best gratifying the passions and interest of leaders: which is a point of such high consideration, that all others must give place to it. But I would be understood here to speak only of opinions ridiculous, foolish, and absurd; with conclusions and actions suitable to them, at the same time when the most reasonable propositions are often unanimously rejected. And as all assemblies of men are liable to this accusation, so likewise there are natural absurdities from which the wisest states are not exempt; which proceed less from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the Gauls, the Britons, the Spaniards, and Italians, having retained very little of the characters given them in ancient history.

By these and the like reflections, I have been often led to consider some public absurdities in our own country, most of which are, in my opinion, directly against the rules of right reason, and are attended with great inconveniences to the state. I shall mention such of them as come into memory, without observing any method; and I shall give my reason why I take them to be absurd in their nature, and pernicious in their consequence.

It is absurd that any person, who professes a different form of worship from that which is national, should be trusted with a vote for electing members into the house of commons; because every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmost to bring in a representative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion established; and which, as it has formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A standing army in England, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct absurdity: for it is no part of our business to be a warlike nation otherwise than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either assist by sea, or by foreign troops paid with our money: but mercenary troops in England can be of no use, except to awe senates, and thereby promote arbitrary power, in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of senators should be of any charge to the candidates is an absurdity; but that it should be so to a ministry, is a manifest acknowledgment of the worst designs. If a ministry intended the service of their prince and country, or well understood wherein their own security best consisted, (as it is impossible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original institution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince or tolerable ministry,) they would use the strongest methods to leave the people to their own free choice; the members would then consist of persons who had the best estates in the neighbourhood or country, or, at least, never of strangers. And surely this is at least full as requisite a circumstance to a legislator as to a jury-man, who ought to be, if possible, *ex vicinio;* since such persons must be supposed the best judges of the wants and desires of their several boroughs and counties. To choose a representative for Berwick, whose estate is at Land's End, would have been thought in former times a very great solecism. How much more as it is at present, where so many persons are returned for boroughs who do not possess a foot of land in the kingdom?

By the old constitution, whoever possessed a freehold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty shillings a-year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the shire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the course of time, and partly by corruption. Forty shillings in those ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and, therefore, it was then a want of sagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate sum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or pasture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn and hay. And, therefore, it is highly absurd, and against the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is still worse; for any gentleman can, upon occasion, make as many freeholders as his estate of settlement will allow, by making leases for life of land at a rack-rent of forty shillings; where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a-year when his rent is paid, shall be held a legal voter for a person to represent his county. Neither do I enter into half the frauds that are practised upon this occasion.

It is likewise absurd, that boroughs decayed are not absolutely extinguished, because the returned members do in reality represent nobody at all; and that severe large towns are not represented, though full of industrious townsmen, who must advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of senators, to have themselves and servants exempted from lawsuits and arrests is manifestly absurd. The proceedings at law are already so scanda-

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lous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing, to pay his just debts, or to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the decision of the law, is surely but ill qualified to be a legislator. A criminal with as good reason might sit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honesty. By the annual sitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and subsequent, a senator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common justice.

That the sacred person of a senator's footman shall be free from arrest, although he undoes the poor alewife by running on score, is a circumstance of equal wisdom and justice, to avoid the great evil of his master's lady wanting her complement of liveries behind the coach.

OF THE EDUCATION OF LADIES.

There is a subject of controversy which I have frequently met with, in mixed and select companies of both sexes, and sometimes only of men:—"Whether it be prudent to choose a wife who has good natural sense, some taste of wit and humour, sufficiently versed in her own natural language, able to read and relish history, books of travels, moral or entertaining discourses, and be a tolerable judge of the beauties in poetry?" This question is generally determined in the negative by the women themselves, but almost universally by the men.

We must observe, that in this debate, those whom we call men and women of fashion are only to be understood, not merchants, tradesmen, or others of such occupations who are not supposed to have shared in a liberal education. I except, likewise, all ministers of state during their power, lawyers and physicians in great practice, persons in such employments as take up the greater part of the day, and perhaps some other conditions of life which I cannot call to mind. Neither must I forget to except all gentlemen of the army, from the general to the ensign; because those qualifications abovementioned in a wife, are wholly out of their element and comprehension; together with all mathematicians, and gentlemen lovers of music, metaphysicians, virtuosi, and great talkers, who have all amusements enough of their own. All these put together will amount to a great number of adversaries, whom I shall have no occasion to encounter, because I am already of their sentiments. Those persons whom I mean to include, are the bulk of lords, knights, and squires, throughout England, whether they reside between the town and country, or generally in either. I do also include those of the clergy, who have tolerably good preferments in London or any other parts of the kingdom.

The most material arguments that I have met with, on the negative side of this great question, are what I shall now impartially report in as strong a light as I think they can bear.

It is argued, "That the great end of marriage is propagation: that, consequently, the principal business of a wife is to breed children, and to take care of them in their infancy: that the wife is to look to her family, watch over the servants, see that they do their work: that she be absent from her house as little as possible: that she is answerable for everything amiss in her family: that she is to obey all the lawful commands of her husband, and visit or be visited by no persons whom he disapproves: that her whole business, if well performed, will take up most hours of the day: that the greater she is, and the more servants she keeps, her inspection must increase accordingly; for as a family represents a kingdom, so the wife, who is her husband's first minister, must, under him, direct all the officers of state, even to the lowest; and report their behaviour to her husband, as the first minister does to his prince: that such a station requires much time, and thought, and order; and if well executed, leaves but little time for visits or diversions: that a humour of reading books, except those of devotion or housewifery, is apt to turn a woman's brain: that plays, romances, novels, and love-poems, are only proper to instruct them how to carry on an intrigue: that all affectation of knowledge, beyond what is merely domestic, renders them vain, conceited, and pretending: that the natural levity of woman wants ballast; and when she once begins to think she knows more than others of her sex, she will begin to despise her husband, and grow fond of every coxcomb who pretends to any knowledge in books: that she will learn scholastic words; make herself ridiculous by pronouncing them wrong, and applying them absurdly in all companies: that, in the mean time, her household affairs, and the care of her children, will be wholly laid aside; her toilet will be crowded with all the under wits, where the conversation will pass in criticising on the last play or poem that comes out, and she will be careful to remember all the remarks that were made, in order to retail them in the next visit, especially in company who know nothing of the matter: that she will have all the impertinence of a pedant without the knowledge; and for every new acquirement, will become so much the worse."

To say the truth, that shameful and almost universal neglect of good education among our nobility, gentry, and indeed among all others who are born to good estates, will make this essay of little use to the present age; for, considering the modern way of training up both sexes in ignorance, idleness, and vice, it is of little consequence how they are coupled together. And therefore my speculations on this subject can be only of use to a small number; for, in the present situation of the world, none but wise and good men can fail of missing their match, whenever they are disposed to marry; and consequently there is no reason for complaint on either side. The forms by which a husband and wife are to live, with regard to each other and to the world, are sufficiently known and fixed, in direct contradiction to every precept of morality, religion, or civil institution; it would be therefore an idle attempt to aim at breaking so firm an establishment.

But as it sometimes happens that an elder brother dies late enough to leave the younger at the university after he has made some progress in learning; if we suppose him to have a tolerable genius, and a desire to improve it, he may consequently learn to value and esteem wisdom and knowledge wherever he finds them, even after his father's death, when his title and estate come into his own possession. Of this kind, I reckon, by a favourable computation there may possibly be found, by a strict search among the nobility and gentry throughout England, about five hundred. Among those of all other callings or trades who are able to maintain a son at the university, about treble that number. The sons of clergymen bred to learning with any success, must, by reason of their parents' poverty, be very inconsiderable, many of them being only admitted servitors in colleges, and consequently proving good for nothing: I shall therefore count them to be not above fourscore. But, to avoid fractions, I shall suppose there may possibly be a round number of two thousand male human creatures in England, including Wales, who have a tolerable share of reading and good sense. I include in this list all persons of superior abilities, or great genius, or true judgment and taste, or of profound literature, who, I am confident, we may reckon to be at least five-and-twenty.

I am very glad to have this opportunity of doing an honour to my country, by a computation which I am afraid foreigners may conceive to be partial; when, out of only fifteen thousand families of lords and estated gentlemen, which may probably be their number, I suppose one in thirty to be tolerably educated, with a sufficient share of good sense. Perhaps the censure may be just. And therefore, upon cooler thoughts, to avoid all cavils, I shall reduce them to one thousand, which at least will be a number sufficient to fill both houses of parliament.

The daughters of great and rich families, computed after the same manner, will hardly amount to above half the number of the male; because the care of their education is either entirely left to their mothers, or they are sent to boarding-schools, or put into the hands of English or French governesses, and generally the worst that can be gotten for money. So that after the reduction I was compelled to, from two thousand to one, half the number of well-educated nobility and gentry must either continue in a single life, or be forced to couple themselves with women for whom they can possibly have no esteem; I mean fools, prudes, coquettes, gamesters, saunterers, endless talkers of nonsense, spleuetic idlers, intriguers, given to scandal and censure, * * * * * *

CHARACTER OF ARISTOTLE.

Aristotle, the disciple of Plato, and tutor to Alexander the Great. His followers were called peripatetics, from a Greek word which signifies to walk, because he taught his disciples walking. We have not all his works, and some of those which are imputed to him are supposed not genuine. He writ upon logic, or the art of reasoning; upon moral and natural philosophy; upon oratory, poetry, &c., and seems to be a person of the most comprehensive genius that ever lived.

CHARACTER OF HERODOTUS.

The underwritten is copied from Dr. Swift's handwriting, in an edition of Herodotus, by Paul Stephens, the gift of the earl of Clanricard to the library of Winchester College:—

"Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus relecto.

"Ctesias mendacissimus Herodotum mendaciorum arguit, exceptis paucissimis, (ut mea fert sententia,) omnimodo excusandum. Cæterum, diverticulis abundans, hic pater historicorum filum narrationis ad tædium abrumpit: unde oritur (ut par est) legentibus confusio, et exindè oblivio. Quin et forsan ipsæ narrationes circumstantiis nimium pro re scatent. Quod ad cætera, hunc scriptorem inter apprimè laudandos censeo, neque Græcis neque Barbaris plus æquo faventem aut iniquum: in orationibus ferè brevem, simplicem, nec nimis frequentem. Neque absunt dogmata e quibus eruditus lector prudentiam tam moralem quam civilem haurire poterit. "J. Swift."[a]

"Julii 6, 1720."

CHARACTER OF PRIMATE MARSH.[b]

Marsh has the reputation of most profound and universal learning; this is the general opinion, neither can it be easily disproved. An old rusty iron chest in a banker's shop, strongly locked, and wonderfully heavy, is full of gold; this is the general opinion, neither can it be disproved, provided the key be lost, and what is in it be wedged so close that it will not by any motion discover the metal by the chinking. Doing good is his pleasure: and as no man consults another in his pleasures, neither does he in this; by his awkwardness and unadvisedness disappointing his own good designs. His high station has placed him in the way of great employments, which, without in the least polishing his native rusticity, have given him a tincture of pride and ambition. But these vices would have passed concealed under his natural simplicity if he had not endeavoured to hide them by art. His disposition to study is the very same with that of a usurer to hoard up money, or of a vicious young fellow to a wench; nothing but avarice and evil concupiscence, to which his constitution has fortunately given a more innocent turn. He is sordid and suspicious in his domestics, without love or hatred; which is but reasonable, since he has neither friend nor enemy; without joy or grief; in short, without all passions but fear, to which of all others he has least temptation having nothing to get or to lose; no posterity, relation, or friend, to be solicitous about: and placed by his station above the reach of fortune or envy. He has found out the secret of preferring men without deserving their thanks; and where he dispenses his favours to persons of merit, they are less obliged to him than to fortune. He is the first of human race that, with great advantages of learning, piety, and station, ever escaped being a great man. That which relishes best with him, is mixed liquor and mixed company; and he is seldom unprovided with very bad of both. He is so wise as to value his own health more than other men's noses, so that the most honourable place at his table is much the worst, especially in summer. It has been affirmed, that originally he was not altogether devoid of wit, till it was extruded from his head to make room for other men's thoughts. He will admit a governor, provided it be one who is very officious and diligent, outwardly pious, and one that knows how to manage and make the most of his fear. No man will be either glad or sorry at his death, except his successor.

CHARACTER OF Mrs. HOWARD.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1727.

I shall say nothing of her wit or beauty, which are allowed by all persons who can judge of either, when they hear or see her. Besides, beauty being transient, and a trifle, cannot justly make part of a character. And I leave others to celebrate her wit, because it will be of no use in that part of her character which I intend to draw. Neither shall I relate any part of her history; further than that she went, in the prime of her youth, to the court of Hanover with her husband, and became of the bedchamber to the present princess of Wales, living in expectation of the queen's [Anne's] death: upon which event she came over with her mistress, and has ever since continued in her service; where, from the attendance daily paid her by the ministers, and all expectants, she is reckoned much the greatest favourite of the court at Leicester House; a situation which she has long affected to desire that it might not be believed.

There is no politician who more carefully watches the motions and dispositions of things and persons at St. James's, nor can form his language with a more imperceptible dexterity to the present posture of a court, or more early foresee what style may be proper upon any approaching juncture of affairs; whereof she

[a] "I do hereby certify, that the above is the hand-writing of the late Dr. Jonathan Swift, D.S.P.D., from whom I have had many letters and printed several pieces from his original MSS. "Dublin, August 21, 1762. George Faulkner.

[b] Dr. Marsh, bishop of Ferns, Dublin and Armagh. He was promoted to the last see in 1702, and died in 1713. He founded a public library in Dublin, and distinguished himself by other acts of munificence

can gather early intelligence without asking it, and often when even those from whom she has it are not sensible that they are giving it to her, but equally with others admire her sagacity. Sir Robert Walpole and she both think they understand each other, and are both equally mistaken.

With persons where she is to manege, she is very dexterous in that point of skill which the French call *tâter le pavé;* with others, she is a very great vindicator of all present proceedings, but in such a manner as if she were under no concern further than her own conviction, and wondering how anybody can think otherwise. And the danger is, that she may come in time to believe herself; which, under a change of princes, and a great addition of credit, might heve bad consequences. She is a most unconscionable dealer; for, in return of a few good words, which she gives to her lords and gentlemen daily waiters before their faces, she gets ten thousand from them behind her back, which are of real service to her character. The credit she has is managed with the utmost thrift: and whenever she employs it, which is very rarely, it is only upon such occasions where she is sure to get much more than she spends. For instance, she would readily press sir Robert Walpole to do some fevour for colonel Churchill, or Doddington; the prince, for a mark of grace to Mr. Shutz; and the princess, to be kind to Mrs. Clayton. She sometimes falls into the general mistake of all courtiers, which is that of not suiting her talents to the ebilities of others, but thinking those she deals with to have less art than they really possess, so that she may possibly be deceived when she thinks she deceives.

In all offices of life, except those of a courtier, she acts with justice, generosity, and truth. She is ready to do good es a private person, and I would almost think in charity that she will not do harm as a courtier, unless to please those in chief power.

In religion she is at least a latitudinarian, being not an enemy to books written by the free-thinkers; and herein she is the more blameable, because she has too much morality to stand in need of them, requiring only a due degree of faith for putting her in the road to salvation. I speak this of her as a private lady, not as a court favourite; for, in the latter capacity, she can show neither faith nor works.

If she had never seen a court, it is not impossible that she might have been a friend.

She abounds in good words, and expressions of good wishes, and will concert a hundred schemes for the service of those whom she would be thought to favour; schemes that sometimes arise from them, and sometimes from herself; although, at the same time, she very well knows them to be without the least probability of succeeding. But, to do her justice, she never feeds or deceives any person with promises, where she does not at the same time intend a degree of sincerity.

She is, upon the whole, an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments, who have nothing to desire or expect.[a]

What part she may act hereafter in a larger sphere, as lady of the bedchamber to a great queen, (upon supposing the death of his present majesty [George I.] and of the earl of Suffolk, to whose title her husband succeeds,) and in high esteem with n king, neither she nor I can foretel. My own opinion is natural and obvious; that her talents as a courtier will spread enlarge, and multiply to such a degree, that her private virtues, for want of room and time to operate, will be laid up clean (like clothes in a chest), to be used and put on, whenever satiety, or some reverse of fortune, or increase of ill health (to which last she is subject) shall dispose her to retire. In the meantime, it will be her wisdom to take care that they may not be tarnished or moth-eaten, for want of airing and turning at least once a-year.

[a] "I wish I could tell you any agreeable news of what your heart is concerned in: but I have a sort of quarrel with Mrs. Howard, for not loving herself so well as she does her friends, for those she makes happy, but not herself. There is a sort of sadness about her, which grieves me, and which I have learned by experience will increase upon an indolent (I will not say an affected) resignation to it. It will close in men, and much more in women, who have a natural softness which sinks them even when reason does not."—Pope, *Letters to a Lady.*

ON THE DEATH OF

MRS. JOHNSON, [Stella.]

This day, being Sunday, January 28, 1727-8, about eight o'clock at night, a servant brought me n note, with an account of the death of the truest, most virtuous, and valuable friend that I, or perhaps any other person, was ever blessed with. She expired about six in the evening of this day; and as soon as I am left alone, which is about eleven at night, I resolve, for my own satisfaction, to say something of her life and character.

She was born at Richmond, in Surrey, on the 13th day of March, in the year 1681. Her father was a younger brother of a good family in Nottinghamshire, her mother of a lower degree; and indeed she had little to boast of her birth. I knew her from six years old, and had some share in her education, by directing what books she should read, and perpetually instructing her in the principles of honour and virtue; from which she never swerved in any one action or moment of her life. She was sickly from her childhood until about the age of fifteen; but then grew into perfect health, and was looked upon as one of the most beautiful, graceful, and agreeable young women in London, only a little too fat. Her hair was blacker than a raven, and every feature of her face in perfection. She lived generally in the country, with a family where she contracted an intimate friendship with another lady of more advanced years. I was then, to my mortification, settled in Ireland; and about a year after, going to visit my friends in England, I found she was a little uneasy upon the death of a person on whom she had some dependence. Her fortune, at that time, was in all not above 1500*l.*, the interest of which was but a scanty maintenance in so dear a country for one of her spirit. Under this consideration, and indeed very much for my own satisfaction, who had few friends or acquaintance in Ireland, I prevailed with her and her dear friend and companion, the other lady, to draw what money they had into Ireland, a great part of their fortune being in annuities upon funds. Money was then ten *per cent.* in Ireland, besides the advantage of returning it, and all necessaries of life at half the price. They complied with my advice, and soon after came over; but I, happening to continue some time longer in England, they were much discouraged to live in Dublin, where they were wholly strangers. She was at that time about nineteen years old, and her person was soon distinguished. But the adventure looked so like a frolic, the censure held for some time, as if there were a secret history in such a removal; which, however, soon blew off by her excellent conduct. She came over with her friend in the year 1700; and they both lived together until this day, when death removed her from us. For some years past, she had been visited with continual ill health; and several times, within these last two years, her life was despaired of. But, for this twelvemonth past, she never had a day's health; and, properly speaking, she has been dying six months, but kept alive, almost against na-

ture, by the generous kindness of two physicians, and the care of her friends. Thus far I writ the same night between eleven and twelve.

Never was any of her sex born with better gifts of the mind, or who more improved them by reading and conversation. Yet her memory was not of the best, and was impaired in the latter years of her life. But I cannot call to mind that I ever once heard her make a wrong judgment of persons, books, or affairs. Her advice was always the best, and with the greatest freedom, mixed with the greatest decency. She had a gracefulness, somewhat more than human, in every motion, word, and action. Never was so happy a conjunction of civility, freedom, easiness, and sincerity. There seemed to be a combination among all that knew her, to treat her with a dignity much beyond her rank; yet people of all sorts were never more easy than in her company. Mr. Addison, when he was in Ireland, being introduced to her, immediately found her out; and, if he had not soon after left the kingdom, assured me he would have used all endeavours to cultivate her friendship. A rude or conceited coxcomb passed his time very ill, upon the least breach of respect; for, in such a case, she had no mercy, but was sure to expose him to the contempt of the standers-by, yet in such a manner as he was ashamed to complain, and durst not resent. All of us who had the happiness of her friendship agreed unanimously, that, in an afternoon or evening's conversation, she never failed, before we parted, of delivering the best thing that was said in the company. Some of us have written down several of her sayings, or what the French call *bons mots*, wherein she excelled beyond belief. She never mistook the understanding of others; nor ever said a severe word, but where a much severer was deserved.

Her servants loved, and almost adored her at the same time. She would, upon occasions, treat them with freedom; yet her demeanour was so awful, that they durst not fail in the least point of respect. She chid them seldom, but it was with severity, which had an effect upon them for a long time after.

January 29. My head aches, and I can write no more.

January 30. Tuesday.

This is the night of the funeral, which my sickness will not suffer me to attend. It is now nine at night; and I am removed into another apartment, that I may not see the light in the church, which is just over against the window of my bed-chamber.

With all the softness of temper that became a lady, she had the personal courage of a hero. She and her friend having removed their lodgings to a new house, which stood solitary, a parcel of rogues, armed, attempted the house, where there was only one boy. She was then about four-and-twenty; and having been warned to apprehend some such attempt, she learned the management of a pistol; and the other women and servants being half dead with fear, she stole softly to her dining-room window, put on a black hood to prevent being seen, primed the pistol fresh, gently lifted up the sash, and taking her aim with the utmost presence of mind, discharged the pistol, loaden with bullets, into the body of one villain, who stood the fairest mark. The fellow, mortally wounded, was carried off by the rest, and died the next morning; but his companions could not be found. The duke of Ormond had often drunk her health to me upon that account, and had always a high esteem for her. She was, indeed, under some apprehensions of going in a boat, after some danger she had narrowly escaped by water, but she was reasoned thoroughly out of it. She was never known to cry out, or discover any fear, in a coach or on horseback; or any uneasiness by those sudden accidents with which most of her sex, either by weakness or affectation, appear so much disordered.

She never had the least absence of mind in conversation, or given to interruption, or appeared eager to put in her word, by waiting impatiently until another had done. She spoke in a most agreeable voice, in the plainest words, never hesitating, except out of modesty before new faces, where she was somewhat reserved; nor, among her nearest friends, ever spoke much at a time. She was but little versed in the common topics of female chat: scandal, censure, and detraction never came out of her mouth; yet, among a few friends, in private conversation, she made little ceremony in discovering her contempt of a coxcomb, and describing all his follies to the life; but the follies of her own sex she was rather inclined to extenuate or to pity.

When she was once convinced, by open facts, of any breach of truth or honour in a person of high station, especially in the church, she could not conceal her indignation, nor bear them named without showing her displeasure in her countenance; particularly one or two of the latter sort, whom she had known and esteemed, but detested above all mankind, when it was manifest that they had sacrificed those two precious virtues to their ambition, and would much sooner have forgiven them the common immoralities of the laity.

Her frequent fits of sickness, in most parts of her life, had prevented her from making that progress in reading which she would otherwise have done. She was well versed in the Greek and Roman story, and was not unskilled in that of France and England. She spoke French perfectly, but forgot much of it by neglect and sickness. She had read carefully all the best books of travels, which serve to open and enlarge the mind. She understood the Platonic and Epicurean philosophy, and judged very well of the defects of the latter. She made very judicious abstracts of the best books she had read. She understood the nature of government, and could point out all the errors of Hobbes, both in that and religion. She had a good insight into physic, and knew somewhat of anatomy; in both which she was instructed in her younger days by an eminent physician, who had her long under his care, and bore the highest esteem for her person and understanding. She had a true taste of wit and good sense, both in poetry and prose, and was a perfect good critic of style; neither was it easy to find a more proper or impartial judge, whose advice an author might better rely on, if he intended to send a thing into the world, provided it was on a subject that came within the compass of her knowledge. Yet, perhaps, she was sometimes too severe, which is a safe and pardonable error. She preserved her wit, judgment, and vivacity to the last, but often used to complain of her memory.

Her fortune, with some accession, could not, as I have heard say, amount to much more than 2000*l.*, whereof a great part fell with her life, having been placed upon annuities in England, and one in Ireland.

In a person so extraordinary, perhaps it may be pardonable to mention some particulars, although of little moment, further than to set forth her character. Some presents of gold pieces being often made to her while she was a girl, by her mother and other friends, on promise to keep them, she grew into such a spirit of thrift that, in about three years, they amounted to above 200*l.* She used to show them with boasting; but her mother, apprehending she would be cheated of them, prevailed, in some months, and with great importunities, to have them put out to interest; when the girl, losing the pleasure of seeing and counting her gold, which she never failed of doing many times in a

day, and despairing of heaping up such another treasure, her humour took quite the contrary turn; she grew careless and squandering of every new acquisition, and so continued till about two-and-twenty; when, by advice of some friends, and the fright of paying large bills of tradesmen who enticed her into their debt, she began to reflect upon her own folly, and was never at rest until she had discharged all her shop-bills, and refunded herself a considerable sum she had run out. After which, by the addition of a few years, and a superior understanding, she became, and continued all her life, a most prudent economist; yet still with a stronger bent to the liberal side, wherein she gratified herself by avoiding all expense in clothes (which she ever despised) beyond what was merely decent. And, although her frequent returns of sickness were very chargeable, except fees to physicians, of which she met with several so generous, that she could force nothing on them (and indeed she must otherwise have been undone,) yet she never was without a considerable sum of ready money. Insomuch, that upon her death, when her nearest friends thought her very bare, her executors found in her strong box about 150*l.* in gold. She lamented the narrowness of her fortune in nothing so much as that it did not enable her to entertain her friends so often and in so hospitable a manner as she desired. Yet they were always welcome; and while she was in health to direct, were treated with neatness and elegance, so that the revenues of her and her companion passed for much more considerable than they really were. They lived always in lodgings; their domestics consisted of two maids and one man. She kept an account of all the family expenses, from her arrival in Ireland to some months before her death; and she would often repine, when looking back upon the annals of her household bills, that everything necessary for life was double the price, while interest of money was sunk almost to one half; so that the addition made to her fortune was indeed grown absolutely necessary.

[I since writ as I found time.]

But her charity to the poor was a duty not to be diminished, and therefore became a tax upon those tradesmen who furnish the fopperies of other ladies. She bought clothes as seldom as possible, and those as plain and cheap as consisted with the situation she was in; and wore no lace for many years. Either her judgment or fortune was extraordinary in the choice of those on whom she bestowed her charity, for it went further in doing good than double the sum from any other hand. And I have heard her say, "she always met with gratitude from the poor;" which must be owing to her skill in distinguishing proper objects, as well as her gracious manner in relieving them.

But she had another quality that much delighted her, although it might be thought a kind of check upon her bounty; however, it was a pleasure she could not resist: I mean that of making agreeable presents; wherein I never knew her equal, although it be an affair of as delicate a nature as most in the course of life. She used to define a present, "That it was a gift to a friend of something he wanted, or was fond of, and which could not be easily gotten for money." I am confident, during my acquaintance with her, she has, in these and some other kinds of liberality, disposed of to the value of several hundred pounds. As to presents made to herself, she received them with great unwillingness, but especially from those to whom she had ever given any; being, on all occasions, the most disinterested mortal I ever knew or heard of.

From her own disposition, at least as much as from the frequent want of health, she seldom made any visits; but her own lodgings, from before twenty years old, were frequented by many persons of the graver sort, who all respected her highly, upon her good sense, good manners, and conversation. Among these were the late primate Lindsay, bishop Lloyd, bishop Ashe, bishop Brown, bishop Sterne, bishop Pulleyn, with some others of later date; and indeed the greatest number of her acquaintance was among the clergy. Honour, truth, liberality, good nature, and modesty, were the virtues she chiefly possessed, and most valued in her acquaintance: and where she found them, would be ready to allow for some defects; nor valued them less although they did not shine in learning or in wit; but would never give the least allowance for any failures in the former, even to those who made the greatest figure in either of the two latter. She had no use of any person's liberality, yet her detestation of covetous people made her uneasy if such a one was in her company; upon which occasion she would say many things very entertaining and humorous.

She never interrupted any person who spoke; she laughed at no mistakes they made, but helped them out with modesty; and if a good thing were spoken, but neglected, she would not let it fall, but set it in the best light to those who were present. She listened to all that was said, and had never the least distraction or absence of thought.

It was not safe, nor prudent, in her presence, to offend in the least word against modesty; for she then gave full employment to her wit, her contempt, and resentment, under which even stupidity and brutality were forced to sink into confusion; and the guilty person, by her future avoiding him like a bear or a satyr, was never in a way to transgress a second time.

It happened, one single coxcomb, of the pert kind, was in her company, among several other ladies; and in his flippant way, began to deliver some double meanings; the rest flapped their fans, and used the other common expedients practised in such cases, of appearing not to mind or comprehend what was said. Her behaviour was very different, and perhaps may be censured. She said thus to the man; "Sir, all these ladies and I understand your meaning very well, having, in spite of our care, too often met with those of your sex who wanted manners and good sense. But, believe me, neither virtuous nor even vicious women love such kind of conversation. However, I will leave you, and report your behaviour; and whatever visit I make, I shall first inquire at the door whether you are in the house, that I may be sure to avoid you." I know not whether a majority of ladies would approve of such a proceeding; but I believe the practice of it would soon put an end to that corrupt conversation, the worst effect of dulness, ignorance, impudence, and vulgarity; and the highest affront to the modesty and understanding of the female sex.

By returning very few visits, she had not much company of her own sex, except those whom she most loved for their easiness, or esteemed for their good sense: and those, not insisting on ceremony, came often to her. But she rather chose men for her companions, the usual topics of ladies' discourse being such as she had little knowledge of, and less relish. Yet no man was upon the rack to entertain her, for she easily descended to anything that was innocent and diverting. News, politics, censure, family management, or town-talk, she always diverted to something else; but these indeed seldom happened, for she chose her company better: and therefore many, who mistook her and themselves, having solicited her acquaintance, and finding themselves disappointed, after a few visits dropped off; and she was never known to inquire into the reason, nor ask what was become of them.

She was never positive in arguing; and she usually treated those who were so in a manner which well

enough gratified that unhappy disposition; yet in such a sort as made it very contemptible, and at the same time did some hurt to the owners. Whether this proceeded from her easiness in general, or from her indifference to persons, or from her despair of mending them, or from the same practice which she much liked in Mr. Addison, I cannot determine; but when she saw any of the company very warm in a wrong opinion, she was more inclined to confirm them in it than oppose them. The excuse she commonly gave, when her friends asked the reason, was, "That it prevented noise, and saved time." Yet I have known her very angry with some, whom she much esteemed, for sometimes falling into that infirmity.

She loved Ireland much better than the generality of those who owe both their birth and riches to it; and having brought over all the fortune she had in money, left the reversion of the best part of it, 1000*l.*, to Dr. Stephen's Hospital. She detested the tyranny and injustice of England in their treatment of this kingdom. She had indeed reason to love a country where she had the esteem and friendship of all who knew her, and the universal good report of all who ever heard of her, without one exception, if I am told the truth by those who keep general conversation. Which character is the more extraordinary in falling to a person of so much knowledge, wit, and vivacity, qualities that are used to create envy, and consequently censure; and must be rather imputed to her great modesty, gentle behaviour, and inoffensiveness, than to her superior virtues.

Although her knowledge, from books and company, was much more extensive than usually falls to the share of her sex, yet she was so far from making a parade of it, that her female visitants, on their first acquaintance, who expected to discover it by what they call hard words and deep discourse, would be sometimes disappointed, and say, "They found she was like other women." But wise men, through all her modesty, whatever they discoursed on, could easily observe that she understood them very well, by the judgment shown in her observations, as well as in her questions.

BONS MOTS DE STELLA.

A LADY of my intimate acquaintance, both in England and Ireland, in which last kingdom she lived from the 18th year of her age, twenty-six years, had the most and finest accomplishments of any person I ever knew of either sex. It was observed by all her acquaintance, that she never failed in company to say the best thing that was said, whoever was by, yet her companions were usually persons of the best understanding in the kingdom. Some of us, who were her nearest friends, lamented that we never wrote down her remarks, and what the French call bons mots. I will recollect as many as I can remember.

We were diverting ourselves at a play called "What is it like?" One person is to think, and the rest, without knowing the thing, to say what it is like. The thing thought on was the spleen; she had said it was like an oyster, and gave her reason immediately, because it is removed by taking steel inwardly.

Dr. Sheridan, who squandered more than he could afford, took out his purse as he sat by the fire, and found it was very hot; she said the reason was, that his money burned in his pocket.

She called to her servants to know what ill smell was in the kitchen; they answered, they were making matches: Well, said she, I have heard matches were made in heaven, but by the brimstone one would think they were made in hell

After she had been eating some sweet thing, a little of it happened to stick on her lips: a gentleman told her of it, and offered to lick it off: she said, No, sir, I thank you, I have a tongue of my own.

In the late king's time, a gentleman asked Jervas, the painter, where he lived in London? He answered next door to the king, for his house was near St. James's. The other wondering how that could be; she said, you mistake Mr. Jervas, for he only means next door to the sign of a king.

A gentleman who had been very silly and pert in her company, at last began to grieve at remembering the loss of a child lately dead. A bishop sitting by comforted him; that he should be easy because the child was gone to heaven. No, my lord, said she, that is it which most grieves him, because he is sure never to see his child there.

Having seen some letters writ by a king in a very large hand, and some persons wondering at them, she said it confirmed the old saying, That kings had long hands.

Dr. Sheridan, famous for punning, intending to sell a bargain, said, he had made a very good pun. Somebody asked, what it was? He answered, My a—. The other taking offence, she insisted the doctor was in the right, for everybody knew that punning was his blind side.

When she was extremely ill, her physician said, Madam, you are near the bottom of the hill, but we will endeavour to get you up again. She answered, Doctor, I fear I shall be out of breath before I get up to the top.

A dull parson talking of a very smart thing, said to another parson as he came out of the pulpit, he was hammering a long time, but could not remember the jest; she being impatient said, I remember it very well, for I was there, and the words were these; Sir, you have been blundering at a story this half hour, and can neither make head nor tail of it.

A very dirty clergyman of her acquaintance, who affected smartness and repartees, was asked by some of the company how his nails came to be so dirty: he was at a loss, but she solved the difficulty, by saying, The Doctor's nails grew dirty by scratching himself.

A quaker apothecary sent her a vial corked? it had a broad brim, and a label of paper about its neck. "What is that?" said she; "my apothecary's son?" The ridiculous resemblance, and the suddenness of the question, set us all a-laughing.

THREE PRAYERS

USED BY THE DEAN FOR MRS. JOHNSON, IN HER LAST SICKNESS, 1727.

I.

ALMIGHTY and most gracious Lord God, extend, we beseech thee, thy pity and compassion toward this thy languishing servant; teach her to place her hope and confidence entirely in thee: give her a true sense of the emptiness and vanity of all earthly things: make her truly sensible of all the infirmities of her life past; and grant to her such a true sincere repentance as is not to be repented of. Preserve her, O Lord, in a sound mind and understanding, during this thy visitation; keep her from both the sad extremes of presumption and despair. If thou shalt please to restore her to her former health, give her grace to be ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep those good resolutions she now makes in her sickness; so that no length of time nor prosperity may entice her to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes distract her mind, and prevent the means toward her recovery, or disturb her in her preparations for a better life. We beseech thee also, O Lord, of thy infinite goodness, to remember

the good actions of this thy servant; that the naked she hath clothed, the hungry she hath fed, the sick and the fatherless whom she hath relieved may be reckoned, according to thy gracious promise, as if they had been done unto thee.—Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy servant in her behalf, and especially those now made by us unto thee. Give thy blessing to those endeavours used for her recovery; but take from her all violent desire either of life or death, further than with resignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour toward us here met together. Grant that the sense of this thy servant's weakness may add strength to our faith, that we, considering the infirmities of our nature and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance, before it shall please thee to visit us in the like manner. Accept these prayers, we beseech thee, for the sake of thy dear son Jesus Christ, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, ever one God world without end. Amen.

II.

Most merciful Father, accept our humblest prayers in behalf of this thy languishing servant: forgive the sins, the frailties, and infirmities of her life past. Accept the good deeds she hath done in such a manner, that at whatever time thou shalt please to call her, she may be received into everlasting habitations. Give her grace to continue sincerely thankful to thee for the many favours thou hast bestowed upon her, the ability and inclination and practice to do good, and those virtues, which have procured the esteem and love of her friends, and a most unspotted name in the world. O God, thou dispensest thy blessings and thy punishments as it becometh infinite justice and mercy; and since it was thy pleasure to afflict her with a long, constant, weakly state of health, make her truly sensible that it was for very wise ends, and was largely made up to her in other blessings more valuable and less common. Continue to her, O Lord, that firmness and constancy of mind wherewith thou hast most graciously endowed her, together with that contempt of worldly things and vanities that she hath shown in the whole conduct of her life. O all-powerful Being, the least motion of whose will can create or destroy a world; pity us, the mournful friends of thy distressed servant, who sink under the weight of her present condition, and the fear of losing the most valuable of our friends: restore her to us, O Lord, if it be thy gracious will, or inspire us with constancy and resignation to support ourselves under so heavy an affliction. Restore her, O Lord, for the sake of those poor, who by losing her will be desolate: and those sick, who will not only want her bounty, but her care and tending; else, in thy mercy, raise up some other in her place, with equal disposition and better abilities. Lessen, O Lord, we beseech thee, her bodily pains, or give her a double strength of mind to support them. And if thou wilt soon take her to thyself, turn our thoughts rather upon that felicity, which we hope she shall enjoy than upon that unspeakable loss we shall endure. Let her memory be ever dear unto us, and the example of her many virtues, as far as human infirmity will admit, our constant imitation. Accept, O Lord, these prayers, poured from the very bottom of our hearts, in thy mercy, and for the merits of our blessed Saviour. Amen.

III.

O merciful Father, who never afflictest thy children, but for their own good, and with justice, over which thy mercy always prevaileth, either to turn them to repentance, or to punish them in the present life, in order to reward them in a better; take pity, we beseech thee, upon this thy poor afflicted servant, languishing so long and so grievously under the weight of thy hand. Give her strength, O Lord, to support her weakness; and patience to endure her pains, without repining at thy correction. Forgive every rash and inconsiderate expression which her anguish may at any time force from her tongue, while her heart continueth in an entire submission to thy will. Suppress in her, O Lord, all eager desires of life, and lessen her fears of death, by inspiring into her an humble, yet assured hope of thy mercy. Give her a sincere repentance for all her transgressions and omissions, and a firm resolution to pass the remainder of her life in endeavouring to her utmost to observe all thy precepts. We beseech thee likewise to compose her thoughts, and preserve to her the use of her memory and reason during the course of her sickness. Give her a true conception of the vanity, folly, and insignificancy of all human things; and strengthen her so as to beget in her a sincere love of thee in the midst of her sufferings. Accept and impute all her good deeds, and forgive her all those offences against thee which she hath sincerely repented of, or through the failure of memory hath forgot. And now, O Lord, we turn unto thee, in behalf of ourselves, and the rest of our sorrowful friends. Let not our grief afflict her mind, and thereby have an ill effect on her present distemper. Forgive the sorrow and weakness of those among us, who sink under the grief and terror of losing so dear and useful a friend. Accept and pardon our most earnest prayers and wishes for her longer continuance in this evil world, to do what thou art pleased to call thy service, and is only her bounden duty; that she may be still a comfort to us, and to all others who will want the benefit of conversation, her advice, her good offices, or her charity. And since thou hast promised, that weher two or three are gathered together in thy name, thou wilt be in the midst of them, to grant their requests; O gracious Lord, grant to us who are here met in thy name, that those requests, which in the utmost sincerity and earnestness of our hearts we have now made in behalf of this thy distressed servant, and of ourselves, may be effectually answered through the merits of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

CHARACTER OF DR. SHERIDAN.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1738.

Doctor Thomas Sheridan died at Rathfarnham, the 10th of October, 1738, at three of the clock in the afternoon: his diseases were a dropsy and asthma. He was doubtless the best instructor of youth in these kingdoms, or, perhaps, in Europe; and as great a master of the Greek and Roman languages. He had a very fruitful invention, and a talent for poetry. His English verses were full of wit and humour, but neither his prose nor verse sufficiently correct: however, he would readily submit to any friend who had a true taste in prose or verse. He has left behind him a very great collection, in several volumes, of stories, humorous, witty, wise, or some way useful, gathered from a vast number of Greek, Roman, Italian, Spanish, French, and English writers. I believe I may have seen about thirty, large enough to make as many moderate books in octavo. But among these extracts, there were many not worth regard; for five or six, at least, were of little use or entertainment. He was (as it is frequently the case in men of wit and learning) what the French call a *dupe*, and in a very high degree. The greatest dunce of a tradesman could impose upon him, for he was altogether ignorant in worldly management. His chief shining quality was that of a

schoolmaster: here he shone in his proper element. He had so much skill and practice in the physiognomy of boys, that he rarely mistook at the first view. His scholars loved and feared him. He often rather chose to shame the stupid, but punish the idle, and expose them to all the lads, which was more severe than lashing. Among the gentlemen in this kingdom who have any share of education, the scholars of Dr. Sheridan infinitely excel, in number and knowledge, all their brethren sent from other schools.

To look on the doctor in some other lights, he was in many things very indiscreet, to say no worse. He acted like too many clergymen, who are in haste to get married when very young; and from hence proceeded all the miseries of his life. The portion he got proved to be just the reverse of 500*l.*, for he was poorer by a thousand: so many incumbrances of a mother-in-law, and poor relations, whom he was forced to support for many years. Instead of breeding up his daughters to housewifery and plain clothes, he got them, at a great expense, to be clad like ladies who had plentiful fortunes; made them only learn to sing and dance, to draw and design, to give them rich silks and other fopperies; and his two eldest were married, without his consent, to young lads who had nothing to settle on them. However, he had one son, whom the doctor sent to Westminster school, although he could ill afford it. The boy was there immediately taken notice of, upon examination: although a mere stranger, he was, by pure merit, elected a king's scholar. It is true, their maintenance falls something short: the doctor was then so poor, that he could not add fourteen pounds to enable the boy to finish the year; which if he had done, he would have been removed to a higher class, and, in another year, would have been *sped off* (that is the phrase) to a fellowship in Oxford or Cambridge: but the doctor was forced to recall him to Dublin, and had friends in our university to send him there, where he has been chosen of the foundation; and I think has gotten an exhibition, and designs to stand for a fellowship.[a]

The doctor had a good church living, in the south parts of Ireland, given him by lord Carteret; who, being very learned himself, encourages it in others. A friend of the doctor's prevailed on his excellency to grant it. The living was well worth 150*l.* per annum. He changed it very soon for that of Dunboyn; which, by the knavery of the farmers, and power of the gentlemen, fell so very low that he could never get 80*l.* He then changed that living for the free-school of Cavan, where he might have lived well in so cheap a country on 80*l.* salary per annum, besides his scholars; but the air, he said, was too moist and unwholesome, and he could not bear the company of some persons in that neighbourhood. Upon this he sold the school for about 400*l.*, spent the money, grew into disease, and died.

It would be very honourable, as well as just, in those many persons of quality and fortune who had the advantage of being educated under Dr. Sheridan, if they would please to erect some decent monument over his body, in the church where it is deposited.

THE HISTORY OF THE SECOND SOLOMON. [Dr. Sheridan.] 1729.

After the affectionate manner to which the dean had treated the memory of Dr. Sheridan in the preceding character, there can be no need of any apology for the *jeu d'esprit* here preserved. It was originally published in 1775, by dean Swift.

He became acquainted with a person distinguished for poetical and other writings, and in an eminent station, who treated him with great kindness on all occasions, and he became familiar in this person's house. [Dean Swift.] In three months' time, Solomon, without the least provocation, writ a long poem, describing that person's muse to be dead, and making a funeral solemnity with asses, owls, &c., and gave the copy among all his acquaintance.

Solomon became acquainted with a most deserving lady, an intimate friend of the above person [Stella], who entertained him also as she would a brother; and, upon giving him a little good advice in the most decent manner, with relation to his wife, he told her, "She was like other women, as bad as she was; and that they were all alike."

Solomon has no ill design upon any person but himself, and he is the greatest deceiver of himself on all occasions.

His thoughts are sudden, and the most unreasonable always comes uppermost; and he constantly resolves and acts upon his first thoughts, and then asks advice, but never once before.

The person above mentioned, whom he lampooned in three months after their acquaintance, procured him a good preferment from the lord-lieutenant [lord Carteret]: upon going down to take possession, Solomon preached, at Cork, a sermon on king George's birth-day, on this text, "Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." Solomon having been famous for a high Tory, and suspected as a Jacobite, it was a most difficult thing to get anything for him: but that person, being an old friend of lord Carteret, prevailed against all Solomon's enemies, and got him made likewise one of his excellency's chaplains. But, upon this sermon, he was struck out of the list, and forbid the castle, until that same person brought him again to the lieutenant, and made them friends.

A fancy sprung in Solomon's head, that a house near Dublin would be commodious for him and his boarders to lodge in on Saturdays and Sundays; immediately, without consulting with any creature, he takes a lease of a rotten house at Rathfarnham, the worst air in Ireland, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at twelve pounds a-year; the land, which was only a strip of ground, not being worth twenty shillings a-year. When the same person whom he lampooned heard the thing, he begged Solomon to get a clause to surrender, and at last prevailed to have it done after twenty-one years; because it was a madness to pay eleven pounds a-year, for a thousand years, for a house that could not last twenty. But Solomon made an agreement with his landlady, that he should be at liberty to surrender his lease in seven years; and if he did not do it at that time, should be obliged to keep it for nine hundred and ninety-nine years. In the mean time, he expends about one hundred pounds on the house and garden-wall; and in less than three years, contracts such a hatred to the house, that he lets it run to ruin: so that, when the seven years were expired, he must either take it for the remainder of the nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or be sued for waste, and lose all the money he laid out: and now he pays twelve pounds a-year for a place he never sees.

Solomon has an estate of about 35*l.* per annum, in the county of Cavan; upon which, instead of ever receiving one penny rent, he hath expended above thirty pounds per annum in buildings and plantations, which are all gone to ruin.

Solomon is under-tenant to a bishop's lease; he is bound by articles to his lordship to renew and pay a fine whenever the bishop renews with his landlord, and to raise his rent as the landlord shall raise it to the

[a] Thomas Sheridan, an actor of celebrity, who also distinguished himself by Lectures on Elocution, and an excellent life of Swift. He was the father of the celebrated and highly-gifted Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

bishop. Seven years expire: Solomon's landlord demands a fine, which he readily pays; then asks for a lease: the landlord says, "He may have it at any time." He never gets it. Another seven years elapse: Solomon's landlord demands another fine, and an additional rent: Solomon pays both, asks to have his lease renewed: the steward answers, "He will speak to his master." Seventeen years have elapsed; the landlord sends Solomon word, "That his lease is forfeited, because he hath not renewed and paid his fines according to articles;" and now they are at law upon this admirable case.

It is Solomon's great happiness, that, when he acts in the common concerns of life against common sense and reason, he values himself thereupon, as if it were the mark of great genius, above little regards or arts, and that his thoughts are too exalted to descend into the knowledge of vulgar management; and you cannot make him a greater compliment than by telling instances to the company, before his face, how careless he was in any affair that related to his interest and fortune.

He is extremely proud and captious, apt to resent as an affront and indignity what was never intended for either.

He is allured as easily by every new acquaintance, especially among women, as a child is by a new plaything; and is led at will by them to suspect and quarrel with his best friends, of whom he hath lost the greatest part, for want of that indulgence which they ought to allow for his failings.

He is a generous, honest, good-natured man; but his perpetual want of judgment and discretion makes him act as if he were neither generous, honest, nor good-natured.

The person above-mentioned, whom he lampooned, and to whom he owes preferment, being in the country and out of order, Solomon had appointed to come for him with a chaise, and bring him to town. Solomon sent him word that he was to set out on Monday, and did accordingly, but to another part of the kingdom, thirty miles wide of the place appointed, in compliment to a lady who was going that way; there stayed with her and her family a month; then sent the chaise, in the midst of winter, to bring the said person where Solomon would meet him, declaring he could not venture himself for fear of the frost: and upon the said person's refusing to go in the chaise alone, or to trust to Solomon's appointment, and being in ill health, Solomon fell into a formal quarrel with that person, and foully misrepresented the whole affair, to justify himself.

Solomon had published a humorous ballad, called "Ballyspellin," whither he had gone to drink the waters, with a new favourite lady. The ballad was in the manner of Mr. Gay's on Molly Mogg, pretending to contain all the rhymes of Ballyspellin. His friend, the person so often mentioned, being at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, and merry over Solomon's ballad, they agreed to make another, in dispraise of Ballyspellin Wells, which Solomon had celebrated, and with all new rhymes not made use of in Solomon's. The thing was done, and all in a mere jest and innocent merriment. Yet Solomon was prevailed upon by the lady he went with, to resent this as an affront on her and himself; which he did accordingly, against all the rules of reason, taste, good-nature, judgment, gratitude, or common manners.

He will invite six or more people of condition to dine with him on a certain day, some of them living five or six miles from town. On the day appointed, he will be absent, and know nothing of the matter, and they all go back disappointed: when he is told of this, he is pleased because it shows him to be a genius and a man of learning.

Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and Jacobite, upon the present queen's birth-day he writ a song, to be performed before the government and those who attended them, in praise of the queen and king, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of England, and all other virtues, wherein the king and the royal children were sharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics. A young collegian who had done the same job the year before, got some reputation on account of his wit. Solomon would needs vie with him, by which he lost all the esteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the least interest with the Whigs; for they are now too strong to want advocates of that kind; and therefore one of the lords justices, reading the verses in some company, said, "Ah, doctor! this shall not do." His name was at length in the title-page; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living soul, as he himself confesseth.

His full conviction of having acted wrong in an hundred instances, leaves him as positive in the next instance, as if he had never been mistaken in his life; and if you go to him the next day, and find him convinced in the last, he hath another instance ready, wherein he is as positive as he was the day before.

A SERIOUS AND USEFUL SCHEME

TO MAKE AN

HOSPITAL FOR INCURABLES;

OF UNIVERSAL BENEFIT TO ALL HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS.

Humbly addressed to the right honourable Lord * * *, the right honourable sir * * *, and to the right honourable * * *.

Fœcunda culpæ secula.—Hor.

There is not anything which contributes more to the reputation of particular persons, or to the honour of a nation in general, than erecting and endowing proper edifices for the reception of those who labour under different kinds of distress. The diseased and unfortunate are thereby delivered from the misery of wanting assistance, and others are delivered from the misery of beholding them.

It is certain that the genius of the people of England is strongly turned to public charities, and to so noble a degree, that almost in every part of this great and opulent city, and also in many of the adjacent villages, we meet with a great variety of hospitals, supported by the generous contributions of private families, as well as by the liberality of the public. Some for seamen worn out in the services of their country, and others for infirm disabled soldiers; some for the maintenance of tradesmen decayed, and others for their widows and orphans; some for the service of those who linger under tedious distempers, and others for such as are deprived of their reason.

But I find, upon nice inspection, that there is one kind of charity almost totally disregarded, which, nevertheless, appears to me of so excellent a nature, as to be at present more wanted and better calculated for the ease, quietness, and felicity of this whole kingdom than any other can possibly be: I mean an hospital for incurables.

I must indeed confess, that an endowment of this nature would prove a very large and perpetual expense. However, I have not the least diffidence that I shall be able effectually to convince the world that my present scheme for such an hospital is very practicable, and must be very desirable by every one who hath the interest of his country, or his fellow-creatures, really at heart.

It is observable, that although the bodies of human creatures be affected with an infinite variety of disorders, which elude the power of medicine, and are often found

to be incurable, yet their minds are also overrun with an equal variety, which no skill, no power, no medicine, can alter or amend. And I think that, out of regard to the public peace and emolument, as well as the repose of many pious and valuable families, this latter species of incurables ought principally to engage our attention and beneficence.

I believe an hospital for such incurables will be universally allowed necessary, if we only consider what numbers there are of incurable fools, incurable knaves, incurable scolds, incurable scribblers, (besides myself,) incurable coxcombs, incurable infidels, incurable liars, incurable whores, in all places of public resort;—not to mention the incurably vain, incurably envious, incurably proud, incurably affected, incurably impertinent, and 10,000 other incurables which I must of necessity pass over in silence, lest I should swell this essay into a volume. And, without doubt, every unprejudiced person will agree that, out of mere Christian charity, the public ought to be eased as much as possible of this troublesome and intolerable variety of incurables.

And, first, Under the denomination of incurable fools, we may reasonably expect that such an hospital would be furnished with considerable numbers of the growth of our own universities, who at present appear in various professions in the world, under the venerable titles of physicians, barristers, and ecclesiastics.

And as those ancient seminaries have been for some years past accounted little better than nurseries of such sort of incurables, it should seem highly commendable to make some kind of provision for them, because it is more than probable that, if they are to be supported by their own particular merit in their several callings, they must necessarily acquire but a very indifferent maintenance.

I would not willingly be here suspected to cast reflections on any order of men, as if I thought that small gains from the profession of any art or science, were always an undoubted sign of an equally small degree of understanding; for I profess myself to be somewhat inclined to a very opposite opinion, having frequently observed that, at the bar, the pulse, and the pulpit, those who have the least learning or sense to plead meet generally with the largest share of promotions and profit: of which many instances might be produced; but the public seems to want no conviction in this particular.

Under the same denominations we may further expect a large and ridiculous quantity of old rich widows, whose eager and impatient appetites inflame them with extravagant passions for fellows of a very different age and complexion from themselves, who purchase contempt and aversion with good jointures, and being loaded with years, infirmities, and probably ill-humour, are forced to bribe into their embraces such whose fortunes and characters are equally desperate.

Besides, our collection of incurable fools would receive an incredible addition from every one of the following articles:—

From young extravagant heirs, who are just of a competent age to become the bubbles of jockeys, sportsmen, gamesters, bullies, sharpers, courtezans, and such sort of honourable pickpockets.

From misers, who half starve themselves to feed the prodigality of their heirs, and who proclaim to the world how unworthy they are of possessing estates by the wretched and ridiculous methods they take to enjoy them.

From contentious people of all conditions, who are content to waste the greatest part of their own fortunes at law, to be the instruments of impoverishing others.

From those who have any confidence in profession of friendship, before trial, or any dependence on the fidelity of a mistress.

From young illiterate squires, who travel abroad to import lewdness, conceit, arrogance, vanity, and foppery, of which commodities there seems to be so great an abundance at home.

From young clergymen who contrive, by matrimony, to acquire a family before they have obtained the necessary means to maintain one.

From those who have considerable estates in different kingdoms, and yet are so incurably stupid as to spend their whole incomes in this.

These and several other articles which might be mentioned, would afford us a perpetual opportunity of easing the public, by having an hospital for the accommodation of such incurables; who at present, either by the over-fondness of near relations, or the indolence of the magistrates, are permitted to walk abroad, and appear in the most crowded places of this city, as if they were indeed reasonable creatures.

I had almost forgot to hint, that, under this article, there is a modest probability that many of the clergy would be found properly qualified for admittance into the hospital, who might serve in the capacity of chaplains, and save the unnecessary expense of salaries.

To these fools, in order succeed such as may justly be included under the extensive denomination of incurable knaves; of which our several inns of court would constantly afford us abundant supplies.

I think, indeed, that, of this species of incurables, there ought to be a certain limited number annually admitted, which number, neither any regard to the quiet or benefit of the nation, nor any other charitable or public-spirited reason, should tempt us to exceed; because, if all were to be admitted on such a foundation, who might be reputed in incurable of this distemper; and if it were possible for the public to find any place large enough for their reception, I have not the least doubt that all our inns, which are at this day so crowded, would in a short time be emptied of their inhabitants, and the law, that beneficial craft, want hands to conduct it.

I tremble to think what herds of attorneys, solicitors, pettifoggers, scriveners, usurers, hackney-clerks, pickpockets, pawnbrokers, jailors, and justices of the peace would hourly be driven to such an hospital; and what disturbance it might also create in several noble and wealthy families.

What unexpected distress might it prove to several men of fortune and quality to be suddenly deprived of their rich stewards, in whom they had for many years reposed the utmost confidence, and to find them irrecoverably lodged among such a collection of incurables!

How many orphans might then expect to see their guardians hurried away to the hospital; and how many greedy executors find reason to lament the want of opportunity to pillage!

Would not Exchange Alley have cause to mourn for the loss of its stock-jobbers and brokers; and the Charitable Corporation for the confinement of many of its directors?

Might not Westminster-hall, as well as all the gaming-houses in this great city, be entirely unpeopled; and the professors of art in each of those assemblies become useless in their vocations, by being deprived of all future opportunity to be dishonest?

In short, it might put the whole kingdom into confusion and disorder; and we should find that the entire revenues of this nation would be scarce able to

support so great a number of incurables, in this way, as would appear qualified for admission into our hospital.

For if we only consider how this kingdom swarms with quadrille-tables, and gaming-houses, both public and private, and also how each of those houses, as well as Westminster-hall aforesaid, swarms with knaves who are anxious to win, or fools who have anything to lose, we may be soon convinced how necessary it will be to limit the number of incurables, comprehended under these titles, lest the foundation should prove insufficient to maintain any others besides them.

However, if by this scheme of mine the nation can be eased of 20,000 or 30,000 such incurables, I think it ought to be esteemed somewhat beneficial, and worthy of the attention of the public.

The next sort for whom I would gladly provide, and who for several generations have proved insupportable plagues and grievances to the good people of England, are those who may properly be admitted under the character of incurable scolds.

I own this to be a temper of so desperate a nature that few females can be found willing to own themselves anyway addicted to it; and yet it is thought that there is scarce a single parson, 'prentice, alderman, squire, or husband, who would not solemnly avouch the very reverse.

I could wish, indeed, that the word scold might be changed for some more gentle term, of equal signification; because I am convinced that the very name is as offensive to female ears as the effects of that incurable distemper are to the ears of the men; which, to be sure, is inexpressible.

And that it hath been always customary to honour the very same kind of actions with different appellations, only to avoid giving offence, is evident to common observation.

For instance: How many lawyers, attorneys, solicitors, under-sheriffs, intriguing chambermaids, and counter-officers, are continually guilty of extortion, bribery, oppression, and many other profitable knaveries, to drain the purses of those with whom they are anyway concerned! And yet all these different expedients to raise a fortune pass generally under the milder names of fees, perquisites, vales, presents, gratuities, and such like; although, in strictness of speech, they should be called robbery, and consequently be rewarded with a gibbet.

Nay, how many honourable gentlemen might be enumerated who keep open shop to make a trade of iniquity; who teach the law to wink whenever power or profit appears in her way: and contrive to grow rich by the vice, the contention, or the follies of mankind; and who, nevertheless, instead of being branded with the harsh-sounding names of knaves, pilferers, or public oppressors, (as they justly merit,) are only distinguished by the title of justices of the peace; in which single term, all those several appellations are generally thought to be implied.

But to proceed. When first I determined to prepare this scheme for the use and inspection of the public, I intended to examine one whole ward in this city, that my computation of the number of incurable scolds might be more perfect and exact. But I found it impossible to finish my progress through more than one street.

I made my first application to a wealthy citizen in Cornhill, common councilman for his ward, to whom I hinted, that if he knew e'er an incurable scold in the neighbourhood, I had some hope to provide for her in such a manner as to hinder her from being further troublesome. He referred me with great delight to his next-door friend; yet whispered me, that, with much greater ease and pleasure, he could furnish me out of his own family ——, and begged the preference.

His next-door friend owned readily that his wife's qualifications were not misrepresented, and that he would cheerfully contribute to promote so useful a scheme; but positively asserted, that it would be of small service to rid the neighbourhood of one woman, while such multitudes would remain all equally insupportable.

By which circumstance I conjectured that the quantity of these incurables in London, Westminster, and Southwark, would be very considerable, and that a generous contribution might reasonably be expected for such an hospital as I am recommending.

Besides, the number of these female incurables would probably be very much increased by additional quantities of old maids, who, being wearied with concealing their ill-humour for one-half of their lives, are impatient to give it full vent in the other. For old maids, like old thin-bodied wines, instead of growing more agreeable by years, are observed, for the most part, to become intolerably sharp, sour, and useless.

Under this denomination also we may expect to be furnished with as large a collection of old bachelors, especially those who have estates, and but a moderate degree of understanding. For an old wealthy bachelor, being perpetually surrounded with a set of flatterers, cousins, poor dependents, and would-be heirs, who, for their own views, submit to his perverseness and caprice, becomes insensibly infected with this scolding malady, which generally proves incurable, and renders him disagreeable to his friends, and a fit subject for ridicule to his enemies.

As to the incurable scribblers, (of which society I have the honour to be a member,) they probably are innumerable; and, of consequence, it will be absolutely impossible to provide for one-tenth part of their fraternity. However, as this set of incurables are generally more plagued with poverty than any other, it will be a double charity to admit them on the foundation; a charity to the world, to whom they are a common pest and nuisance; and a charity to themselves, to relieve them from want, contempt, kicking, and several other accidents of that nature, to which they are continually liable.

Grub-street itself would then have reason to rejoice to see so many of its half-starved manufacturers amply provided for, and the whole tribe of meagre incurables would probably shout for joy at being delivered from the tyranny and garrets of printers, publishers, and booksellers.

What a mixed multitude of ballad-writers, ode-makers, translators, farce-compounders, opera-mongers, biographers, pamphleteers, and journalists would appear crowding to the hospital; not unlike the brutes resorting to the ark before the deluge! And what an universal satisfaction would such a sight afford to all, except pastrycooks, grocers, chandlers, and tobacco-retailers, to whom alone the writings of those incurables were anyway profitable!

I have often been amazed to observe what a variety of incurable coxcombs are to be met with between St. James's and Limehouse, at every hour of the day; as numerous as Welsh parsons, and equally contemptible. How they swarm in all coffeehouses, theatres, public walks, and private assemblies; how they are incessantly employed in cultivating intrigues, and every kind of irrational pleasure; how industrious they seem to mimic the appearance of monkeys, as monkeys are emulous to imitate the gestures of men: and from such observations I concluded, that to confine the greatest part of those incurables, who are so many living burlesques of human nature, would be of eminent service to this

nation; and I am persuaded that I am far from being singular in that opinion.

As for the incurable infidels and liars, I shall range them under the same article, and would willingly appoint them the same apartment in the hospital; because there is a much nearer resemblance between them than is generally imagined.

Have they not an equal delight in imposing falsities on the public, and seem they not equally desirous to be thought of more sagacity and importance than others? Do they not both report what both know to be false; and both confidently assert what they are conscious is most liable to contradiction?

The parallel might easily be carried on much further, if the intended shortness of this essay would admit it. However, I cannot forbear taking notice, with what immense quantities of incurable liars his majesty's kingdoms are overrun; what offence and prejudice they are to the public; what inconceivable injury to private persons; and what a necessity there is for an hospital, to relieve the nation from the curse of so many incurables.

This distemper appears almost in as many different shapes as there are persons afflicted with it; and, in every individual, is always beyond the power of medicine.

Some lie for their interest, such as fishmongers, flatterers, pimps, lawyers, fortune-hunters, and fortune-tellers; and others lie for their entertainment, as maids, wives, widows, and all other tea-table attendants.

Some lie out of vanity, as poets, painters, players, fops, military officers, and all those who frequent the levees of the great: and others lie out of ill-nature, as old maids, &c.

Some lie out of custom, as lovers, coxcombs, footmen, sailors, mechanics, merchants, and chambermaids; and others lie out of complaisance or necessity, as courtiers, chaplains, &c. In short, it were endless to enumerate them all, but this sketch may be sufficient to give us some small imperfect idea of their numbers.

As to the remaining incurables, we may reasonably conclude that they bear at least an equal proportion to those already mentioned; but with regard to the incurable whores in this kingdom, I must particularly observe, that such of them as are public, and make it their profession, have proper hospitals for their reception already, if we could find magistrates without passions or officers without an incurable itch to a bribe. And such of them as are private, and make it their amusement, I should be unwilling to disturb, for two reasons:—

First, because it might probably afflict many noble, wealthy, contented, and unsuspecting husbands, by convincing them of their own dishonour, and the unpardonable disloyalty of their wives: and, secondly, because it will be for ever impossible to confine a woman from being guilty of any kind of misconduct when once she is firmly resolved to attempt it.

From all which observations, every reasonable man must infallibly be convinced, that an hospital for the support of these different kinds of incurables would be extremely beneficial to these kingdoms. I think, therefore, that nothing further is wanting, but to demonstrate to the public that such a scheme is very practicable, both by having an undoubted method to raise an annual income, at least sufficient to make the experiment, (which is the way of founding all hospitals,) and by having also a strong probability, that such an hospital would be supported by perpetual benefactions; which, in very few years, might enable us to increase the number of incurables to nine-tenths more than we can reasonably venture on at first.

A Computation of the Daily and Annual Expenses of an Hospital, to be erected for Incurables.

	Per day.
INCURABLE fools are almost infinite; however, at first, I would have only twenty thousand admitted; and, allowing to each person but one shilling per day for maintenance, which is as low as possible, the daily expense for this article will be	£1000
Incurable knaves are, if possible, more numerous, including foreigners, especially Irishmen. Yet I would limit the number of these to about thirty thousand; which would amount to .	1500
Incurable scolds would be plentifully supplied from almost every family in the kingdom. And indeed, to make this hospital of any real benefit, we cannot admit fewer, even at first, than thirty thousand, including the ladies of Billingsgate and Leadenhall market, which is . . .	1500
The incurable scribblers are undoubtedly a very considerable society, and of that denomination I would admit at least forty thousand; because it is to be supposed that such incurables will be found in greatest distress for a daily maintenance. And if we had not great encouragement to hope that many of that class would properly be admitted among the incurable fools, I should strenuously intercede to have ten or twenty thousand more added. But their allowed number will amount to . .	200
Incurable coxcombs are very numerous; and, considering what numbers are annually imported from France and Italy, we cannot admit fewer than ten thousand, which will be .	500
Incurable infidels (as they affect to be called) should be received into the hospital to the number of ten thousand. However, if it should accidentally happen to grow into a fashion to be believers, it is probable that the great part of them would, in a very short time, be dismissed from the hospital, as perfectly cured. Their expense would be	500
Incurable liars are infinite in all parts of the kingdom; and, making allowance for citizens' wives, mercers, 'prentices, news-writers, old maids, and flatterers, we cannot possibly allow a smaller number than thirty thousand, which will amount to	1500
The incurable envious are in vast quantities throughout this whole nation. Nor can it reasonably be expected that their numbers should lessen, while fame and honours are heaped upon some particular persons, as the public reward of their superior accomplishments, while others, who are equally excellent in their own opinions, are constrained to live unnoticed and contemned. And, as it would be impossible to provide for all those who are possessed with this distemper, I should consent to admit only twenty thousand at first, by way of experiment, amounting to	1000
Of the incurable vain, affected, and impertinent, I should at least admit ten thousand; which number I am confident will appear very inconsiderable, if we include all degrees of females, from the duchess to the chambermaid; all poets, who have had a little success, especially in the dramatic way, and all players, who have met with a small degree of approbation. Amounting only to	500

By which plain computation it is evident that two hundred thousand persons will be daily provided for, and the allowance for maintaining this collection of incurables may be seen in the following account:—

For the Incurable

				Per day.
Fools, being . . .	20,000	at one shilling	each	£1,000
Knaves	30,000	,,	,,	1,500
Scolds	30,000	,,	,,	1,500
Scribblers . . .	40,000	,,	,,	2,000
Coxcombs . . .	10,000	,,	,,	500
Infidels.	10,000	,,	,,	500
Liars.	30,000	,,	,,	1,500

For the Incurably

Envious	20.000	,,	,,	1,000
Vain.	10,000	,,	,,	500
Total maintained,	200,000	Total expense,		£10,000

From whence it appears, that the daily expense will amount to such a sum as, in 365 days, comes to. £3,650,000

And I am fully satisfied that a sum much greater than this may easily be raised, with all possible satisfaction to the subject, and without interfering in the least with the revenues of the crown.

In the first place, a large proportion of this sum might be raised by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants.

The computed number of people in Great Britain is very little less than eight millions, of which, upon a most moderate computation, we may account one-half to be incurables. And as all those different incurables, whether acting in the capacity of friends, acquaintances, wives, husbands, daughters, counsellors, parents, old maids, or old bachelors, are inconceivable plagues to all those with whom they happen to be concerned; and, as there is no hope of being eased of such plagues, except by such an hospital, which by degrees might be enlarged to contain them all, I think it cannot be doubted, that at least three millions and a half of people, out of the remaining proportion, would be found both able and desirous to contribute so small a sum as 20*s.* per annum for the quiet of the kingdom, the peace of private families, and the credit of the nation in general. And this contributiom would amount to very near our requisite sum.

Nor can this by any means be esteemed a wild conjecture; for where is there a man of common sense, honesty, or good-nature, who would not gladly propose even a much greater sum to be freed from a scold, a knave, a fool, a liar, a coxcomb conceitedly repeating the compositions of others, or a vain impertinent poet repeating his own?

In the next place, it may justly be supposed, that many young noblemen, knights, squires, and extravagant heirs, with very large estates, would be confined in our hospital. And I would propose, that the annual income of every particular incurable's estate should be appropriated to the use of the house. But, besides these, there will undoubtedly be many old misers, aldermen, justices, directors of companies, templars, and merchants of all kinds whose personal fortunes are immense, and who should proportionably pay to the hospital.

Yet, lest by being here misunderstood I should seem to propose an unjust or oppressive scheme, I shall further explain my design:—

Suppose, for instance, a young nobleman possessed of 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* per annum should accidentally be confined there as an incurable, I would have only such a proportion of his estate applied to the support of the hospital as he himself would spend if he were at liberty. And, after his death, the profits of the estate should regularly devolve to the next lawful heir, whether male or female.

And my reason for this proposal is, because considerable estates, which probably would be squandered away among hounds, horses, whores, sharpers, surgeons, tailors, pimps, masquerades, or architects, if left to the management of such incurables, would, by this means, become of some real use, both to the public and themselves. And perhaps this may be the only method which can be found to make such young spendthrifts of any real benefit to their country.

And although the estates of deceased incurables might be permitted to descend to the next heirs, the hospital would probably sustain no great disadvantage; because it is very likely that most of these heirs would also gradually be admitted under some denomination or other, and consequently their estates would again devolve to the use of the hospital.

As to the wealthy misers, &c., I would have their private fortunes nicely examined and calculated; because if they were old bachelors, (as it would frequently happen,) their whole fortunes should be appropriated to the endowment: but, if married, I would leave two-thirds of their fortunes for the support of their families; which families would cheerfully consent to give away the remaining third, if not more, to be freed from such peevish and disagreeable governors.

So that, deducting from the 200,000 incurables the 40,000 scribblers, who to be sure would be found in very bad circumstances, I believe, among the remaining 160,000 fools, knaves, and coxcombs, so many would be found of large estates and easy fortunes, as would at least produce 200,000*l.* per annum.

As a further addition to our endowment, I would have a tax upon all inscriptions and tombstones, monuments and obelisks, erected to the honour of the dead; or on porticoes and trophies to the honour of the living; because these will naturally and properly come under the article of lies, pride, vanity, &c.

And if all inscriptions throughout this kingdom were impartially examined, in order to tax those which should appear demonstrably false or flattering, I am convinced that not one-fifth part of the number would after such a scrutiny escape exempted.

Many an ambitious turbulent spirit would then be found belied with the opposite title of lover of his country; and many a Middlesex justice, as improperly described, sleeping in hope of salvation.

Many an usurer discredited by the appellations of honest and frugal; and many a lawyer, with the character of conscientious and equitable.

Many a British statesman and general decaying with more honour than they lived, and their dusts distinguished with a better reputation than when they were animated.

Many dull parsons, improperly styled eloquent, and as many stupid physicians, improperly styled learned.

Yet, notwithstanding the extensiveness of a tax upon such monumental impositions, I will count only upon 20,000, at 5*l.* per annum each, which will amount to 100,000*l.* annually.

To these annuities I would also request the parliament of this nation to allow the benefit of two lotteries yearly, by which the hospital would gain 200,000*l.* clear. Nor can such a request seem any way extraordinary, since it would be appropriated to the benefit of fools and knaves, which is the sole cause of granting one for this present year.

In the last place, I would add the estate of Richard Norton, esq.; and to do his memory all possible honour, I would have his statue erected in the very first apartment of the hospital, or in any other which might seem more apt. And on his monument I would permit a long inscription, composed by his dearest friends, which should remain tax-free for ever.

From these several articles therefore, would annually arise the following sums:—

	M. Th. H. P. Ann.
From the voluntary contribution .	£3,500,000
From the estates of the incurables .	200,000
By the tax upon tombstones, monuments, &c. (that of Richard Norton, esq., always excepted)	100,000
By two annual lotteries . . .	200,000
By the estate of Richard Norton, esq. .	60,000
Total . .	£4,600,000
And the necessary sum for the hospital being	£3,650,000
There will remain annually over and above	356,000

Which sum of 356,000*l.* should be applied towards erecting the building, and answer accidental expenses, in such a manner as should seem most proper to promote the design of the hospital. But the whole management of it should be left to the skill and discretion of those who are to be constituted governors.

It may indeed prove a work of some small difficulty to fix upon a commodious place, large enough for a building of this nature. I should have thoughts of attempting to enclose all Yorkshire, if I were not apprehensive that it would be crowded with so many incurable knaves of its own growth, that there would not be the least room left for the reception of any others; by which accident our whole project might be retarded for some time.

Thus have I set this matter in the plainest light I could, that every one may judge of the necessity, usefulness, and practicableness of this scheme: and I shall only add a few scattered hints, which, to me, seem not altogether unprofitable.

I think the prime-minister for the time being ought largely to contribute to such a foundation; because his high station and merits must of necessity infect a great number with envy, hatred, lying, and such sort of distempers; and, of consequence, furnish the hospital annually with many incurables.

I would desire that the governors appointed to direct this hospital should have (if such a thing were possible) some appearance of religion and belief in God; because those who are to be admitted as incurable infidels, atheists, deists, and freethinkers, most of which tribe are only so out of pride, conceit, and affectation, might perhaps grow gradually into believers, if they perceived it to be the custom of the place where they lived.

Although it be not customary for the natives of Ireland to meet with any manner of promotion in this kingdom, I would in this respect have that national prejudice entirely laid aside, and request that, for the reputation of both kingdoms, a large apartment in the hospital may be fitted up for Irishmen particularly, who, either by knavery, lewdness, or fortune-hunting, should appear qualified for admittance; because their numbers would certainly be very considerable.

I would further request that a father, who seems delighted at seeing his son metamorphosed into a fop, or a coxcomb, because he hath travelled from London to Paris, may be sent along with the young gentleman to the hospital, as an old fool, absolutely incurable.

If a poet hath luckily produced anything, especially in the dramatic way, which is tolerably well received by the public, he should be sent immediately to the hospital; because incurable vanity is always the consequence of a little success. And, if his compositions be ill received, let him be admitted as a scribbler.

And I hope, in regard to the great pains I have taken about this scheme, that I shall be admitted upon the foundation as one of the scribbling incurables. But, as an additional favour, I entreat that I may not be placed in an apartment with a poet who hath employed his genius for the stage; because he will kill me with repeating his own compositions: and I need not acquaint the world, that it is extremely painful to bear any nonsense—except our own.

My private reason for soliciting so early to be admitted is, because it is observed that schemers and projectors are generally reduced to beggary; but, by my being provided for in the hospital, either as an incurable fool or a scribbler, that discouraging observation will for once be publicly disproved, and my brethren in that way will be secure of a public reward for their labours.

It gives me, I own, a great degree of happiness, to reflect, that although in this short treatise the characters of many thousands are contained, among the vast variety of incurables, yet not any one person is likely to be offended; because it is natural to apply ridiculous characters to all the world except ourselves. And I dare be bold to say, that the most incurable fool, knave, scold, coxcomb, scribbler, or liar in this whole nation, will sooner enumerate the circle of their acquaintance as addicted to those distempers than once imagine themselves any way qualified for such an hospital.

I hope indeed that our wise legislature will take this project into their serious consideration, and promote an endowment which will be of such eminent service to multitudes of his majesty's unprofitable subjects, and may in time be of use to themselves and their posterity.

From my Garret in Moorfields, Aug. 20, 1733.

A COMPLETE COLLECTION OF GENTEEL AND INGENIOUS CONVERSATION,

ACCORDING TO THE MOST POLITE MODE AND METHOD, NOW USED AT COURT, AND IN THE BEST COMPANIES OF ENGLAND.

IN THREE DIALOGUES.

By SIMON WAGSTAFF, Esq.

This treatise appears to have been written with the same view as the "Trifical Essay on the Faculties of the Mind," but upon a more general plan: the ridicule which is there confined to literary composition is here extended to conversation: but its object is the same in both: the repetition of quaint phrases picked up by rote either from the living or the dead, and applied upon every occasion to conceal ignorance or stupidity, or to prevent the labour of thoughts to produce native sentiment, and combine such words as will precisely express it.

There is no air of merriment in some of the pieces which Swift wrote after his intimacy with Dr Sheridan not to be found in any other of his writings; such in particular are several of his poems, his "Directions to Servants," his "Polite Conversation," and many of the whimsical things which he wrote in conjunction with Sheridan.

"I retired hither," the dean says, in one of his letters, "for the public good, having two great works in hand; one to reduce the whole politeness, wit, humour, and style of England into a short system for the use of all persons of quality, and particularly the maids of honour, &c."

INTRODUCTION.

As my life has been chiefly spent in consulting the honour and welfare of my country for more than forty years past, not without answerable success, if the world and my friends have not flattered me, so there is no point wherein I have so much laboured as that of improving and polishing all parts of conversation between persons of quality, whether they meet by

accident or invitation, at meals, tea, or visits, mornings, noon, or evenings.

I have passed perhaps more time than any other man of my age and country in visits and assemblies, where the polite persons of both sexes distinguish themselves; and could not without much grief observe how frequently both gentlemen and ladies are at a loss for questions, answers, replies, and rejoinders. However, my concern was much abated when I found that these defects were not occasioned by any want of materials, but because those materials were not in every hand: for instance, one lady can give an answer better than ask a question; one gentleman is happy at a reply; another excels in a rejoinder: one can revive a languishing conversation by a sudden surprising sentence; another is more dexterous in seconding; a third can fill up the gap with laughing, or commending what has been said: thus fresh hints may be started, and the ball of the discourse kept up.

But, alas! this is too seldom the case, even in the most select companies. How often do we see at court, at public visiting days, at great men's levees, and other places of general meeting, that the conversation falls and drops to nothing, like a fire without supply of fuel! This is what we all ought to lament; and against this dangerous evil I take upon me to affirm, that I have in the following papers provided an infallible remedy:—

It was in the year 1695, and the sixth of his late majesty king William III., of ever-glorious and immortal memory, who rescued three kingdoms from popery and slavery, when, being about the age of six-and-thirty, my judgment mature, of good reputation in the world, and well acquainted with the best families in Town, I determined to spend five mornings, to dine four times, pass three afternoons, and six evenings every week in the houses of the most polite families, of which I would confine myself to fifty; only changing as the masters or ladies died, or left the town, or grew out of vogue, or sunk in their fortunes, or (which to me was of the highest moment) became disaffected to the government; which practice I have followed ever since to this very day; except when I happened to be sick, or in the spleen upon cloudy weather; and except when I entertained four of each sex at my own lodgings once in a month, by way of retaliation.

I always kept a large table book in my pocket; and as soon as I left the company I immediately entered the choicest expressions that passed during the visit: which, returning home, I transcribed in a fair hand, but somewhat enlarged; and had made the greatest part of my collection in twelve years, but not digested into any method, for this I found was a work of infinite labour, and what required the nicest judgment, and consequently could not be brought to any degree of perfection in less than sixteen years more.

Herein I resolved to exceed the advice of Horace, a Roman poet, which I have read in Mr. Creech's admirable translation, that an author should keep his works nine years in his closet before he ventured to publish them: and, finding that I still received some additional flowers of wit and language, although in a very small number, I determined to defer the publication, to pursue my design, and exhaust (if possible) the whole subject, that I might present a complete system to the world: for I am convinced, by long experience, that the critics will be as severe as their old envy against me can make them: I foresee they will object, that I have inserted many answers and replies, which are neither witty, humorous, polite, nor authentic; and have omitted others that would have been highly useful, as well as entertaining. But let them come to particulars, and I will boldly engage to confute their malice.

For these last six or seven years I have not been able to add above nine valuable sentences to enrich my collection: from whence I conclude that what remains will amount only to a trifle. However, if, after the publication of this work, any lady or gentleman, when they have read it, shall find the least thing of importance omitted, I desire they will please to supply my defects by communicating to me their discoveries; and their letters may be directed to Simon Wagstaff, esq., at his lodgings next door to the Gloucester-head in St. James's Street, paying the postage. In return of which favour, I shall make honourable mention of their names in a short preface to the second edition.

In the mean time, I cannot but with some pride and much pleasure congratulate with my dear country, which has outdone all the nations of Europe, in advancing the whole art of conversation to the greatest height it is capable of reaching; and, therefore, being entirely convinced that the collection I now offer to the public is full and complete, I may at the same time boldly affirm, that the whole genius, humour, politeness, and eloquence of England are summed up in it; nor is the treasure small, wherein are to be found at least a thousand shining questions, answers, repartees, replies, and rejoinders, fitted to adorn every kind of discourse that an assembly of English ladies and gentlemen, met together for their mutual entertainment, can possibly want: especially when the several flowers shall be set off and improved by the speakers, with every circumstance of preface and circumlocution, in proper terms; and attended with praise, laughter, or admiration.

There is a natural involuntary distortion of the muscles, which is the anatomical cause of laughter: but there is another cause of laughter, which decency requires, and is the undoubted mark of a good taste, as well as of a polite obliging behaviour; neither is this to be acquired without much observation, long practice, and sound judgment; I did therefore once intend, for the ease of the learner, to set down, in all parts of the following dialogues, certain marks, asterisks, or *nota benes* (in English, mark-wells) after most questions, and every reply or answer; directing exactly the moment when one, two, or all the company are to laugh: but, having duly considered that this expedient would too much enlarge the bulk of the volume, and consequently the price; and likewise that something ought to be left for ingenious readers to find out, I have determined to leave that whole affair, although of great importance, to their own discretion.

The reader must learn by all means to distinguish between proverbs and those polite speeches which beautify conversation; for, as to the former, I utterly reject them out of all ingenious discourse. I acknowledge, indeed, that there may possibly be found in this treatise a few sayings, among so great a number of smart turns of wit and humour as I have produced, which have a proverbial air; however, I hope it will be considered that even these were not originally proverbs, but the genuine productions of superior wits, to embellish and support conversation; whence, with great impropriety as well as plagiarism, (if you will forgive a hard word,) they have most injuriously been transferred into proverbial maxims; and therefore, in justice, ought to be resumed out of vulgar hands, to adorn the drawing-rooms of princes both male and female, the levees of great ministers, as well as the toilet and tea-table of the ladies.

I can faithfully assure the reader that there is not one single witty phrase in this whole collection which has not received the stamp and approbation of at least one hundred years, and how much longer it is hard to determine; he may therefore be secure to find them all genuine, sterling, and authentic.

But, before this elaborate treatise can become of universal use and ornament to my native country, two

points, that will require much time and much application, are absolutely necessary.

For, first, whatever person would aspire to be completely witty, smart, humorous, and polite, must, by hard labour, be able to retain in his memory every single sentence contained in this work, so as never to be once at a loss in applying the right answers, questions, repartees, and the like immediately, and without study or hesitation.

And, secondly, after a lady or gentleman has so well overcome this difficulty as never to be at a loss upon any emergency, the true management of every feature, and almost of every limb, is equally necessary; without which an infinite number of absurdities will inevitably ensue. For instance, there is hardly a polite sentence in the following dialogues which does not absolutely require some peculiar graceful motion in the eyes, or nose, or mouth, or forehead, or chin, or suitable toss of the head, with certain offices assigned to each hand; and in ladies, the whole exercise of the fan, fitted to the energy of every word they deliver; by no means omitting the various turns and cadence of the voice, the twistings, and movements, and different postures of the body, the several kinds and gradations of laughter, which the ladies must daily practise by the looking-glass, and consult upon them with their waiting-maids.

My readers will soon observe what a great compass of real and useful knowledge this science includes; wherein, although nature, assisted by genius, may be very instrumental, yet a strong memory and constant application, together with example and precept, will be highly necessary. For these reasons I have often wished that certain male and female instructors, perfectly versed in this science, would set up schools for the instruction of young ladies and gentlemen therein.

I remember, about thirty years ago, there was a Bohemian woman, of that species commonly known by the name of gypsies, who came over hither from France, and generally attended ISAAC the dancing-master, when he was teaching his art to misses of quality; and while the young ladies were thus employed, the Bohemian, standing at some distance, but full in their sight, acted before them all proper airs, and heavings of the head, and motion of the hand, and twistings of the body; whereof you may still observe the good effects in several of our elder ladies.

After the same manner, it were much to be desired that some expert gentlewomen gone to decay would set up public schools, wherein young girls of quality or great fortunes might first be taught to repeat this following system of conversation, which I have been at so much pains to compile; and then to adapt every feature of their countenances, every turn of their hands, every screwing of their bodies, every exercise of their fans, to the humour of the sentences they bear or deliver in conversation. But, above all, to instruct them in every species and degree of laughing in the proper seasons, at their own wit or that of the company. And if the sons of the nobility and gentry, instead of being sent to common schools, or put into the hands of tutors at home, to learn nothing but words, were consigned to able instructors in the same art, I cannot find what use there could be of books, except in the hands of those who are to make learning their trade, which is below the dignity of persons born to titles or estates.

It would be another infinite advantage, that, by cultivating this science, we should wholly avoid the vexations and impertinence of pedants, who affect to talk in a language not to be understood; and whenever a polite person offers accidentally to use any of their jargon terms, have the presumption to laugh at us f r pronouncing those words in a genteeler manner. Whereas I do here affirm that, whenever any fine gentleman or lady condescends to let a hard word pass out of their mouths, every syllable is smoothed and polished in the passage; and it is a true mark of politeness, both in writing and reading, to vary the orthography as well as the sound; because we are infinitely better judges of what will please a distinguishing ear, than those who call themselves scholars can possibly be; who, consequently, ought to correct their books and manner of pronouncing, by the authority of our example, from whose lips they proceed with infinitely more beauty and significancy.

But, in the mean time, until so great, so useful, and so necessary a design can be put in execution, (which, considering the good disposition of our country at present, I shall not despair of living to see,) let me recommend the following treatise to be carried about as a pocket companion by all gentlemen and ladies, when they are going to visit, or dine, or drink tea; or where they happen to pass the evening without cards, as I have sometimes known it to be the case upon disappointments or accidents unforeseen; desiring they would read their several parts in their chairs or coaches, to prepare themselves for every kind of conversation that can possibly happen.

Although I have, in justice to my country, allowed the genius of our people to excel that of any other nation upon earth, and have confirmed this truth by an argument not to be controlled, I mean, by producing so great a number of witty sentences in the ensuing dialogues, all of undoubted authority, as well as of our own production, yet I must confess at the same time that we are wholly indebted for them to our ancestors; for, as long as my memory reaches, I do not recollect one new phrase of importance to have been added; which defect in us moderns I take to have been occasioned by the introduction of cant words in the reign of king Charles II. And those have so often varied, that hardly one of them, of above a year's standing, is now intelligible; nor anywhere to be found, excepting a small number strewed here and there in the comedies, and other fantastic writings of that age.

The honourable colonel James Graham, my old friend and companion, did likewise, toward the end of the same reign, invent a set of words and phrases, which continued almost to the time of his death. But, as these terms of art were adapted only to courts and politicians, and extended little further than among his particular acquaintance, (of whom I had the honour to be one,) they are now almost forgotten.

Nor did the late d. of R—— and e. of E——succeed much better, although they proceeded no further than single words; whereof, except bite, bamboozle, and one or two more, the whole vocabulary is antiquated.

The same fate has already attended those other town wits, who furnish us with a great variety of new terms, which are annually changed, and those of the late season sunk in oblivion. Of these I was once favoured with a complete list by the right honourable the lord and lady H——, with which I made a considerable figure one summer in the country; but returning up to Town in winter, and venturing to produce them again, I was partly hooted, and partly not understood.

The only invention of late years, which has any way contributed towards politeness in discourse, is that of abbreviating or reducing words of many syllables into one, by lopping off the rest. This refinement having begun about the time of the Revolution, I had some share in the honour of promoting it; and I observe, to my great satisfaction, that it makes daily advancements, and I hope in time will raise our language to the utmost perfection; although I must confess, to avoid obscurity, I have been very sparing of this ornament in the following dialogues.

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But as for phrases invented to cultivate conversation, I defy all the clubs or coffeehouses in this town to invent a new one equal in wit, humour, smartness, or politeness to the very worst of my set, which clearly shows, either that we are much degenerated or that the whole stock of materials has been already employed. I would willingly hope, as I do confidently believe, the latter; because, having myself for several months racked my invention to enrich this treasure (if possible) with some additions of my own, (which, however, should have been printed in a different character, that I might not be charged with imposing upon the public,) and having shown them to some judicious friends, they dealt very sincerely with me, all unanimously agreeing that mine were infinitely below the true old helps to discourse drawn up in my present collection, and confirmed their opinion with reasons, by which I was perfectly convinced, as well as ashamed of my great presumption.

But I lately met a much stronger argument to confirm me in the same sentiments; for, as the great bishop Burnet of Salisbury informs us, in the preface to his admirable "History of his Own Times," that he intended to employ himself in polishing it every day of his life, (and indeed in its kind it is almost equally polished with this work of mine,) so it has been my constant business, for some years past, to examine, with the utmost strictness, whether I could possibly find the smallest lapse in style or propriety through my whole collection, that, in emulation with the bishop, I might send it abroad as the most finished piece of the age.

It happened one day, as I was dining in good company of both sexes, and watching, according to my custom, for new materials wherewith to fill my pocket-book, I succeeded well enough till after dinner, when the ladies retired to their tea, and left us over a bottle of wine. But I found we were not able to furnish any more materials that were worth the pains of transcribing: for the discourse of the company was all degenerated into smart sayings of their own invention, and not of the true old standard; so that, in absolute despair, I withdrew, and went to attend the ladies at their tea; whence I did then conclude, and still continue to believe, either that wine does not inspire politeness, or that our sex is not able to support it without the company of women, who never fail to lead us into the right way, and there to keep us.

It much increases the value of these apophthegms, that unto them we owe the continuance of our language for at least a hundred years; neither is this to be wondered at, because indeed, beside the smartness of the wit, and fineness of the raillery, such is the propriety and energy of expression in them all, that they never can be changed, but to disadvantage, except in the circumstance of using abbreviations; which, however, I do not despair in due time to see introduced, having already met them at some of the choice companies in Town.

Although this work be calculated for all persons of quality and fortune of both sexes, yet the reader may perceive, that my particular view was to the officers of the army, the gentlemen of the inns of court, and of both the universities; to all courtiers, male and female, but principally to the maids of honour; of whom I have been personally acquainted with two-and-twenty sets, all excelling in this noble endowment, till, for some years past, I know not how, they came to degenerate into selling of bargains and free-thinking; not that I am against either of these entertainments, at proper seasons, in compliance with company who may want a taste for more exalted discourse, whose memories may be short, who are too young to be perfect in their lessons, or (although it be hard to conceive) who have no inclination to read and learn my instructions. And, besides, there is a strong temptation for court ladies to fall into the two amusements above mentioned, that they may avoid the censure of affecting singularity against the general current and fashion of all about them: but, however, no man will pretend to affirm that either bargains or blasphemy, which are the principal ornaments of free-thinking, are so good a fund of polite discourse as what is to be met with in my collection. For, as to bargains, few of them seem to be excellent in their kind, and have not much variety, because they all terminate in one single point; and to multiply them would require more invention than people have to spare. And as to blasphemy or free-thinking, I have known some scrupulous persons of both sexes, who, by prejudiced education, are afraid of sprites. I must, however, except the maids of honour, who have been fully convinced by a famous court chaplain that there is no such place as hell.

I cannot, indeed, controvert the lawfulness of free-thinking, because it has been universally allowed that thought is free. But, however, although it may afford a large field of matter, yet in my poor opinion, it seems to contain very little of wit or humour, because it has not been ancient enough among us to furnish established authentic expressions: I mean such as must receive a sanction from the polite world before their authority can be allowed; neither was the art of blasphemy or free-thinking invented by the court, or by persons of great quality, who, properly speaking, were patrons rather than inventors of it; but first brought in by the fanatic faction toward the end of their power, and after the Restoration carried to Whitehall by the converted Rumpers, with very good reason, because they knew that king Charles II., from a wrong education, occasioned by the troubles of his father, had time enough to observe, that fanatic enthusiasm directly led to atheism, which agreed with the dissolute inclinations of his youth; and perhaps these principles were further cultivated in him by the French Huguenots, who have been often charged with spreading them among us; however, I cannot see where the necessity lies of introducing new and foreign topics for conversation, while we have so plentiful a stock of our own growth.

I have likewise, for some reasons of equal weight, been very sparing in double *entendres*; because they often put ladies upon affected constraints, and affected ignorance. In short they break, or very much entangle, the thread of discourse; neither am I master of any rules to settle the disconcerted countenances of the females in such a juncture; I can therefore only allow innuendoes of this kind to be delivered in whispers, and only to young ladies under twenty, who being in honour obliged to blush, it may produce a new subject for discourse.

Perhaps the critics may accuse me of a defect in my following system of polite conversation; that there is one great ornament of discourse, whereof I have not produced a single example; which indeed I purposely omitted, for some reasons that I shall immediately offer; and, if those reasons will not satisfy the male part of my gentle readers, the defect may be applied in some manner by an appendix to the second edition; which appendix shall be printed by itself, and sold for sixpence, stitched, and with a marble cover, that my readers may have no occasion to complain of being defrauded.

The defect I mean is, my not having inserted into the body of my book all the oaths now most in fashion for embellishing discourse, especially since it could give no offence to the clergy, who are seldom or never admitted to these polite assemblies. And it must be allowed, that oaths well chosen are not only very useful expletives to matter, but great ornaments of style.

What I shall here offer in my own defence upon this important article, will, I hope, be some extenuation of my fault.

First, I reasoned with myself, that a just collection of oaths, repeated as often as the fashion requires, must have enlarged this volume at least to double the bulk, whereby it would not only double the charge, but likewise make the volume less commodious for pocket carriage.

Secondly, I have been assured by some judicious friends, that themselves have known certain ladies to take offence (whether seriously or not) at too great a profusion of cursing and swearing, even when that kind of ornament was not improperly introduced, which, I confess, did startle me not a little, having never observed the like in the compass of my own several acquaintance, at least for twenty years past. However, I was forced to submit to wiser judgments than my own.

Thirdly, as this most useful treatise is calculated for all future times, I considered, in this maturity of my age, how great a variety of oaths I have heard since I began to study the world, and to know men and manners. And here I found it to be true, what I have read in an ancient poet:

> For, now-a-days, men change their oaths
> As often as they change their clothes.

In short, oaths are the children of fashion; they are in some sense almost annuals, like what I observed before of cant words; and I myself can remember about forty different sets. The old stock oaths, I am confident, do not amount to above forty-five, or fifty at most; but the way of mingling and compounding them is almost as various as that of the alphabet.

Sir John Perrot, was the first man of quality whom I find upon the record to have sworn by *God's wounds*. He lived in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was supposed to be a natural son of Henry VIII. who might also probably have been his instructor. This oath indeed still continues, and is a stock oath to this day; so do several others that have kept their natural simplicity; but infinitely the greater number has been so frequently changed and dislocated, that if the inventors were now alive, they could hardly understand them.

Upon these considerations, I began to apprehend that if I should insert all the oaths that are now current, my book would be out of vogue with the first change of fashion, and grow as useless as an old dictionary; whereas the case is quite otherwise with my collection of polite discourse; which, as I before observed, has descended by tradition for at least a hundred years, without any change in the phraseology. I therefore determined with myself to leave out the whole system of swearing, because both the male and female oaths are all perfectly well known and distinguished; new ones are easily learned, and with a moderate share of discretion, may be properly applied on every fit occasion. However, I must here, upon this article of swearing, most earnestly recommend to my male readers that they would please a little to study variety. For it is the opinion of our most refined swearers, that the same oath or curse cannot, consistently with true politeness, be repeated above nine times in the same company, by the same person, and at one sitting.

I am far from desiring or expecting that all the polite and ingenious speeches contained in this work should, in the general conversation between ladies and gentlemen, come in so quick and so close as I have here delivered them. By no means: on the contrary, they ought to be husbanded better, and spread much thinner. Nor do I make the least question but that, by a discreet and thrifty management, they may serve for the entertainment of a whole year to any person who does not make too long, or too frequent visits in the same family. The flowers of wit, fancy, wisdom, humour, and politeness, scattered in this volume, amount to one thousand seventy and four. Allowing then to every gentleman and lady thirty visiting families, (not insisting upon fractions,) there will want but a little of a hundred polite questions, answers, replies, rejoinders, repartees and remarks, to be daily delivered fresh in every company for twelve solar months; and even this is a higher pitch of delicacy than the world insists on, or has reason to expect. But I am altogether for exalting this science to its utmost perfection.

It may be objected that the publication of my book may, in a long course of time, prostitute this noble art to mean and vulgar people; but I answer, that it is not so easy an acquirement as a few ignorant pretenders may imagine. A footman may swear, but he cannot swear like a lord. He can swear as often, but can he swear with equal delicacy, propriety, and judgment? No, certainly, unless he be a lad of superior parts, of good memory, a diligent observer, one who has a skilful ear, some knowledge in music, and an exact taste, which hardly fall to the share of one in a thousand among that fraternity, in as high favour as they now stand with their ladies. Neither has one footman in six so fine a genius as to relish and apply those exalted sentences comprised in this volume which I offer to the world. It is true, I cannot see that the same ill consequences would follow from the waiting-woman, who, if she had been bred to read romances, may have some small subaltern or second-hand politeness; and if she constantly attends the tea, and be a good listener, may, in some years, make a tolerable figure, which will serve, perhaps, to draw in the young chaplain or the old steward. But, alas! after all, how can she acquire those hundred graces, and motions, and airs, the whole military management of the fan, the contortions of every muscular motion in the face, the risings and fallings, the quickness and slowness of the voice, with the several turns and cadences; the proper juncture of smiling and frowning, how often and how loud to laugh, when to gibe and when to flout, with all the other branches of doctrine and discipline above recited?

I am, therefore, not under the least apprehension that this art will ever be in danger of falling into common hands, which requires so much time, study, practice, and genius before it arrives at perfection; and, therefore, I must repeat my proposal for erecting public schools, provided with the best and ablest masters and mistresses, at the charge of the nation.

I have drawn this work into the form of a dialogue, after the pattern of other famous writers in history, law, politics, and most other arts and sciences; and I hope it will have the same success: for who can contest it to be of greater consequence to the happiness of these kingdoms than all human knowledge put together? Dialogue is held the best method of inculcating any part of knowledge; and I am confident that public schools will soon be founded for teaching wit and politeness, after my scheme, to young people of quality and fortune. I have determined next session to deliver a petition to the house of lords, for an act of parliament to establish my book as the standard grammar in all the principal cities of the kingdom, where this art is to be taught by able masters, who are to be approved and recommended by me; which is no more than Lilly obtained only for teaching words in a language wholly useless. Neither shall I be so far wanting to myself as not to desire a patent, granted, of course, to all useful projectors; I mean, that I may have the sole profit of giving a license to every school to read my grammar for fourteen years.

The reader cannot but observe what pains I have

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been at in polishing the style of my book to the greatest exactness; nor have I been less diligent in refining the orthography, by spelling the words in the very same manner as they are pronounced by the chief patterns of politeness at court, at levees, at assemblies, at playhouses, at the prime visiting places, by young templars, and by gentlemen-commoners of both universities, who have lived at least a twelvemonth in Town, and kept the best company. Of these spellings the public will meet with many examples in the following book. For instance, *can't, han't, shan't, did'nt, cou'd'nt, wou'dn't, isn't, en't*, with many more; besides several words which scholars pretend are derived from Greek and Latin, but now pared into a polite sound by ladies, officers of the army, courtiers and templars, such as *jommetry* for *geometry*, *vardi* for *verdict*, *lard* for *lord*, *learnen* for *learning*; together with some abbreviations exquisitely refined; as *pozz* for *positive*; *mob* for *mobile*; *phizz* for *physiognomy*; *rep* for *reputation*; *plenipo* for *plenipotentiary*; *incog* for *incognito*; *hypps*, or *hippo*, for *hypochondriacs*; *bam* for *bamboozle*; and *bamboozle* for *God knows what*; whereby much time is saved, and the high road to conversation cut short by many a mile.

I have, as it will be apparent, laboured very much, and, I hope, with felicity enough, to make every character in the dialogue agreeable with itself to a degree, that whenever any judicious person shall read my book aloud, for the entertainment and instruction of a select company, he need not so much as name the particular speakers, because all the persons, throughout the several subjects of conversation, strictly observe a different manner peculiar to their characters, which are of different kinds; but this I leave entirely to the prudent and impartial reader's discernment.

Perhaps the very manner of introducing the several points of wit and humour may not be less entertaining and instructing than the matter itself. In the latter I can pretend to little merit; because it entirely depends upon memory, and the happiness of having kept polite company; but the art of contriving that those speeches should be introduced naturally, as the most proper sentiments to be delivered upon so great a variety of subjects, I take to be a talent somewhat uncommon, and a labour that few people could hope to succeed in, unless they had a genius particularly turned that way, added to a sincere, disinterested love of the public.

Although every curious question, smart answer, and witty reply be little known to many people, yet there is not one single sentence in the whole collection, for which I cannot bring most authentic vouchers, whenever I shall be called: and even for some expressions, which, to a few nice ears, may, perhaps, appear somewhat gross, I can produce the stamp of authority from courts, chocolate-houses, theatres, assemblies, drawing-rooms, levees, card-meetings, balls, and masquerades, from persons of both sexes, and of the highest titles next to royal. However, to say the truth, I have been very sparing in my quotations of such sentiments as seem to be over free; because, when I began my collection, such kind of converse was almost in its infancy, till it was taken into the protection of my honoured patronesses at court, by whose countenance and sanction it has become a choice flower in the nosegay of wit and politeness.

Some will perhaps object, that, when I bring my company to dinner, I mention too great a variety of dishes, not always consistent with the art of cookery, or proper for the season of the year; and part of the first course mingled with the second; besides a failure in politeness, by introducing a black pudding to a lord's table, and at a great entertainment; but, if I had omitted the black pudding, I desire to know what would have become of that exquisite reason given by Miss Notable for not eating it? the world, perhaps might have lost it for ever, and I should have been justly answerable for having left it out of my collection. I therefore cannot but hope, that such hypercritical readers will please to consider, my business was to make so full and complete a body of refined sayings as compact as I could, only taking care to produce them in the most natural and probable manner, in order to allure my readers into the very substance and marrow of this most admirable and necessary art.

I am heartily sorry, and was much disappointed to find, that so universal and polite an entertainment as cards, has hitherto contributed very little to the enlargement of my work. I have sat by many hundred times with the utmost vigilance, and my table-book ready, without being able, in eight hours, to gather matter for one single phrase in my book. But this, I think, may be easily accounted for, by the turbulence and justling of passions, upon the various and surprising turns, incidents, revolutions, and events of good and evil fortune, that arrive in the course of a long evening at play; the mind being wholly taken up, and the consequences of non-attention so fatal.

Play is supported upon the two great pillars of deliberation and action. The terms of art are few, prescribed by law and custom; no time allowed for digressions or trials of wit. Quadrille, in particular, bears some resemblance to a state of nature, which, we are told, is a state of war, wherein every woman is against every woman; the unions short, inconstant, and soon broke; the league made this minute without knowing the ally, and dissolved in the next. Thus, at the game of quadrille, female brains are always employed in stratagem, or their hands in action. Neither can I find that our art has gained much by the happy revival of masquerading among us; the whole dialogue in those meetings being summed up in one (sprightly, I confess, but) single question, and as sprightly an answer. "Do you know me?" "Yes, I do." And, "Do you know me?" "Yes I do." For this reason I did not think it proper to give my readers the trouble of introducing a masquerade, merely for the sake of a single question, and a single answer; especially when, to perform this in a proper manner, I must have brought in a hundred persons together of both sexes, dressed in fantastic habits for one minute, and dismiss them the next.

Neither is it reasonable to conceive that our science can be much improved by masquerades, where the wit of both sexes is altogether taken up in contriving singular and humorous disguises; and their thoughts entirely employed in bringing intrigues and assignations of gallantry to a happy conclusion.

The judicious reader will readily discover that I make Miss Notable my heroine, and Mr. Thomas Neverout my hero. I have laboured both their characters with my utmost ability. It is into their mouths that I have put the liveliest questions, answers, repartees, and rejoinders, because my design was, to propose them both as patterns, for all young bachelors and single ladies to copy after. By which I hope very soon to see polite conversation flourish between both sexes, in a more consummate degree of perfection than these kingdoms have yet ever known.

I have drawn some lines of sir John Linger's character, the Derbyshire knight, on purpose to place it in counterview or contrast with that of the other company, wherein I can assure the reader, that I intended not the least reflection upon Derbyshire, the place of my nativity. But my intention was only to show the misfortune of those persons who have the disadvantage to be bred out of the circle of politeness, whereof I take the present limits to extend no further than London and ten miles round; although others are pleased to confine it within the hills of mortality. If you compare the discourses of my gentlemen and ladies, with

those of sir John, you will hardly conceive him to have been bred in the same climate, or under the same laws, language, religion, or government; and, accordingly, I have introduced him speaking in his own rude dialect, for no other reason than to teach my scholars how to avoid it.

The curious reader will observe, that when conversation appears in danger to flag, which in some places I have artfully contrived, I took care to invent some sudden question, or turn of wit, to revive it; such as these that follow: "What! I think here's a silent meeting! Come, madam, a penny for your thought;" with several others of the like sort. I have rejected all provincial or country turns of wit and fancy, because I am acquainted with very few: but indeed chiefly, because I found them so much inferior to those at court, especially among the gentlemen-ushers, the ladies of the bedchamber, and the maids of honour; I must also add the bither end of our noble metropolis.

When this happy art of polite conversing shall be thoroughly improved, good company will be no longer pestered with dull, dry, tedious story-tellers, no brangling disputers; for a right scholar of either sex in our science, will perpetually interrupt them with some sudden surprising piece of wit, that shall engage all the company in a loud laugh; and if, after a pause, the grave companion resumes his thread in the following manner: "Well, but to go on with my story," new interruptions come from the left and the right, till he is forced to give over.

I have likewise made some few essays toward the selling of bargains, as well for instructing those who delight in that accomplishment as in compliance with my female friends at court. However, I have transgressed a little in this point, by doing it in a manner somewhat more reserved than is now practised at St. James's. At the same time, I can hardly allow this accomplishment to pass properly for a branch of that perfect polite conversation which makes the constituent subject of my treatise; and for this I have already given my reasons. I have likewise, for further caution, left a blank in the critical point of each bargain, which the sagacious reader may fill up in his own mind.

As to myself, I am proud to own that, except some smattering in the French, I am what the pedants and scholars call a man wholly illiterate, that is to say, unlearned. But as to my own language, I shall not readily yield to many persons. I have read most of the plays and all the miscellany poems that have been published for twenty years past. I have read Mr. Thomas Brown's works entire, and had the honour to be his intimate friend, who was universally allowed to be the greatest genius of his age.

Upon what foot I stand with the present chief reigning wits, their verses recommendatory, which they have commanded me to prefix before my book, will be more than a thousand witnesses. I am, and have been, likewise particularly acquainted with Mr. Charles Gildon, Mr. Ward, Mr. Dennis, that admirable critic and poet, and several others. Each of these eminent persons (I mean those who are still alive) have done me the honour to read this production five times over, with the strictest eye of friendly severity, and proposed some, although very few amendments, which I gratefully accepted, and do here publicly return my acknowledgment for so singular a favour.

And I cannot conceal, without ingratitude, the great assistance I have received from those two illustrious writers, Mr. Ozell and Captain Stevens. These, and some others of distinguished eminence, in whose company I have passed so many agreeable hours, as they have been the great refiners of our language, so it has been my chief ambition to imitate them. Let the Popes, the Gays, the Arbuthnots, the Youngs, and the rest of that snarling brood, burst with envy at the praises we receive from the court and kingdom.

But to return from this digression.

The reader will find that the following collection of polite expressions will easily incorporate with all subjects of genteel and fashionable life. Those which are proper for morning tea will be equally useful at the same entertainment in the afternoon, even in the same company, only by shifting the several questions, answers, and replies, into different hands; and such as are adapted to meals will indifferently serve for dinners or suppers, only distinguishing between day-light and candle-light. By this method no diligent person of a tolerable memory can ever be at a loss.

It has been my constant opinion, that every man who is intrusted by nature with any useful talent of the mind, is bound by all the ties of honour and that justice which we all owe our country, to propose to himself some one illustrious action to be performed in his life for the public emolument: and I freely confess that so grand, so important an enterprise, as I have undertaken and executed to the best of my power, well deserved a much abler hand, as well as a liberal encouragement from the crown. However, I am bound so far to acquit myself, as to declare, that I have often and most earnestly entreated several of my above-named friends, universally allowed to be of the first rank in wit and politeness, that they would undertake a work so honourable to themselves, and so beneficial to the kingdom; but so great was their modesty, that they all thought fit to excuse themselves, and impose the task on me; yet in so obliging a manner, and attended with such compliments on my poor qualifications, that I dare not repeat. And at last their entreaties, or rather their commands, added to that inviolable love I bear to the land of my nativity, prevailed upon me to engage in so bold an attempt.

I may venture to affirm, without the least violation of modesty, that there is no man now alive who has, by many degrees, so just pretensions as myself to the highest encouragement from the crown, the parliament, and the ministry, toward bringing this work to due perfection. I have been assured, that several great heroes of antiquity were worshipped as gods, upon the merit of having civilized a fierce and barbarous people. It is manifest I could have no other intentions; and I dare appeal to my very enemies, if such a treatise as mine had been published some years ago, and with as much success as I am confident this will meet, I mean, by turning the thoughts of the whole nobility and gentry to the study and practice of polite conversation, whether such mean stupid writers as the Craftsmen, and his abettors, could have been able to corrupt the principles of so many hundred thousand subjects, as, to the shame and grief of every Whiggish, loyal, and true Protestant heart, it is too manifest they have done. For I desire the honest judicious reader to make one remark, that, after having exhausted the whole *in sickly pay-day* * (if I may so call it) of politeness and refinement, and faithfully digested it into the following dialogues, there cannot be found one expression relating to politics; that the ministry is never mentioned, nor the word king, above twice or thrice, and then only to the honour of his majesty; so very cautious were our wiser ancestors in forming rules for conversation, as never to give offence to crowned heads nor interfere with party-disputes in the state. And, indeed, although there seems to be a close resemblance between the two words politeness and politics, yet no ideas are more inconsistent in their natures. However, to avoid all

* This word is spelt by Latinists *Encyclopædia*; but the judicious author wisely prefers the polite reading before the pedantic.

appearance of disaffection, I have taken care to enforce loyalty by an invincible argument, drawn from the very fountain of this noble science, in the following short terms, that ought to be writ in gold,—"MUST is for the king:" which uncontrollable maxim I took particular care of introducing in the first page of my book, thereby to instil early the best Protestant loyal notions into the minds of my readers. Neither is it merely my own private opinion, that politeness is the firmest foundation upon which loyalty can be supported; for thus happily sings the divine Mr. Tibbalds, or Theobalds, in one of his birth-day poems:

> I am no schollard, but I am polite;
> Therefore be sure I am no Jacobite.

Hear, likewise, to the same purpose, that great master of the whole poetic choir, our most illustrious laureat, Mr. Colley Cibber:

> Who in his talk can't speak a polite thing
> Will never loyal be to George our king.

I could produce many more shining passages out of our principal poets of both sexes to confirm this momentous truth: whence I think it may be fairly concluded, that whoever can most contribute towards propagating the science contained in the following sheets through the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, may justly demand all the favour that the wisest court and most judicious senate are able to confer on the most deserving subject. I leave the application to my readers.

This is the work which I have been so hardy as to attempt, and without the least mercenary view. Neither do I doubt of succeeding to my full wish, except among the Tories and their abettors, who, being all Jacobites, and consequently Papists in their hearts, from a want of true taste, or by strong affectation, may perhaps resolve not to read my book, choosing rather to deny themselves the pleasure and honour of shining in polite company, among the principal geniuses of both sexes throughout the kingdom than adorn their minds with this noble art; and probably apprehending, (as I confess nothing is more likely to happen,) that a true spirit of loyalty to the Protestant succession should steal in along with it.

If my favourable and gentle readers could possibly conceive the perpetual watchings, the numberless toils, the frequent risings in the night, to set down several ingenious sentences that I suddenly or accidentally recollected, and which, without my utmost vigilance, had been irrecoverably lost for ever; if they would consider with what incredible diligence I daily and nightly attended at those houses where persons of both sexes, and of the most distinguished merit, used to meet and display their talents; with what attention I listened to all their discourses, the better to retain them in my memory, and then, at proper seasons, withdrew, unobserved, to enter them in my table-book, while the company little suspected what a noble work I had then in embryo: I say, if all these were known to the world, I think it would be no great presumption in me to expect, at a proper juncture, the public thanks of both houses of parliament for the service and honour I have done to the whole nation by my single pen.

Although I have never been once charged with the least tincture of vanity, the reader will, I hope, give me leave to put an easy question: What is become of all the king of Sweden's victories? where are the fruits of them at this day? or of what benefit will they be to posterity? Were not many of his greatest actions owing, at least in part, to fortune? were not all of them owing to the valour of his troops, as much as to his own conduct? Could he have conquered the Polish king, or the czar of Muscovy, with his single arm? Far be it from me to envy or lessen the fame he has acquired; but, at the same time, I will venture to say, without breach of modesty, that I, who have alone, with this right hand, subdued barbarism, rudeness, and rusticity, who have established and fixed for ever the whole system of all true politeness and refinement in conversation, should think myself most inhumanly treated by my countrymen, and would accordingly resent it as the highest indignity, to be put on a level, in point of fame, in after ages, with Charles XII. late king of Sweden.

And yet so incurable is the love of detraction, perhaps beyond what the charitable reader will easily believe, that I have been assured, by more than one credible person, how some of my enemies have industriously whispered about, that one Isaac Newton, an instrument-maker, formerly living near Leicester-fields, and afterwards a workman in the mint at the Tower, might possibly pretend to vie with me for fame in future times. The man, it seems, was knighted for making sun-dials better than others of his trade, and was thought to be a conjurer, because he knew how to draw lines and circles upon a slate, which nobody could understand. But adieu to all noble attempts for endless renown, if the ghost of an obscure mechanic shall be raised up to enter into competition with me, only for his skill in making pot-hooks and hangers with a pencil, which many thousand accomplished gentlemen and ladies can perform as well with pen and ink upon a piece of paper, and in a manner as little intelligible as those of sir Isaac.

My most ingenious friend already mentioned, Mr. Colley Cibber, who does so much honour to the laurel crown he deservedly wears, (as he has often done to many imperial diadems placed on his head,) was pleased to tell me, that, if my treatise was shaped into a comedy, the representation, performed to advantage on our theatre, might very much contribute to the spreading of polite conversation among all persons of distinction through the whole kingdom.

I own the thought was ingenious, and my friend's intention good: but I cannot agree to his proposal; for Mr. Cibber himself allowed that the subjects handled in my work being so numerous and extensive, it would be absolutely impossible for one, two, or even six comedies, to contain them: whence it will follow, that many admirable and essential rules for polite conversation must be omitted.

And here let me do justice to my friend Mr. Tibbalds, who plainly confessed before Mr. Cibber himself, that such a project, as it would be a great diminution to my honour, so it would intolerably mangle my scheme, and thereby destroy the principal end at which I aimed, to form a complete body or system of this most useful science in all its parts: and therefore Mr. Tibbalds, whose judgment was never disputed, chose rather to fall in with my proposal, mentioned before, of erecting public schools and seminaries all over the kingdom, to instruct the young people of both sexes in this art, according to my rules, and in the method that I have laid down.

I shall conclude this long, but necessary introduction, with a request, or, indeed, rather a just and reasonable demand, from all lords, ladies and gentlemen, that while they are entertaining and improving each other with those polite questions, answers, repartees, replies, and rejoinders, which I have, with infinite labour and close application, during the space of thirty-six years, been collecting for their service and improvement, they shall, as an instance of gratitude, on every proper occasion, quote my name after this or the like manner: "Madam, as our Master Wagstaff says."—"My lord, as our friend Wagstaff has it." I do likewise expect that all my pupils shall drink my health every day at dinner and supper during my life,

and that they, or their posterity, shall continue the same ceremony to my not inglorious memory, after my decease, for ever.

POLITE CONVERSATION, &c.

The Men.	*The Ladies.*
Lord SPARKISH.	Lady SMART.
Lord SMART.	Miss NOTABLE.
Sir JOHN LINGER.	Lady ANSWERALL.
Mr. NEVEROUT.	
Colonel ATWIT.	

ARGUMENT.

Lord Sparkish and Colonel Atwit meet in the morning upon the Mall: Mr. Neverout joins them: they all go to breakfast at lady Smart's. Their conversation over their tea: after which they part; but my lord and the two gentlemen are invited to dinner:—Sir John Linger invited likewise, and comes a little too late. The whole conversation at dinner: after which, the ladies retire to their tea. The conversation of the ladies without the men, who are supposed to stay and drink a bottle, but, in some time, go to the ladies, and drink tea with them. The conversation there. After which, a party at quadrille until three in the morning; but no conversation set down. They all take leave and go home.

ST. JAMES'S PARK.

LORD SPARKISH *meeting* COL. ATWIT.

Col. WELL met, my lord.

Spark. Thank ye, colonel. A parson would have said, I hope we shall meet in heaven. When did you see Tom Neverout?

Col. He's just coming toward us. Talk of the devil—

NEVEROUT *comes up.*

Col. How do you do, Tom?

Never. Never the better for you.

Col. I hope you are never the worse: but pray where's your manners? Don't you see my lord Sparkish?

Never. My lord, I beg your lordship's pardon.

Spark. Tom, how is it that you can't see the wood for trees? What wind blew you hither?

Never. Why, my lord, it is an ill wind blows nobody good; for it gives me the honour of seeing your lordship.

Col. Tom, you must go with us to lady Smart's to breakfast.

Never. Must! why, colonel, must's for the king.

[*Col. offering, in jest, to draw his sword.*

Col. Have you spoke with all your friends?

Never. Colonel, as you are stout be merciful.

Spark. Come, agree, agree; the law's costly.

[*Col. taking his hand from his hilt.*

Col. Well, Tom, you are never the worse man to be afraid of me. Come along.

Never. What! do you think I was born in a wood, to be afraid of an owl? I'll wait on you. I hope Miss Notable will be there; 'egad, she's very handsome, and has wit at will.

Col. Why, every one as they like, as the good woman said when she kiss'd her cow.

LORD SMART'S *House: they knock at the door; the Porter comes out.*

Spark. Pray are you the porter?

Porter. Yes, for want of a better.

Spark. Is your lady at home?

Porter. She was at home just now, but she's not gone out yet.

Never. I warrant this rogue's tongue is well hung.

LADY SMART'S *Ante-chamber.*

LADY SMART *and* LADY ANSWERALL *at the Tea-table.*

Lady S. My lord, your lordship's most humble servant.

Spark. Madam, you spoke too late; I was your ladyship's before.

Lady S. Oh! colonel, are you here?

Col. As sure as you're there, madam.

Lady S. O, Mr. Neverout! What, such a man alive!

Never. Ay, madam, alive, and alive like to be, at your ladyship's service.

Lady S. Well, I'll get a knife, and nick it down, that Mr. Neverout came to our house. And pray, what news, Mr. Neverout?

Never. Why, madam, queen Elizabeth's dead.

Lady S. Well, Mr. Neverout, I see you are no changeling.

MISS NOTABLE *comes in.*

Never. Miss, your slave: I hope your early rising will do you no harm. I find you are but just come out of the cloth market.

Miss. I always rise at eleven, whether it be day or not.

Col. Miss, I hope you are up for all day.

Miss. Yes, if I don't get a fall before night.

Col. Miss, I heard you were out of order; pray how are you now?

Miss. Pretty well, colonel, I thank you.

Col. Pretty and well, miss! that's two very good things.

Miss. I mean I am better than I was.

Never. Why then 'tis well you were sick.

Miss. What! Mr. Neverout, you take me up before I'm down.

Lady S. Come, let us leave off children's play, and go to push-pin.

Miss. [*To lady S.*] Pray, madam, give me some more sugar to my tea.

Col. O! miss, you must needs be very good humour'd, you love sweet things so well.

Never. Stir it up with the spoon, miss; for the deeper the sweeter.

Lady S. I assure you, miss, the colonel has made you a great compliment.

Miss. I am sorry for it; for I have heard say, complimenting is lying.

Lady S. [*To Sparkish.*] My lord, methinks the sight of you is good for sore eyes; if we had known of your coming, we should have strewn rushes for you: How has your lordship done this long time?

Col. Faith, madam, he's better in health than in good conditions.

Spark. Well, I see there's no worse friend than one brings from home with one; and I am not the first man has carried a rod to whip himself.

Never. Here's poor miss has not a word to throw at a dog. Come, a penny for your thought.

Miss. It is not worth a farthing; for I was thinking of you.

COLONAL *rising up.*

Lady S. Colonel, where are you going so soon? I hope you did not come to fetch fire.

Col. Madam, I must needs go home for half an hour.

Miss. Why, colonel, they say the devil's at home.

Lady A. Well, but sit while you stay, 'tis as cheap sitting as standing.

Col. No, madam, while I'm standing, I'm going.

Miss. Nay, let him go; I promise him we won't tear his clothes to hold him.

Lady S. I suppose, colonel, we keep you from better company, I mean only as to myself.

Col. Madam, I am all obedience. [*Colonel sits down.*

Lady S. Lord, miss, how can you drink your tea so hot? sure your mouth's pav'd. How do you like this tea, colonel?

Col. Well enough, madam; but methinks it is a little more-ish.

Lady S. O! colonel, I understand you.—Betty, bring the cannister. I have but very little of this tea left; but I don't love to make two wants of one; want when I have it, and want when I have it not. He, he, he, he! [*Laughs.*

Lady A. [*To the maid.*] Why, sure, Betty, you are bewitched; the cream is burnt too.

Betty. Why, madam, the bishop has set his foot in it.

Lady S. Go, run, girl, and warm some fresh cream.

Betty. Indeed, madam, there's none left; for the cat has eaten it all.

Lady S. I doubt it was a cat with two legs.

Miss. Colonel, don't you love bread and butter with your tea?

Col. Yes, in a morning, miss; for they say, butter is gold in a morning, silver at noon, but it is lead at night.

Never. Miss, the weather is so hot that my butter melts on my bread.

Lady A. Why, butter, I've heard 'em say, is mad twice a-year.

Spark. [*To the maid.*] Mrs. Betty, how does your body politic?

Col. Fie, my lord, you'll make Mrs. Betty blush.

Lady S. Blush! ay, blush like a blue dog.

Never. Pray, Mrs. Betty, are you not Tom Johnson's daughter?

Betty. So my mother tells me, sir.

Spark. But, Mrs. Betty, I hear you are in love.

Betty. My lord, I thank God I hate nobody; I am in charity with all the world.

Lady S. Why, wench, I think thy tongue runs upon wheels this morning. How came you by that scratch upon your nose? Have you been fighting with the cats?

Col. [*To Miss.*] Miss, when will you be married?

Miss. One of these odd-come-shortly's, colonel.

Never. Yes; they say the match is half made; the spark is willing but miss is not.

Miss. I suppose the gentleman has got his own consent for it.

Lady A. Pray my lord, did you walk through the Park in the rain?

Spark. Yes, madam, we were neither sugar nor salt; we were not afraid the rain would melt us. He, he, he! [*Laughs.*

Col. It rained, and the sun shone at the same time.

Never. Why, then the devil was beating his wife behind the door with a shoulder of mutton. [*Laughs.*

Col. A blind man would be glad to see that.

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, methinks you stand in your own light.

Never. Ah! madam, I have done so all my life.

Spark. I'm sure he sits in mine. Pr'ythee, Tom, sit a little further; I believe your father was no glazier.

Lady S. Miss, dear girl, fill me out a dish of tea, for I'm very lazy.

Miss *fills a dish of tea, sweetens it, and then tastes it.*

Lady S. What, miss, will you be my taster?

Miss. No, madam; but they say 'tis an ill cook that can't lick her own fingers.

Never. Pray, miss, fill me another.

Miss. Will you have it now, or stay till you get it?

Lady A. But, colonel, they say you went to court last night very drunk; nay, I'm told for certain, you had been among the Philistines: no wonder the cat wink'd, when both her eyes were out.

Col. Indeed, madam, that's a lie.

Lady A. 'Tis better I should lie than you should lose your good manners: besides, I don't lie; I sit.

Never. O! faith, colonel, you must own you had a drop in your eye; when I left you, you were half seas over.

Spark. Well, I fear lady Answerall can't live long, she has so much wit.

Never. No; she can't live, that's certain; but she may linger thirty or forty years.

Miss. Live long! ay, longer than a cat or a dog, or a better thing.

Lady A. O! miss, you must give your vardi too!

Spark. Miss, shall I fill you another dish of tea?

Miss. Indeed, my lord, I have drank enough.

Spark. Come, it will do you more good than a mouth's fasting; here, take it.

Miss. No, I thank your lordship; enough's as good as a feast.

Spark. Well; but if you always say no, you'll never be married.

Lady A. Do, my lord, give her a dish; for they say maids will say no, and take it.

Spark. Well; and I dare say miss is a maid, in thought, word and deed.

Never. I would not take my oath of that.

Miss. Pray, sir, speak for yourself.

Lady S. Fie, miss; they say maids should be seen and not heard.

Lady A. Good miss, stir the fire, that the teakettle may boil.—You have done it very well: now it burns purely. Well, miss, you'll have a cheerful husband.

Miss. Indeed, your ladyship could have stirred it much better.

Lady A. I know that very well, hussy; but I won't keep a dog and bark myself.

Never. What! you are stuck [*sick*], miss.

Miss. Not at all; for her ladyship meant you.

Never. O! faith, miss, you are in Lob's pound; get out as you can.

Miss. I won't quarrel with my bread and butter for all that; I know when I m well.

Lady A. Well; but, miss—

Never. Ah! dear madam, let the matter fall; take pity on poor miss; don't throw water on a drowned rat.

Miss. Indeed, Mr. Neverout, you should be cut for the simples this morning; say a word more and you had as good eat your nails.

Spark. Pray, miss, will you be so good as to favour us with a song?

Miss. Indeed, my lord, I can't; for I have a great cold.

Col. O! miss, they say all good singers have colds.

Spark. Pray, madam, does not miss sing very well?

Lady A. She sings, as one may say, my lord.

Miss. I hear Mr. Neverout has a very good voice.

Col. Yes, Tom sings well, but his luck's nought.

Never. Faith, colonel, you hit yourself a devilish box on the ear.

Col. Miss, will you take a pinch of snuff?

Miss. No, colonel, you must know that I never take snuff but when I am angry.

Lady A. Yes, yes, she can take snuff, but she has never a box to put it in.

Miss. Pray, colonel, let me see that box.

Col. Madam, there's never a C upon it.

Miss. Maybe there is, colonel.

Col. Ay, but May bees don't fly now, miss.

Never. Colonel, why so hard upon poor miss? Don't set your wit against a child. Miss, give me a blow, and I'll beat him.

Miss. So she prayed me to tell you.

Spark. Pray, my lady Smart, what kin are you to lord Poxx?

Lady S. Why, his grandmother and mine had four elbows.

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Lady A. Well, methinks here's a silent meeting. Come, miss, hold up your head, girl; there's money bid for you. [*Miss starts.*

Miss. Lord, madam, you frighten me out of my seven senses!

Spark. Well, I must be going.

Lady A. I have seen hastier people than you stay all night.

Col. [*To lady Smart.*] Tom Neverout and I are to leap to-morrow for a guinea.

Miss. I believe colonel, Mr. Neverout can leap at a crust better than you.

Never. Miss, your tongue runs before your wit: nothing can tame you but a husband.

Miss. Peace! I think I hear the church-clock.

Never. Why, you know, as the fool thinks—

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, your handkerchief's fallen.

Miss. Let him set his foot on it, that it mayn't fly in his face.

Never. Well, miss—

Miss. Ay, ay; many a one says well that thinks ill.

Never. Well, miss, I'll think on this.

Miss. That's rhyme, if you take it in time.

Never. What! I see you are a poet.

Miss. Yes, if I had but the wit to show it.

Never. Miss, will you be so kind as to fill me a dish of tea?

Miss. Pray let your betters be served before you; I'm just going to fill one for myself; and, you know, the parson always christens his own child first.

Never. But I saw you fill one just now for the colonel: well, I find kissing goes by favour.

Miss. But pray, Mr. Neverout, what lady was that you were talking with in the side-box last Tuesday?

Never. Miss, can you keep a secret?

Miss. Yes, I can.

Never. Well, miss, and so can I.

Col. Odd-so! I have cut my thumb with this cursed knife!

Lady A. Ay; that was your mother's fault, because she only warned you not to cut your fingers.

Lady S. No, no; 'tis only fools cut their fingers, but wise folks cut their thumbs.

Miss. I'm sorry for it, but I can't cry.

Col. Don't you think miss is grown?

Lady A. Ay, ill weeds grow apace.

A puff of smoke comes down the chimney.

Lady A. Lord, madam, does your ladyship's chimney smoke?

Col. No, madam; but they say smoke always pursues the fair, and your ladyship sat nearest.

Lady S. Madam, do you love bohea tea?

Lady A. Why, madam, I must confess I do love it, but it does not love me.

Miss. [*To lady Smart.*] Indeed, madam, your ladyship is very sparing of your tea; I protest, the last I took was no more than water bewitch'd.

Col. Pray, miss, if I may be so bold, what lover gave you that fine etui?

Miss. Don't you know?—then keep counsel.

Lady A. I'll tell you, colonel, who gave it her: it was the best lover she will ever have while she lives—her own dear papa.

Never. Methinks, miss, I don't much like the colour of that ribbon.

Miss. Why, then, Mr. Neverout, do you see, if you don't much like it, you may look off it.

Spark. I don't doubt, madam, but your ladyship has heard that sir John Brisk has got an employment at court.

Lady S. Yes, yes; and I warrant he thinks himself no small fool now.

Never. Yes, madam; I have heard some people take him for a wise man.

Lady S. Ay, ay; some are wise, and some are otherwise.

Lady A. Do you know him, Mr. Neverout?

Never. Know him! ay, as well as the beggar knows his dish.

Col. Well, I can only say that he has better luck than honester folks. But, pray, how came he to get this employment?

Spark. Why, by chance, as the man killed the devil.

Never. Why, miss, you are in a brown study: what's the matter? Methinks you look like Mumchance, that was hanged for saying nothing.

Miss. I'd have you to know, I scorn your words.

Never. Well, but scornful dogs will eat dirty puddings.

Miss. Well, my comfort is, your tongue is no slander. What! you would not have one be always on the high grin!

Never. Cry mapsticks, madam; no offence, I hope.

LADY SMART *breaks a teacup.*

Lady A. Lord, madam, how came you to break your cup?

Lady S. I can't help it, if I would cry my eyes out.

Miss. Why, sell it, madam, and buy a new one with some of the money.

Col. 'Tis a folly to cry for spilt milk.

Lady S. Why, if things did not break, or wear out, how would tradesman live?

Miss. Well, I am very sick, if anybody cared for it.

Never. Come, then, miss, e'en make a die of it, and then we shall have a burying of our own.

Miss. The devil take you, Neverout! besides all small curses.

Lady A. Marry, come up! What, plain Neverout! methinks you might have an M under your girdle, miss.

Lady S. Well, well, nought's never in danger. I warrant miss will spit in her hand, and hold fast.—Colonel, do you like this biscuit?

Col. I'm like all fools; I love everything that's good.

Lady S. Well, and isn't it pure good?

Col. Tis better than a worse.

Footman brings the COLONEL *a letter.*

Lady A. I suppose, colonel, that's a billet-doux from your mistress.

Col. 'Egad, I don't know whence it comes; but whoe'er writ it, writes a hand like a foot.

Miss. Well, you may make a secret of it, but we can spell, and put together.

Never. Miss, what spells b double uzzard?

Miss. Buzzard in your teeth, Mr. Neverout.

Lady S. Now you are up, Mr. Neverout, will you do me the favour to do me the kindness to take off the teakettle.

Spark. I wonder what makes these bells ring.

Lady A. Why, my lord, I suppose, because they pull the ropes. [*Here all laugh.*

NEVEROUT *plays with a teacup.*

Miss. Now, a child would have cried half an hour before it would have found out such a pretty plaything.

Lady S. Well said, miss! I vow, Mr. Neverout, the girl is too hard for you.

Never. Ay; miss will say anything but her prayers, and those she whistles.

Miss. Pray, colonel, make me a present of that pretty penknife.

Spark. Ay, miss, catch him at that, and hang him.

Col. Not for the world, dear miss; it will cut love.

Spark. Colonel, you shall be married first; I was going to say that.

Lady S. Well, but, for all that, I can tell who is a great admirer of miss. Pray, miss, how do you like Mr. Spruce? I swear I have often seen him cast a

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sheep's eye out of a calf's head at you: deny it if you can.

Miss. O, madam, all the world knows that Mr. Spruce is a general lover.

Col. Come, miss, 'tis too true to make a jest on.

[*Miss blushes.*

Lady A. Well, however, blushing is some sign of grace.

Never. Miss says nothing; but I warrant she pays it off with thinking.

Miss. Well, ladies and gentlemen, you are pleased to divert yourselves; but, as I hope to be saved, there's nothing in it.

Lady S. Touch a gall'd horse, and he'll wince. Love will creep where it dare not go. I'd hold a hundred pound, Mr. Neverout was the inventor of that story; and, colonel, I doubt you had a finger in the pie.

Lady A. But, colonel, you forgot to salute miss when you came in; she said you had not been here a long time.

Miss. Fie, madam!—I vow, colonel, I said no such thing.—I wonder at your ladyship!

Col. Miss, I beg your pardon—

Goes to salute her; she struggles a little.

Miss. Well, I'd rather give a knave a kiss for once than be troubled with him; but, upon my word, you are more bold than welcome.

Lady S. Fie, fie, miss! for shame of the world, and speech of good people.

NEVEROUT *to* MISS, *who is cooking her tea and bread and butter.*

Never. Come, come, miss, make much of nought; good folks are scarce.

Miss. What! and you must come in with your two eggs a-penny, and three of them rotten.

Col. [*To Sparkish.*] But, my lord, I forgot to ask you how you like my new clothes?

Spark. Why, very well, colonel; only, to deal plainly with you, methinks the worst piece is in the middle.

[*Here a loud laugh, often repeated.*

Col. My lord, you are too severe on your friends.

Miss. Mr. Neverout, I'm hot, are you a sot?

Never. Miss, I'm cold, are you a scold? Take you that.

Lady S. I confess that was home. I find, Mr. Neverout, you won't give your head for the washing, as they say.

Miss. O! he's a sore man where the skin's off. I see Mr. Neverout has a mind to sharpen the edge of his wit on the whetstone of my ignorance,

Spark. Faith, Tom, you are struck! I never heard a better thing.

Never. Pray, miss, give me leave to scratch you for that fine speech.

Miss. Pox on your picture! it cost me a groat the drawing.

Never. [*To lady S.*] 'Shuds, madam, I have burnt my hand with your plaguy teakettle.

Lady S. Why, then, Mr. Neverout, you must say, God save the king.

Never. Did you ever see the like?

Miss. Never, but once at a wedding.

Col. Pray, miss, how old are you?

Miss. Why, I am as old as my tongue, and a little older than my teeth.

Spark. [*To lady A.*] Pray, madam, is Miss Buxom married? I hear 'tis all over the town.

Lady A. My lord, she's either married or worse.

Col. If she ben't married, at least she's lustily promised. But is it certain that sir John Blunderbuss is dead at last?

Spark. Yes, or else he's sadly wronged, for they have buried him.

Miss. Why, if he be dead, he'll eat no more bread.

Col. But, is he really dead?

Lady A. Yes, colonel, as sure as you're alive.

Col. They say he was an honest man.

Lady A. Yes, with good looking too.

Miss feels a pimple on her face.

Miss. Lord! I think my goodness is coming out Madam, will your ladyship please to lend me a patch?

Never. Miss, if you are a maid, put your hand upon your spot.

Miss. There—

[*Covering her face with both her hands.*

Lady S. Well, thou art a mad girl.

[*Gives her a tap.*

Miss. Lord, madam, is that a blow to give a child?

LADY SMART *lets fall her handkerchief, and the* COLONEL *stoops for it.*

Lady S. Colonel, you shall have a better office.

Col. O, madam, I can't have a better than to serve your ladyship. Madam, has your ladyship read the new play, written by a lord? It is called "Love in a Hollow Tree."

Lady S. No, colonel.

Col. Why, then your ladyship has one pleasure to come.

MISS *sighs.*

Never. Pray, miss, why do you sigh?

Miss. To make a fool ask, and you are the first.

Never. Why, miss, I find there is nothing but a hit and a blow with you.

Lady A. Why, you must know, miss is in love.

Miss. I wish my head may never ache till that day.

Spark. Come, miss, never sigh, but send for him.

LADY SMART *and* LADY ANSWERALL *speaking together.*

If he be hanged he'll come hopping; and if he be drown'd he'll come dropping.

Miss. Well, I swear you will make one die with laughing.

MISS *plays with a teacup, and* NEVEROUT *plays with another.*

Never. Well, I see one fool makes many.

Miss. And you are the greatest fool of any.

Never. Pray, miss, will you be so kind to tie th's string for me, with your fair hands? it will go all in your day's work.

Miss. Marry, come up, indeed! tie it yourself, you have as many hands as I; your man's man will have a fine office truly: come, pray stand out of my spitting-place.

Never. Well, but miss, don't be angry.

Miss. No; I was never angry in my life but once, and then nobody cared for it; so I resolved never to be angry again.

Never. Well; but if you'll tie it, you shall never know what I'll do for you.

Miss. So I suppose, truly.

Never. Well; but I'll make you a fine present one of these days.

Miss. Ay; when the devil's blind, and his eyes are not sore yet.

Never. No, miss, I'll send it you to-morrow.

Miss. Well, well; to-morrow's a new day; but, I suppose, you mean to-morrow come never.

Never. O! 'tis the prettiest thing: I assure you there came but two of them over in three ships.

Miss. Would I could see it, quoth blind Hugh. But why did you not bring me a present of snuff this morning?

Never. Because, miss, you never asked me: and 'tis an ill dog that's not worth whistling for.

Spark. [*To lady A.*] Pray, madam, how came your

ladyship, last Thursday, to go to that odious puppet-show?

Col. Why, to be sure, her ladyship went to see and to be seen.

Lady A. You have made a fine speech, colonel: pray, what will you take for your mouth-piece?

Spark. Take that, colonel: but, pray, madam, was my lady Snuff there? They say she's extremely handsome.

Lady S. They must not see with my eyes that think so.

Never. She may pass muster well enough.

Lady A. Pray, how old do you take her to be?

Col. Why, about five or six-and-twenty.

Miss. I swear she's no chicken; she's on the wrong side of thirty, if she be a day.

Lady A. Depend upon it, she'll never see five-and-thirty, and a bit to spare.

Col. Why, they say she's one of the chief toasts in town.

Lady S. Ay, when all the rest are out of it.

Miss. Well; I wou'dn't be as sick as she's proud for all the world.

Lady A. She looks as if butter wou'dn't melt in her mouth; but, I warrant, cheese won't choke her.

Never. I hear my lord What-d'ye-call-him is courting her.

Lady A. What lord d'ye mean, Tom?

Miss. Why, my lord, I suppose Mr. Neverout means the lord of the Lord knows what.

Col. They say she dances very fine.

Lady A. She did; but I doubt her dancing days are over.

Col. I can't pardon her for her rudeness to me.

Lady S. Well; but you must forget and forgive.

FOOTMAN *comes in.*

Lady S. Did you call Betty?

Footman. She's coming, madam.

Lady S. Coming! ay, so is Christmas.

BETTY *comes in.*

Lady S. Come, get ready my things. Where has the wench been these three hours?

Betty. Madam, I can't go faster than my legs will carry me.

Lady S. Ay, thou hast a head, and so has a pin. But, my lord, all the town has it that Miss Caper is to be married to sir Peter Gibeall; one thing is certain, that she has promised to have him.

Spark. Why, madam, you know promises are either broken or kept.

Lady A. I beg your pardon, my lord; promises and pie-crust are made to be broken.

Lady S. Nay, I had it from my lady Carrylie's own mouth. I tell you my tale and my tale's author; if it be a lie, you had it as cheap as I.

Lady A. She and I had some words last Sunday at church; but I think I gave her her own.

Lady S. Her tongue runs like the clapper of a mill; she talks enough for herself and all the company.

Never. And yet she simpers like a firmity kettle.

MISS *looking in a glass*

Miss. Lord, how my head is dress'd to-day!

Col. O, madam! a good face needs no band.

Miss. No; and a bad one deserves none.

Col. Pray, Miss, where is your old acquaintance, Mrs. Wayward?

Miss. Why, where should she be? you must needs know, she's in her skin.

Col. I can answer that; what if you were as far out as she's in?——

Miss. Well, I promised to go this evening to Hyde Park on the water; but I protest I'm half afraid.

Never. Never fear, miss; you have the old proverb on your side, Naught's ne'er in danger.

Col. Why, miss, let Tom Neverout wait on you, and then, I warrant, you'll be as safe as a thief in a mill, for you know, he that's born to be hang'd will never be drown'd.

Never. Thank you, colonel, for your good word; but faith, if ever I hang, it shall be about a fair lady's neck.

Lady S. Who's there? Bid the children be quiet, and not laugh so loud.

Lady A. O! madam, let'm laugh, they'll ne'er laugh younger.

Never. Miss, I'll tell you a secret, if you'll promise never to tell it again.

Miss. No, to be sure; I'll tell it to nobody but friends and strangers.

Never. Why then, there's some dirt in my teacup.

Miss. Come, come, the more there's in't, the more there's on't.

Lady A. Poh! you must eat a peck of dirt before you die.

Col. Ay, ay; it goes all one way.

Never. Pray, miss, what's a clock?

Miss. Why, you must know, 'tis a thing like a bell, and you a fool that can't tell.

Never. [*To lady A.*] Pray, madam, do you tell me; for I have let my watch run down.

Lady A. Why, 'tis half an hour past hanging time.

Col. Well; I'm like the butcher that was looking for his knife and had it in his mouth: I have been searching my pockets for my snuff-box, and, egad, here it is in my hand.

Miss. If it had been a bear, it would have bit you, colonel: well, I wish I had such a snuff-box.

Never. You'll be long enough before you wish your skin full of eyelet holes.

Col. Wish in one hand—

Miss. Out upon you: Lord, what can the man mean?

Spark. This tea is very hot.

Lady A. Why, it came from a hot place, my lord.

COLONEL *spills his tea.*

Lady S. That's as well done as if I had done it myself.

Col. Madam, I find you live by ill neighbours, when you are forced to praise yourself.

Lady S. So they pray'd me to tell you.

Never. Well, I won't drink a drop more; if I do 'twill go down like chopt hay.

Miss. Pray, don't say no, till you are asked.

Never. Well, what you please, and the rest again.

MISS, *stooping for a pin.*

Miss. I have heard 'em say, that a pin a-day is a groat a-year. Well, as I hope to be married, forgive me for swearing, I vow 'tis a needle.

Col. O! the wonderful works of nature, that a black hen should lay a white egg!

Never. What! you have found a mare's nest, and laugh at the eggs?

Miss. Pray keep your breath to cool your porridge.

Never. Miss, there was a very pleasant accident last night at St. James's Park.

Miss. [*To lady S.*] What was it your ladyship was going to say just now?

Never. Well, miss; tell a mare a tale—

Miss. I find you love to hear yourself talk.

Never. Why, if you won't hear my tale, kiss my, &c.

Miss. Out upon you, for a filthy creature!

Never. What, miss! must I tell you a story and find you ears?

Spark. [*To lady S.*] Pray, madam, don't you think Mrs. Spendall very genteel?

Lady S. Why, my lord, I think she was cut out for a gentlewoman, but she was spoil'd in the making: she wears her clothes as if they were thrown on her with a pitchfork; and, for the fashion, I believe they were made in the reign of queen Bess.

Never. Well, that's neither here nor there; for, you know, the more careless the more modish.

Col. Well, I'd hold a wager there will be a match between her and Dick Dolt: and I believe I can see as far into a millstone as another man.

Miss. Colonel, I must beg your pardon a thousand times; but they say, an old ape has an old eye.

Never. Miss, what do you mean? you'll spoil the colonel's marriage if you call him old.

Col. Not so old, nor yet so cold—You know the rest, miss.

Miss. Manners is a fine thing, truly.

Col. Faith, miss, depend upon't, I'll give you as good as you bring: what! if you give a jest you must take a jest.

Lady S. Well, Mr. Neverout, you'll ne'er have done till you break that knife, and then the man won't take it again.

Miss. Why, madam, fools will be meddling; I wish he may cut his fingers. I hope you can see your own blood without fainting.

Never. Why, miss, you shine this morning like a sh—n barn door: you'll never hold out at this rate; pray save a little wit for to-morrow.

Miss. Well, you have said your say; if people will be rude, I have done; my comfort is, 'twill be all one a thousand years hence.

Never. Miss, you have shut your bolt: I find you must have the last word—Well, I'll go to the opera to-night.—No, I can't, neither, for I have some business—and yet I think I must, for I promised to squire the countess to her box.

Miss. The countess of Puddledock, I suppose.

Never. Peace or war, miss?

Lady S. Well, Mr. Neverout, you'll never be mad, you are of so many minds.

As Miss *rises, the chair falls behind her.*

Miss. Well; I shan't be lady mayoress this year.

Never. No, miss, 'tis worse than that; you won't be married this year.

Miss. Lord! you make me laugh, though I an't well.

Neverout, *as* Miss *is standing, pulls her suddenly on his lap.*

Never. Now, colonel, come sit down on my lap; more sacks upon the mill.

Miss. Let me go; ar'n't you sorry for my heaviness?

Never. No, miss; you are very light; but I don't say you are a light hussy. Pray take up the chair for your pains.

Miss. 'Tis but one body's labour, you may do it yourself; I wish you would be quiet, you have more tricks than a dancing bear.

Neverout *rises to take up the chair, and* Miss *sits in his.*

Never. You won'dn't be so soon in my grave, madam.

Miss. Lord! I have torn my petticoat with your odious romping; my rents are coming in; I'm afraid shall fall into the ragman's hands.

Never. I'll mend it, miss.

Miss. You mend it! go, teach your grannam to suck eggs.

Never. Why, miss, you are so cross, I could find in my heart to hate you.

Miss. With all my heart; there will be *no* love lost between us.

Never. But pray, my lady Smart, does not miss look as if she could eat me without salt?

Miss. I'll make you one day sup sorrow for this.

Never. Well, follow your own way, you'll live the longer.

Miss. See, madam, how well I have mended it

Lady S. 'Tis indifferent, as Doll danced.

Never. 'Twill last as many nights as days.

Miss. Well, I knew it should never have your good word.

Lady S. My lord, my lady Answerall and I was walking in the park last night till near eleven; 'twas a very fine night.

Never. Egad, so was I; and I'll tell you a comical accident; egad, I lost my understanding.

Miss. I'm glad you had any to lose.

Lady S. Well, but what do you mean?

Never. Egad, I kick'd my foot against a stone, and tore off the heel of my shoe, and was forced to limp to a cobbler in the Pall-mall to have it put on. He, he, he, he! [*All laugh.*

Col. O! 'twas a delicate night to run away with another man's wife.

Neverout *sneezes.*

Miss. God bless you! if you han't taken snuff.

Never. Why, what if I have, miss?

Miss. Why, then, the deuce take you!

Never. Miss, I want that diamond ring of yours.

Miss. Why then, want's like to be your master.

Neverout *looking at the ring.*

Never. Ay, marry, this is not only, but also; where did you get it?

Miss. Why, where 'twas to be had; where the devil got the friar.

Never. Well; if I had such a fine diamond ring. I wou'dn't stay a day in England: but you know, far-fetch'd and dear bought is fit for ladies. I warrant, this cost your father 2½*d.*

Colonel *stretching himself.*

Lady S. Why, colonel, you break the king's laws; you stretch without a halter.

Lady A. Colonel, some ladies of your acquaintance have promised to breakfast with you, and I am to wait on them; what will you give us?

Col. Why, faith, madam, bachelor's fare: bread and cheese and kisses.

Lady A. Poh! what have you bachelors to do with your money, but to treat the ladies? you have nothing to keep but your own four quarters.

Lady S. My lord, has captain Brag the honour to be related to your lordship?

Spark. Very nearly, madam; he's my cousin-german, quite removed.

Lady A. Pray, is he not rich?

Spark. Ay, a rich rogue, two shirts and a rag.

Col. Well, however, they say he has a great estate, but only the right owner keeps him out of it.

Lady S. What religion is he of?

Spark. Why, he is an Anythingarian.

Lady A. I believe he has his religion to choose, my lord.

Neverout *scratches his head.*

Miss. Fie, Mr. Neverout, ar'n't you ashamed! I beg pardon for the expression, but I'm afraid your bosom friends are become your backbiters.

Never. Well, miss, I saw a flea once in your pinner, and a louse is a man's companion, but a flea is a dog's companion: however, I wish you would scratch my neck with your pretty white hand.

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Miss. And who would be fool, then? I wou'dn't touch a man's flesh for the universe. You have the wrong sow by the ear, I assure you; that's meat for your master.

Never. Miss Notable, all quarrels laid aside, pray step hither for a moment.

Miss. I'll wash my hands, and wait on you, sir; but pray come hither, and try to open this lock.

Never. We'll try what we can do.

Miss. We!—what, have you pigs in your belly?

Never. Miss, I assure you I am very handy at all things.

Miss. Marry, hang them that can't give themselves a good word: I believe you may have an even hand to throw a louse in the fire.

Col. Well, I must be plain; here's a very bad smell.

Miss. Perhaps, colonel, the fox is the finder.

Never. No, colonel; 'tis only your teeth against rain: but——

Miss. Colonel, I find you would make a very bad poor man's sow.

COLONEL *coughing.*

Col. I have got a sad cold.

Lady A. Ay; 'tis well if one can get anything these hard times.

Miss. [*To Col.*] Choke, chicken, there's more a-hatching.

Lady S. Pray, colonel, how did you get that cold?

Spark. Why, madam, I suppose the colonel got it by lying a-bed barefoot.

Lady A. Why then, colonel, you must take it for better for worse, as a man takes his wife.

Col. Well, ladies, I apprehend you without a constable.

Miss. Mr. Neverout! Mr. Neverout! come hither this moment.

Lady S. [*Imitating her.*] Mr. Neverout! Mr. Neverout! I wish he were tied to your girdle.

Never. What's the matter? whose mare's dead now?

Miss. Take your labour for your pains; you may go back again, like a fool, as you came.

Never. Well, miss, if you deceive me a second time, 'tis my fault.

Lady S. Colonel, methinks your coat is too short.

Col. It will be long enough before I get another, madam.

Miss. Come, come; the coat's a good coat, and come of good friends.

Never. Ladies, you are mistaken in the stuff: 'tis half silk.

Col. Tom Neverout, you are a fool, and that's your fault.

A great noise below.

Lady S. Hey, what a clattering is here! one would think hell was broke loose.

Miss. Indeed, madam, I must take my leave, for I a'n't well.

Lady S. What! you are sick of the mulligrubs with eating chopped hay?

Miss. No, indeed, madam; I'm sick and hungry, more need of a cook than a doctor.

Lady A. Poor miss! she's sick as a cushion; she wants nothing but stuffing.

Col. If you are sick, you shall have a caudle of calf's eggs.

Never. I can't find my gloves.

Miss. I saw the dog running away with some dirty thing a while ago.

Col. Miss, you have got my handkerchief; pray, let me have it.

Lady S. No; keep it, miss: for they say possession is eleven points of the law.

Miss. Madam, he shall never have it again; 'tis in buckster's hands.

Lady A. What! I see 'tis raining again.

Spark. Why, then, madam, we must do as they do in Spain.

Miss. Pray, my lord, how is that?

Spark. Why, madam, we must let it rain.

MISS *whispers lady* SMART.

Never. There's no whispering, but there's lying.

Miss. Lord! Mr. Neverout, you are as pert as a pearmonger this morning.

Never. Indeed, miss, you are very handsome.

Miss. Poh! I know that already; tell me news.

Somebody knocks at the door.

FOOTMAN *comes in.*

Footman. [*To Col.*] An please your honour, there's a man below wants to speak to you.

Col. Ladies, your pardon for a minute. [*Goes out.*

Lady S. Miss, I sent yesterday to know how you did, but you were gone abroad early.

Miss. Why, indeed, madam, I was hunch'd up in a hackney-coach with three country acquaintance, who called upon me to take the air as far as Highgate.

Lady S. And had you a pleasant airing?

Miss. No, madam; it rained all the time; I was jolted to death; and the road was so bad that I scream'd every moment, and called to the coachman, Pray, friend, don't spill us.

Never. So, miss, you were afraid that pride would have a fall.

Miss. Mr. Neverout, when I want a fool, I'll send for you.

Spark. Miss, didn't your left ear burn last night?

Miss. Pray why, my lord?

Spark. Because I was then in some company where you were extolled to the skies, I assure you.

Miss. My lord, that was more their goodness than my desert.

Spark. They said that you were a complete beauty.

Miss. My lord, I am as God made me.

Lady S. The girl's well enough, if she had but another nose.

Miss. O! madam, I know I shall always have your good word; you love to help a lame dog over the stile.

One knocks.

Lady S. Who's there? you're on the wrong side of the door; come in, if you be fat.

COLONEL *comes in again.*

Spark. Why, colonel, you are a man of great business.

Col. Ay, ay, my lord, I'm like my lord mayor's fool, full of business and nothing to do.

Lady S. My lord, don't you think the colonel's mightily fall'n away of late?

Spark. Ay, fall'n from a horseload to a cartload.

Col. Why, my lord, egad I am like a rabbit, fat and lean in four-and-twenty hours.

Lady S. I assure you, the colonel walks as straight as a pin.

Miss. Yes; he's a handsome-bodied man in the face.

Never. A handsome foot and leg; god-a-mercy shoe and stocking!

Col. What! three upon one! that's foul play: this would make a parson swear.

Never. Why, miss, what's the matter? you look as if you had neither won nor lost.

Col. Why, you must know, miss lives upon love.

Miss. Yes, upon love and lumps of the cupboard.

Lady A. Ay; they say love and pease-porridge are two dangerous things; one breaks the heart; and the other the belly.

Miss [*Imitating lady Answerall's tone.*] Very pretty! one breaks the heart, and the other the belly.

Lady A. Have a care; they say, mocking is catching.

Miss. I never heard that.

Never. Why, then, miss, you have a wrinkle——— more than ever you had before.

Miss. Well; live and learn.

Never. Ay; and be hang'd and forget all.

Miss. Well, Mr. Neverout, take it as you please; but, I swear, you are a saucy Jack, to use such expressions.

Never. Why, then, miss, if you go to that, I must tell you there's ne'er a Jack but there's a Gill.

Miss. O! Mr. Neverout, everybody knows that you are the pink of courtesy.

Never. And, miss, all the world allows that you are the flower of civility.

Lady S. Miss, I hear there was a great deal of company where you visited last night: pray, who were they?

Miss. Why, there was old lady Forward, miss Tomand-again, sir John Ogle, my lady Clapper, and I, quoth the dog.

Col. Was your visit long, miss?

Miss. Why, truly, they went all to the opera; and so poor pilgarlic came home alone.

Never. Alackaday, poor miss! methinks it grieves me to pity you.

Miss. What! you think you said a fine thing now; well, if I had a dog with no more wit, I would hang him.

Spark. Miss, if it is manners, may I ask which is oldest, you or lady Scuttle?

Miss. Why, my lord, when I die for age, she may quake for fear.

Lady S. She's a very great gadder abroad.

Lady A. Lord! she made me follow her last week through all the shops like a Tantiny pig.

Lady S. I remember, you told me you had been with her from Dan to Beersheba.

COLONEL *spits.*

Col. Lord! I shall die; I cannot spit from me.

Miss. O! Mr. Neverout, my little countess has just sitter'd; speak me fair, and I'll set you down for a puppy.

Never. Why, miss, if I speak you fair, perhaps I mayn't tell truth.

Spark. Ay, but, Tom, smoke that, she calls you puppy by craft.

Never. Well, miss, you ride the fore-horse to-day.

Miss. Ay, many a one says well, that thinks ill.

Never. Fie, miss; you said that once before; and, you know, too much of one thing is good for nothing.

Miss. Why, sure we can't say a good thing too often.

Spark. Well, so much for that, and butter for fish; let us call another cause. Pray, madam, does your ladyship know Mrs. Nice?

Lady S. Perfectly well, my lord; she's nice by name and nice by nature.

Spark. Is it possible she could take that booby, Tom Blunder, for love?

Miss. She had good skill in horse-flesh that could choose a goose to ride on.

Lady A. Why, my lord, 'twas her fate; they say, marriage and hanging go by destiny.

Col. I believe she'll ne'er be burnt for a witch.

Spark. They say, marriages are made in heaven; but I doubt, when she was married, she had no friend there.

Never. Well, she's got out of God's blessing into the warm sun.

Col. The fellow's well enough, if he had any guts in his brains.

Lady S. They say, thereby hangs a tale.

Spark. Why, he is a mere hobbledehoy, neither a man nor a boy.

Miss. Well, if I were to choose a husband, I would never be married to a little man.

Never. Pray, why so, miss? for they say, of all evils we ought to choose the least.

Miss. Because folks would say, when they saw us together, There goes the woman and her husband.

Col. [*To lady Smart.*] Will your ladyship be on the Mall to-morrow night?

Lady S. No, that won't be proper; you know to-morrow's Sunday.

Spark. What then, madam! they say, the better day the better deed.

Lady A. Pray, Mr. Neverout, how do you like lady Fruzz?

Never. Pox on her! She is as old as Poles (*St. Paul's Church*).

Miss. So will you be, if you don't hanged when you're young.

Never. Come, miss, let us be friends: will you go to the Park this evening?

Miss. With all my heart, and a piece of my liver; but not with you.

Lady S. I'll tell you one thing, and that's not two; I am afraid I shall get a fit of the headach to-day.

Col. O! madam, don't be afraid! it comes with a fright.

Miss. [*To lady Answerall.*] Madam, one of your ladyship's lappets is longer than t'other.

Lady A. Well, no matter; they that ride on a trotting horse, will ne'er perceive it.

Never. Indeed, miss, your lappets hang worse.

Miss. Well, I love a liar in my heart, and you fit me to a hair.

MISS *rises up*

Never. Deuce take you, miss; you trod on my foot: I hope you don't intend to come to my bed-side.

Miss. In troth, you are afraid of your friends, and none of them near you.

Spark. Well said, girl! [*Giving her a chuck.*] Take that: they say a chuck under the chin is worth two kisses.

Lady A. But, Mr. Neverout, I wonder why such a handsome, straight young gentleman as you don't get some rich widow.

Spark. Straight! ay, straight as my leg, and that's crooked at knee.

Never. Faith, madam, if it rained such widows, none of them would fall upon me. Egad, I was born under a three-penny planet, never to be worth a groat.

Lady A. No, Mr. Neverout; I believe you were born with a caul on your head, you are such a favourite among the ladies: but what think you of widow Prim? she's immensely rich.

Never. Hang her! they say her father was a baker.

Lady S. Ay; but it is not, What is she? but, What has she? now-a-days.

Col. Tom, faith, put on a bold face for once, and have at the widow. I'll speak a good word for you to her.

Lady A. Ay; I warrant you'll speak one word for him and two for yourself.

Miss. Well, I had that at my tongue's end.

Lady A. Why, miss, they say good wits jump.

Never. Faith, madam, I had rather marry a woman I loved in her smock than widow Prim if she had her weight in gold.

Lady S. Come, come, Mr. Neverout, marriage is honourable, but housekeeping is a shrew.

Lady A. Consider, Mr. Neverout, four bare legs in a bed: and you are a younger brother.

Col. Well, madam, the younger brother is the

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better gentleman: however, Tom, I would advise you to look before you leap.

Spark. The colonel says true; besides, you can't expect to wive and thrive in the same year.

Miss. [*Shuddering.*] Lord! there's somebody walking over my grave.

Col. Pray, lady Answerall, where was you last Wednesday, when I did myself the honour to wait on you? I think your ladyship is one of the tribe of Gad.

Lady A. Why, colonel, I was at church.

Col. Nay, then, I will be hang'd, and my horse too.

Never. I believe her ladyship was at a church with a chimney in it.

Miss. Lord, my petticoat! how it hangs by jommetry!

Never. Perhaps the fault may be in your shape.

Miss. [*Looking gravely.*] Come, Mr. Neverout, there's no jest like the true jest; but I suppose you think my back is broad enough to bear everything.

Never. Madam, I humbly beg your pardon.

Miss. Well, sir, your pardon's granted.

Never. Well, all things have an end, and a pudding has two, up-up-on me-my my word. [*Stutters.*

Miss. What! Mr. Neverout, can't you speak without a spoon?

Spark. [*To lady Smart.*] Has your ladyship seen the duchess since your falling out?

Lady S. Never, my lord, but once at a visit, and she looked at me as the devil looked over Lincoln.

Never. Pray, miss, take a pinch of my snuff.

Miss. What! you break my head, and give me a plaster; well, with all my heart; once and not use it.

Never. Well, miss, if you wanted me and your victuals, you'd want your two best friends.

Col. [*To Neverout.*] Tom, miss and you must kiss and be friends.

NEVEROUT *salutes* MISS.

Miss. Anything for a quiet life: my nose itch'd, and I knew I should drink wine, or kiss a fool.

Col. Well, Tom, if that ben't fair, hang fair.

Never. I never said a rude thing to a lady in my life.

Miss. Here's a pin for that lie; I'm sure liars had need of good memories. Pray, colonel, was not he very uncivil to me but just now?

Lady A. Mr. Neverout, if miss will be angry for nothing, take my counsel, and bid her turn the buckle of her girdle behind her.

Never. Come, lady Answerall, I know better things; miss and I are good friends; don't put tricks upon travellers.

Col. Tom, not a word of the pudding, I beg you.

Lady S. Ah, colonel! you'll never be good, nor then neither.

Spark. Which of the goods d'ye mean? good for something, or good for nothing?

Miss. I have a blister on my tongue, yet I don't remember I told a lie.

Lady A. I thought you did just now.

Spark. Pray, madam, what did thought do?

Lady S. Well, for my life, I cannot conceive what your lordship means.

Spark. Indeed, madam, I meant no harm.

Lady S. No, to be sure, my lord! you are as innocent as a devil of two years old.

Never. Madam, they say ill-doers are ill-deemers; but I don't apply it to your ladyship.

MISS, *mending a hole in her lace.*

Miss. Well, you see I'm mending; I hope I shall be good in time. Look, lady Answerall, is it not well mended?

Lady A. Ay, this is something like a tansy.

Never. Faith, miss, you have mended as a tinker mends a kettle; stop one hole and make two.

Lady S. Pray, colonel, are you not very much tam'il?

Col. Yes, madam; but a cup of Christmas ale will soon wash it off.

Spark. Lady Smart, does not your ladyship think Mrs. Fade is greatly altered since her marriage?

Lady A. Why, my lord, she was handsome in her time; but she cannot eat her cake and have her cake; I hear she's grown a mere otomy.

Lady S. Poor creature! the black ox has set his foot upon her already.

Miss. Ay; she has quite lost the blue on the plum.

Lady S. And yet, they say, her husband is very fond of her still.

Lady A. O, madam, if she would eat gold he would give it her.

Never. [*To lady Smart.*] Madam, have you heard that lady Queasy was lately at the playhouse incog.?

Lady S. What! lady Queasy of all women in the world! do you say it upon rep.?

Never. Poz, I saw her with my own eyes; she sat among the mob in the gallery; her own ugly phiz: and she saw me look at her.

Col. Her ladyship was plaguily bamb'd; I warrant it put her into the hips.

Never. I smoked her huge nose, and egad, she put me in mind of the woodcock, that strives to hide his long bill, and then thinks nobody sees him.

Col. Tom, I advise you hold your tongue; for you'll never say so good a thing again.

Lady S. Miss, what are you looking for?

Miss. O, madam, I have lost the finest needle—

Lady A. Why, seek till you find it, and then you won't lose your labour.

Never. The loop of my hat is broke, how shall I mend it? [*He fastens it with a pin.*] Well, hang him, say I, that has no shift.

Miss. Ay, and hang him that has one too many.

Never. O, miss, I have heard a sad story of you.

Miss. I defy you, Mr. Neverout; nobody can say black's my eye.

Never. I believe you wish they could.

Miss. Well, but who was your author? Come, tell truth and shame the devil.

Never. Come then, miss; guess who it was that told me? come, put on your considering cap.

Miss. Well, who was it?

Never. Why, one that lives within a mile of an oak.

Miss. Well, go hang yourself in your own garters, for I'm sure the gallows groans for you.

Never. Pretty miss! I was but in jest.

Miss. Well, but don't let that stick in your gizzard.

Col. My lord, does your lordship know Mrs. Talkall?

Spark. Only by sight; but I hear she has a great deal of wit; and, egad, as the saying is, mettle to the back.

Lady S. So I hear.

Col. Why, Dick Lubber said to her t'other day, Madam, you can't cry bo to a goose: yes, but I can, said she: and, egad, cry'd bo full in his face. We all thought we should break our hearts with laughing.

Spark. That was cutting with a vengeance: and, prithee, how did the fool look?

Col. Look! egad, he look'd for all the world like an owl in an ivy-bush.

A Child comes in screaming.

Miss. Well, if that child was mine, I'd whip it till the blood came; peace, you little vixen! if I were near you I would not be far from you.

Lady S. Ay, ay! bachelors' wives and maids' children are finely tutor'd.

Lady A. Come to me, master, and I'll give you a sugarplum. Why, miss, you forget that ever you was a child yourself. [*She gives the child a lump of sugar.*] I have heard 'em say, boys will long.

Col. My lord, I suppose you know that Mr. Buzzard has married again.

Lady S. This is his fourth wife; then he has been shod round.

Col. Why, you must know she had a month's mind to Dick Frontless, and thought to run away with him; but her parents forced her to take the old fellow for a good settlement.

Spark. So the man got his mare again.

Lady S. I'm told he said a very good thing to Dick; said he, You *think* us old fellows are fools; but we old fellows *know* young fellows are fools.

Col. I know nothing of that; but I know he's devilish old, and she's very young.

Lady A. Why, they call that a match of the world's making.

Miss. What if he had been young and she old?

Never. Why, miss, that would have been a match of the devil's making; but when both are young, that's a match of God's making.

Miss, *searching her pocket for a thimble, brings out a nutmeg.*

Never. O, miss, have a care; for if you carry a nutmeg in your pocket, you'll certainly be married to an old man.

Miss. Well, if I ever be married, it shall be to an old man: they always make the best husbands; and it is better to be an old man's darling than a young man's warling.

Never. Faith, miss, if you speak as you think, I'll give you my mother for a maid.

LADY SMART *rings the bell*

FOOTMAN *comes in.*

Lady S. Harkee, you fellow; run to my lady Match, and desire she will remember to be here at six to play at quadrille: d'ye hear, if you fall by the way, don't stay to get up again.

Foot. Madam, I don't know the house.

Lady S. That's not for want of ignorance; follow your nose; go, inquire among the servants.

FOOTMAN *goes out, and leaves the door open.*

Lady S. Here, come back, you fellow; why did you leave the door open? Remember, that a good servant must always come when he's called, do what he's bid, and shut the door after him.

The FOOTMAN *goes out again, and falls down stairs.*

Lady A. Neck or nothing; come down, or I'll fetch you down: well but I hope the poor fellow has not saved the bangman a labour.

Never. Pray, madam, smoke miss yonder, biting her lips, and playing with her fan.

Miss. Who's that takes my name in vain?

She runs up to them, and falls down.

Lady S. What more falling! do you intend the frolic should go round?

Lady A. Why, miss, I wish you may not have broke her ladyship's floor.

Never. Miss, come to me, and I'll take you up.

Spark. Well, but, without a jest, I hope, miss, you are not hurt.

Col. Nay, she must be hurt for certain; for you see her head is all of a lump.

Miss. Well, remember this, colonel, when I have money, and you have none.

Lady S. But, colonel, when do you design to get a house, and a wife, and a fire to put her in?

Miss. Lord! who would be married to a soldier, and carry his knapsack?

Never. O, madam: Mars and Venus, you know.

Col. Egad, madam, I'd marry to-morrow, if I thought I could bury my wife just when the honeymoon is over: but, they say, a woman has as many lives as a cat.

Lady A. I find the colonel thinks a dead wife under the table is the best goods in a man's house.

Lady S. O but, colonel, if you had a good wife, it would break your heart to part with her.

Col. Yes, madam; for they say, he that has lost his wife and sixpence, has lost a tester.

Lady S. But, colonel, they say, that every married man should believe there's but one good wife in the world, and that's his own.

Col. For all that, I doubt, a good wife must be bespoke; for there's none ready made.

Miss. I suppose the gentleman's a woman-hater; but, sir, I think you ought to remember that you had a mother: and pray, if it had not been for a woman where would you have been, colonel?

Col. Nay, miss, you cried whore first, when you talked of the knapsack.

Lady A. But I hope you won't blame the whole sex because some are bad.

Never. And they say he that hates woman, sucked a sow.

Col. O madam; there's no general rule without an exception.

Lady S. Then why don't you marry and settle?

Col. Egad, madam, there's nothing will settle me but a bullet.

Spark. Well, colonel, there's one comfort, that you need not fear a cannon-bullet.

Col. Why so, my lord?

Spark. Because they say, he was cursed in his mother's belly that was killed by a cannon-bullet.

Miss. I suppose the colonel was crossed in his first love, which makes him so severe on all the sex.

Lady A. Yes; and I'll hold a hundred to one that the colonel has been over head and ears in love with some lady that has made his heart ache.

Col. O, madam, we soldiers are admirers of all the fair sex.

Miss. I wish I could see the colonel in love till he was ready to die.

Lady S. Ay, but, I doubt few people die for love in these days.

Never. Well, I confess, I differ from the colonel; for I hope to have a rich and a handsome wife yet before I die.

Col. Ay, Tom; live, horse, and thou shalt have grass.

Miss. Well, colonel; but whatever you say against women, they are better creatures than men: for men were made of clay, but woman was made of man.

Col. Miss, you may say what you please; but faith you'll never lead apes in hell.

Never. No, no; I'll be sworn miss has not an inch of nun's flesh about her.

Miss. I understumble you, gentlemen.

Never. Madam, your humblecumdumble.

Spark. Pray, miss, when did you see your old acquaintance, Mrs. Cloudy? you and she are two, I hear.

Miss. See her! marry, I don't care whether I ever see her again! God bless my eyesight!

Lady A. Lord! why she and you were as great as two inkle-weavers. I've seen her hug you as the devil hugged the witch.

Miss. That's true; but I'm told for certain she's no better than she should be.

Lady S. Well, God mend us all; but you must

allow the world is very censorious; I never heard that she was a naughty pack.

Col. [*To Neverout.*] Come, sir Thomas, when the king pleases, when do you intend to march?

Spark. Have patience. Tom, is your friend Ned Rattle married?

Never. Yes, faith, my lord; he has tied a knot with his tongue that he can never untie with his teeth.

Lady S. Ah! marry in haste, and repent at leisure.

Lady A. Has he got a good fortune with his lady? for they say something has some savour, but nothing has no flavour.

Never. Faith, madam, all he gets by her he may put into his eye and see never the worse.

Miss. Then, I believe he heartily wishes her in Abraham's bosom.

Col. Pray, my lord, how does Charles Limber and his fine wife agree?

Spark. Why, they say he's the greatest cuckold in town.

Never. O but, my lord, you should always except my lord mayor.

Miss. Mr. Neverout!

Never. Hay, madam, did you call me?

Miss. Hay! why, hay is for horses.

Never. Why miss, then you may kiss—

Col. Pray, my lord, what's o'clock by your oracle?

Spark. Faith, I can't tell; I think my watch runs upon wheels.

Never. Miss, pray be so kind to call a servant to bring me a glass of small beer: I know you are at home here.

Miss. Every fool can do as they're bid: make a page of your own age, and do it yourself.

Never. Choose, proud fool; I did but ask you.

MISS *puts her hand upon her knee.*

Never. What, miss, are you thinking of your sweetheart? is your garter slipping down?

Miss. Pray, Mr. Neverout, keep your breath to cool your porridge; you measure my corn by your bushel.

Never. Indeed, miss, you lie—

Miss. Did you ever hear anything so rude?

Never. I mean, you lie—under a mistake.

Miss. If a thousand lies could choke you, you would have been choked many a day ago.

MISS *strives to snatch* MR. NEVEROUT'S *snuff-box.*

Never. Madam, you missed that, as you missed your mother's blessing.

She tries again, and misses.

Never. Snap short makes you look so lean, miss.

Miss. Poh! you are so robustious, you had like to put out my eye; I assure you, if you blind me, you must lead me.

Lady S. Dear miss, be quiet; and bring me a pincushion out of that closet.

MISS *opens the closet door and squalls.*

Lady S. Lord bless the girl! what's the matter now?

Miss. I vow, madam, I saw something in black; I thought it was a spirit.

Col. Why, miss, did you ever see a spirit?

Miss. No, sir; I thank God I never saw anything worse than myself.

Never. Well, I did a very foolish thing yesterday, and was a great puppy for my pains.

Miss. Very likely; for they say, many a true word's spoken in jest.

FOOTMAN *returns.*

Lady S. Well, did you deliver your message? you are fit to be sent for sorrow, you stay so long by the way.

Foot. Madam, my lady was not at home, so I did not leave the message.

Lady S. This it is to send a fool of an errand.

Spark. [*Looking at his watch.*] 'Tis past twelve o'clock.

Lady S. Well, what is that among all us?

Spark. Madam, I must take my leave: come, gentlemen, are you for a march?

Lady S. Well, but your lordship and the colonel will dine with us to-day; and, Mr. Neverout, I hope we shall have your good company; there will be no soul else, beside my own lord and these ladies; for everybody knows I hate a crowd; I would rather want victuals than elbow-room; we dine punctually at three.

Spark. Madam, we'll be sure to attend your ladyship.

Col. Madam, my stomach serves me instead of a clock.

Another FOOTMAN *comes back.*

Lady S. Oh! you are the t'other fellow I sent; well, have you been with my lady Club? you are good to send of a dead man's errand.

Foot. Madam, my lady Club begs your ladyship's pardon: but she is engaged to-night.

Miss. Well, Mr. Neverout, here's the back of my hand to you.

Never. Miss, I find you will have the last word. Ladies, I am more yours than my own.

DIALOGUE II.

LORD SMART *and the former company at three o'clock coming to dine. After salutations.*

Smart. I'm sorry I was not at home this morning when you all did us the honour to call here; but I went to the levee to-day.

Spark. Oh! my lord; I am sure the loss was ours.

Lady S. Gentlemen and ladies, you are come to a sad dirty house; I am sorry for it, but we have had our hands in mortar.

Spark. Oh! madam; your ladyship is pleased to say so; but I never saw anything so clean and so fine; I profess it is a perfect paradise.

Lady S. My lord, your lordship is always very obliging.

Spark. Pray, madam, whose picture is that?

Lady S. Why, my lord, it was drawn for me.

Spark. I'll swear the painter did not flatter your ladyship.

Col. My lord, the day is finely cleared up.

Smart. Ay, colonel; 'tis a pity that fair weather should ever do any harm. [*To Neverout.*] Why, Tom, you are high in the mode.

Never. My lord, it is better to be out of the world than out of the fashion.

Smart. But, Tom, I hear you and miss are always quarrelling: I fear it is your fault; for I can assure you she is very good-humoured.

Never. Ay, my lord; so is the devil when he's pleased.

Smart. Miss, what do you think of my friend Tom?

Miss. My lord, I think he's not the wisest man in the world; and truly he's sometimes very rude.

Spark. That may be true; but yet, he that hangs Tom for a fool may find a knave in the halter.

Miss. Well, however, I wish he were hanged, if it were only to try.

Never. Well, miss, if I must be hanged, I won't go far to choose my gallows; it shall be about your fair neck.

Miss. I'll see your nose cheese first and the dogs eating it; but, my lord, Mr. Neverout's wit begins to run low; for, I vow, he said this before; pray, colonel, give him a pinch, and I'll do as much for you.

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Spark. My lady Smart, your ladyship has a very fine scarf.

Lady S. Yes, my lord; it will make a flaming figure in a country church.

FOOTMAN *comes in.*

Foot. Madam, dinner's upon the table.

Col. Faith, I am glad of it; my belly began to cry cupboard.

Never. I wish I may never hear worse news.

Miss. What! Mr. Neverout, you are in great haste; I believe your belly thinks your throat is cut.

Never. No, faith, miss; three meals a-day, and a good supper at night, will serve my turn.

Miss. To say the truth, I'm hungry.

Never. And I'm angry; so let us both go fight.

They go in to dinner, and, after the usual compliments, take their seats.

Lady S. Ladies and gentlemen, will you eat any oysters before dinner?

Col. With all my heart. [*Takes an oyster.*] He was a bold man that first ate an oyster.

Lady S. They say oysters are a cruel meat, because we eat them alive: then they are an uncharitable meat, for we leave nothing to the poor; and they are an ungodly meat, because we never say grace.

Never. Faith, that's as well said as if I had said it myself.

Lady S. Well, we are well set if we be but as well served: come, colonel, handle your arms; shall I help you to some beef?

Col. If your ladyship please; and pray, don't cut like a mother-in-law, but send me a large slice: for I love to lay a good foundation. I vow, 'tis a noble sirloin.

Never. Ay; here's cut and come again.

Miss. But pray, why is it called a sirloin?

Smart. Why you must know, that our king James I., who loved good eating, being invited to dinner by one of his nobles, and seeing a large loin of beef at his table, he drew out his sword, and in a frolic knighted it. Few people know the secret of this.

Spark. Beef is man's meat, my lord.

Smart. But, my lord, I say beef is the king of meat.

Miss. Pray what have I done, that I must not have a plate?

Lady S. [*To lady A.*] What will your ladyship please to eat?

Lady A. Pray, madam, help yourself.

Col. They say, eating and scratching wants but a beginning: if you'll give me leave, I'll help myself to a slice of this shoulder of veal.

Lady S. Colonel, you can't do a kinder thing; well, you are all heartily welcome, as I may say.

Col. They say there are thirty and two good bits in a shoulder of veal.

Lady S. Ay, colonel, thirty bad bits and two good ones; you see I understand you; but I hope you have got one of the two good ones.

Never. Colonel, I'll be of your mess.

Col. Then pray, Tom, carve for yourself; they say, two hands in a dish, and one in a purse: Hah! said I well, Tom?

Never. Colonel, you spoke like an oracle.

Miss. [*To lady A.*] Madam, will your ladyship help me to some fish?

Smart. [*To Neverout.*] Tom, they say fish should swim three.

Never. How is that, my lord?

Smart. Why, Tom, first it should swim in the sea, (do you mind me?) then it should swim in butter; and at last, sirrah, it should swim in good claret. I think I have made it out.

Foot. [*To lord Smart.*] My lord, sir John Linger is coming up.

Smart. God so! I invited him to dine with me today, and forgot it: well, desire him to walk in.

SIR JOHN LINGER *comes in.*

Sir J. What! you are at it! why then I'll be gone.

Lady S. Sir John, I beg you will sit down; come, the more the merrier.

Sir J. Ay; but the fewer the better cheer.

Lady S. Well, I am the worst in the world at making apologies; it was my lord's fault: I doubt you must kiss the hare's foot.

Sir J. I see you are fast by the teeth.

Col. Faith, sir John, we are killing that that would kill us.

Spark. You see, sir John, we are upon a business of life and death; come, will you do as we do? you are come in pudding-time.

Sir J. Ay; this would be doing if I were dead. What! you keep court hours, I see: I'll be going, and get a bit of meat at my inn.

Lady S. Why, we won't eat you, sir John.

Sir J. It is my own fault; but I was kept by a fellow, who bought some Derbyshire oxen of me.

Never. You see, sir John, we stayed for you as one horse does for another.

Lady S. My lord, will you help sir John to some beef? Lady Answerall, pray eat, you see your dinner; I am sure, if we had known we should have such good company, we should have been better provided; but you must take the will for the deed. I'm afraid you are invited to your loss.

Col. And pray, sir John, how do you like the town? you have been absent a long time.

Sir J. Why, I find little London stands just where it did when I left it last.

Never. What do you think of Hanover-square? Why, sir John, London is gone out of town since you saw it.

Lady S. Sir John, I can only say, you are heartily welcome; and I wish I had something better for you.

Col. Here's no salt; cuckolds will run away with the meat.

Smart. Pray edge a little, to make more room for sir John: sir John, fall to: you know half an hour is soon lost at dinner.

Sir J. I protest, I can't eat a bit, for I took share of a beefsteak and two mugs of ale with my chapman, besides a tankard of March beer, as soon as I got out of my bed.

Lady A. No! fresh and fasting, I hope?

Sir J. Yes, faith, madam; I always wash my kettle before I put the meat in it.

Lady S. Poh! sir John, you have seen nine houses since you ate last: come, you have kept a corner in your stomach for a piece of venison pasty.

Sir J. Well, I'll try what I can do when it comes up.

Lady A. Come, sir John, you may go further and fare worse.

Miss. [*To Neverout.*] Pray, Mr. Neverout, will you please to send me a piece of tongue?

Never. By no means, madam: one tongue is enough for a woman.

Col. Miss, here's a tongue that never told a lie.

Miss. That was, because it could not speak. Why, colonel, I never told a lie in my life.

Never. I appeal to all the company, whether that be not the greatest lie that ever was told?

Col. [*To Neverout.*] Prithee, Tom, send me the two legs, and rump, and liver of that pigeon; for, you must know, I love what nobody else loves.

Never. But what if any of the ladies should long?

Well, here take it, and the d——l do you good with it.

Lady A. Well; this eating and drinking takes away a body's stomach.

Never. I am sure I have lost mine.

Miss. What! the bottom of it, I suppose?

Never. No, really, miss; I have quite lost it.

Miss. I should be very sorry a poor body had found it.

Lady S. But, sir John, we hear you are married since we saw you last: what! you have stolen a wedding, it seems?

Sir J. Well; one can't do a foolish thing once in one's life, but one must hear of it a hundred times.

Col. And, pray, sir John, how does your lady unknown?

Sir J. My wife's well, colonel, and at your service in a civil way. Ha, ha! [*He laughs.*

Miss. Pray, sir John, is your lady tall or short?

Sir J. Why, miss, I thank God, she is a little evil.

Spark. Come, give me a glass of claret.

FOOTMAN *fills him a bumper.*

Spark. Why do you fill so much?

Never. My lord, he fills as he loves you.

Lady S. Miss, shall I send you some encumber?

Miss. Madam, I dare not touch it: for they say cucumbers are cold in the third degree.

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, do you love pudding?

Never. Madam, I am like all fools, I love everything that is good; but the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Col. Sir John, I hear you are a great walker when you are at home.

Sir J. No, faith, colonel; I always love to walk with a horse in my hand: but I have had devilish bad luck in horse-flesh of late.

Smart. Why, then, sir John, you must kiss a parson's wife.

Lady S. They say, sir John, that your lady has a great deal of wit.

Sir J. Madam, she can make a pudding, and has just wit enough to know her husband's breeches from another man's.

Smart. My lord Sparkish, I have some excellent cider; will you please to taste it?

Spark. My lord, I should like it well enough, if it were not treacherous.

Smart. Pray, my lord, how is it treacherous?

Spark. Because it smiles in my face, and cuts my throat. [*Here a loud laugh.*

Miss. Odd so! madam; your knives are very sharp, for I have cut my finger.

Lady S. I am sorry for it: pray which finger? (God bless the mark!)

Miss. Why, this finger: no, 'tis this: I vow I can't find which it is.

Never. Ay; the fox had a wound, and he could not tell where, &c. Bring some water to throw in her face.

Miss. Pray, Mr. Neverout, did you ever draw a sword in anger? I warrant you would faint at the sight of your own blood.

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, shall I send you some veal?

Never. No, madam, I don't love it.

Miss. Then pray for them that do. I desire your ladyship will send me a bit.

Smart. Tom, my service to you.

Never. My lord, this moment I did myself the honour to drink to your lordship.

Smart. Why, then, that's Hertfordshire kindness.

Never. Faith, my lord, I pledged myself; for I drank twice together without thinking.

Spark. Why, then, colonel, my humble service to you

Never. Pray, my lord, don't make a bridge of my nose.

Spark. Well, a glass of this wine is as comfortable as matrimony to an old woman.

Col. Sir John, I design, one of these days, to come and beat up your quarters in Derbyshire.

Sir J. Faith, colonel, come, and welcome: and stay away, and heartily welcome: but you were born within the sound of Bow bell, and don't care to stir so far from London.

Miss. Pray, colonel, send me some fritters.

COLONEL *takes them out with his hand.*

Col. Here, miss; they say fingers were made before forks, and hands before knives.

Lady S. Methinks this pudding is too much boil'd.

Lady A. O! madam, they say a pudding is poison when it is too much boil'd.

Never. Miss, shall I help you to a pigeon? here's a pigeon so finely roasted, it cries, Come eat me.

Miss. No, sir; I thank you.

Never. Why, then you may choose.

Miss. I have chosen already.

Never. Well, you may be worse offer'd before you are twice married.

The COLONEL *fills a large plate of soup.*

Smart. Why, colonel, you don't mean to eat all that soup?

Col. O! my lord, this is my sick dish; when I'm well I'll have a bigger.

Miss. [*To Col.*] Sup, Simon; very good broth

Never. This seems to be a good pullet.

Miss. I warrant, Mr. Neverout knows what's good for himself.

Spark. Tom, I shan't take your word for it; help me to a wing.

NEVEROUT *tries to cut off a wing.*

Never. Egad, I can't hit the joint.

Spark. Why then, think of a cuckold.

Never. O! now I have nick'd it. [*Gives it to Id. Sparkish.*

Spark. Why, a man may eat this, though his wife lay a-dying.

Col. Pray, friend, give me a glass of small beer, if it be good.

Smart. Why, colonel, they say, there is no such thing as good small beer, good brown bread, or a good old woman.

Lady S. [*To lady A.*] Madam, I beg your ladyship's pardon; I did not see you when I was cutting that bit.

Lady A. O! madam; after you is good manners.

Lady S. Lord! here's a hair in the sauce!

Spark. Then, madam, set the hounds after it.

Never. Pray, colonel, help me, however, to some of that same sauce.

Col. Come, I think you are more sauce than pig.

Smart. Sir John, cheer up: my service to you: well, what do you think of the world to come?

Sir J. Truly, my lord, I think of it as little as I can.

Lady S. [*Putting a skewer on a plate.*] Here take this skewer, and carry it down to the cook, to dress it for her own dinner.

Never. I beg your ladyship's pardon; but this small beer is dead.

Lady S. Why, then, let it be buried.

Col. This is admirable black-pudding: miss, shall I carve you some? I can just carve pudding and that's all; I am the worst carver in the world; I should never make a good chaplain.

Miss. No, thank ye, colonel; for they say those that eat black-pudding will dream of the devil.

Smart. O, here comes the venison pastry: here, take the soup away. [*He cuts it up, and tastes the venison.*] 'Sbuds! this venison is musty.

NEVEROUT *eats a piece, and it burns his mouth.*

Smart. What's the matter, Tom? you have tears in your eyes, I think: what dost cry for, man?

Never. My lord, I was just thinking of my poor grandmother! she died just this very day seven years.

MISS *takes a bit and burns her mouth.*

Never. And pray, miss, why do you cry, too?

Miss. Because you were not hang'd the day your grandmother died.

Smart. I'd have given 40*l.*, miss, to have said that.

Col. Egad, I think the more I eat the hungrier I am.

Spark. Why, colonel, they say, one shoulder of mutton drives down another.

Never. Egad, if I were to fast for my life, I would take a good breakfast in the morning, a good dinner at noon, and a good supper at night.

Spark. My lord, this venison is plaguily pepper'd; your cook has a heavy hand

Smart. My lord, I hope you are pepper-proof; come, here's a health to the founders.

Lady S. Ay; and to the confounders, too.

Smart. Lady Answerall, does your ladyship love venison?

Lady A. No, my lord, I can't endure it in my sight: therefore please to send me a good piece of meat and crust.

Spark. [*Drinks to Neverout.*] Come, Tom; not always to my friends, but once to you.

Never. [*Drinks to lady Smart.*] Come, madam; here's a health to our friends, and hang the rest of our kin.

Lady S. [*To lady A.*] Madam, will your ladyship have any of this hare?

Lady A. No, madam, they say 'tis melancholy meat.

Lady S. Then, madam, shall I send you the brains? I beg your ladyship's pardon; for they say, 'tis not good manners to offer brains.

Lady A. No, madam; for perhaps it will make me harebrain'd.

Never. Miss, I must tell you one thing.

Miss. [*With a glass in her hand.*] Hold your tongue, Mr. Neverout; don't speak in my tip.

Col. Well, he was an ingenious man that first found out eating and drinking.

Spark. Of all vittles drink digests the quickest: give me a glass of wine.

Never. My lord, your wine is too strong.

Smart. Ay, Tom, as much as you're too good.

Miss. This almond-pudding was pure good; but it is grown quite cold.

Never. So much the better, miss, cold pudding will settle your love.

Miss. Pray, Mr. Neverout, are you going to take a voyage?

Never. Why do you ask, miss?

Miss. Because you have laid in so much beef.

Sir J. You two have eat up the whole pudding between you.

Miss. Sir John, here's a little bit left; will you please to have it?

Sir J. No, thankee; I don't love to make a fool of my mouth.

Col. [*Calling to the butler.*] John, is your small beer good?

Butler. And please your honour, my lord and lady like it; I think it is good.

Col. Why, then, John, dy'e see, if you are sure your small beer is good, d'ye mark? then, give me a glass of wine. [*All laugh.*

COLONEL *tasting the wine.*

Smart. Sir John, how does your neighbour Gatherall of the Peak? I hear he has lately made a purchase.

Sir J. O! Dick Gatherall knows how to butter his bread as well as any man in Derbyshire.

Smart. Why he used to go very fine when he was here in town.

Sir J. Ay; and it became him, as a saddle becomes a sow.

Col. I know his lady, and I think she is a very good woman.

Sir J. Faith, she has more goodness in her little finger than he has in his whole body.

Smart. Well, colonel, how do you like that wine?

Col. This wine should be eaten, it is too good to be drunk.

Smart. I'm very glad you like it; and pray don't spare it.

Col. No, my lord; I'll never starve in a cook's shop.

Smart. And pray, sir John, what do you say to my wine?

Sir J. I'll take another glass first: second thoughts are best.

Spark. Pray, lady Smart, you sit near that ham; will you please to send me a bit?

Lady S. With all my heart. [*She sends him a piece.*] Pray, my lord, how do you like it?

Spark. I think it is a limb of Lot's wife. [*He eats it with mustard.*] Egad, my lord, your mustard is very uncivil.

Lady S. Why uncivil, my lord?

Spark. Because it takes me by the nose, egad.

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, I find you are a very good carver.

Col. O, madam, that is no wonder; for you must know, Tom Neverout carves o' Sundays.

NEVEROUT *overturns the saltcellar.*

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, you have overturned the salt, and that's a sign of anger: I'm afraid miss and you will fall out.

Lady A. No, no; throw a little of it into the fire, and all will be well.

Never. O, madam, the falling out of lovers, you know.

Miss. Lovers! very fine! fall *out* with him! I wonder when we were *in*.

Sir J. For my part, I believe the young gentlewoman is his sweetheart, there is so much fooling and fiddling betwixt them: I'm sure, they say in our country, that shiddle-come-sh—'s the beginning of love.

Miss. I own I love Mr. Neverout as the devil loves holy water: I love him like pie, I'd rather the devil had him than I.

Never. Miss, I'll tell you one thing.

Miss. Come, here's t'ye, to stop your mouth.

Never. I'd rather you would stop it with a kiss.

Miss. A kiss! marry come up, my dirty cousin; are you no sicker? Lord! I wonder what fool it was that first invented kissing!

Never. Well, I'm very dry.

Miss. Then you're the better to burn and the worse to fry.

Lady A. God bless you, colonel, you have a good stroke with you.

Col. O, madam, formerly I could eat all, but now I leave nothing; I eat but one meal a-day.

Miss. What! I suppose, colonel, that is from morning till night?

Never. Faith, miss; and well was his wont.

Smart. Pray, lady Answerall, taste this bit of venison.

Lady A. I hope your lordship will set me a good example

Smart. Here's a glass of cider fill'd: miss, you must drink it.

Miss. Indeed, my lord, I can't.

Never. Come, miss; better belly burst than good liquor be lost.

Miss. Pish! well, in life there was never anything so teazing; I had rather shed it in my shoes: I wish it were in your guts for my share.

Smart. Mr. Neverout, you ha'n't tasted my cider yet.

Never. No, my lord; I have been just eating soup; and they say, if one drinks with one's porridge, one will cough in one's grave.

Smart. Come, take miss's glass, she wish'd it was in your guts; let her have her wish for once: ladies can't abide to have their inclinations cross'd.

Lady S. [*To sir J.*] I think, sir John, you have not tasted the venison yet.

Sir J. I seldom eat it, madam; however, please to send me a little of the crust.

Spark. Why, sir John, you had as good eat the devil as the broth he is boil'd in.

Col. Well, this eating and drinking takes away a body's stomach, as lady Answerall says.

Never. I have dined as well as my lord mayor.

Miss. I thought I could have eaten this wing of a chicken; but my eye's bigger than my belly.

Smart. Indeed, lady Answerall, you have eaten nothing.

Lady A. Pray, my lord, see all the bones on my plate: they say a carpenter's known by his chips.

Never. Miss, will you reach me that glass of jelly?

Miss. [*Giving it to him.*] You see, 'tis but ask and have.

Never. Miss, I would have a bigger glass.

Miss. What! you don't know your own mind; you are neither well, full nor fasting; I think that is enough.

Never. Ay, one of the enoughs; I am sure it is little enough.

Miss. Yes; but you know, sweet things are bad for the teeth.

Never. [*To lady A.*] Madam, I don't like that part of the veal you sent me.

Lady A. Well, Mr. Neverout, I find you are a true Englishman; you never know when you are well.

Col. Well, I have made my whole dinner of beef.

Lady A. Why, colonel, a bellyful's a bellyful, if it be but of wheat-straw.

Col. Well, after all, kitchen physic is the best physic.

Lady S. And the best doctors in the world are doctor Diet, Doctor Quiet, and Doctor Merryman.

Spark. What do you think of a little house well fill'd?

Sir J. And a little land well till'd?

Col. Ay; and a little wife well will'd?

Never. My lady Smart, pray help me to some of the breast of that goose.

Smart. Tom, I have heard that goose upon goose is false heraldry.

Miss. What! will you never have done stuffing?

Smart. This goose is quite raw: well, God sends meat, but the devil sends cooks.

Never. Miss, can you tell which is the gander, the white goose or the grey goose?

Miss. They say, a fool will ask more questions than the wisest body can answer.

Col. Indeed, miss, Tom Neverout has posed you.

Miss. Why, colonel, every dog has his day; but I believe I shall never see a goose again without thinking of Mr. Neverout.

Smart. Well said, miss; faith, girl, thou hast brought thyself off cleverly. Tom, what say you to that?

Col. Faith, Tom is nonpluss'd; he looks plaguily down in the mouth.

Miss. Why, my lord, you see he is the provokingest creature in life; I believe there is not such another in the varsal world.

Lady A. O, miss, the world's a wide place.

Never. Well, miss, I'll give you leave to call me anything, if you don't call me spade.

Smart. Well, but after all, Tom, can you tell me what's Latin for a goose?

Never. O, my lord, I know that: why, brandy is Latin for a goose, and *tace* is Latin for a candle.

Miss. Is that manners, to show your learning before ladies? Methinks you are grown very brisk of a sudden; I think the man's glad he's alive.

Sir J. The devil take your wit, if this be wit; for it spoils company: pray, Mr. Butler, bring me a dram after my goose; 'tis very good for the wholesomes.

Smart. Come, bring me the loaf; I sometimes love to cut my own bread.

Miss. I suppose, my lord, you lay longest a-bed today?

Smart. Miss, if I had said so, I should have told a fib; I warrant you lay a-bed till the cows came home: but, miss, shall I cut you a little crust, now my hand is in?

Miss. If you please, my lord, a bit of undercrust.

Never. [*Whispering Miss.*] I find you love to lie under.

Miss. [*Aloud, pushing him from her.*] What does the man mean! Sir, I don't understand you at all.

Never. Come, all quarrels laid aside: here, miss, may you live a thousand years. [*He drinks to her.*

Miss. Pray, sir, don't stint me.

Smart. Sir John, will you taste my October? I think it is very good; but I believe not equal to yours in Derbyshire.

Sir J. My lord, I beg your pardon; but they say, the devil made askers.

Smart. [*To the butler.*] Here, bring up the great tankard, full of October, for sir John.

Col. [*Drinking to Miss.*] Miss, your health; may you live all the days of your life.

Lady A. Well, miss, you'll certainly be soon married; here's two bachelors drinking to you at once.

Lady S. Indeed, miss, I believe you were wrapt in your mother's smock, you are so well beloved.

Miss. Where's my knife? sure I ha'n't eaten it: O, here it is.

Sir J. No, miss; but your maidenhead hangs in your light.

Miss. Pray, sir John, is that a Derbyshire compliment? Here, Mr. Neverout, will you take this piece of rabbit that you bid me carve for you?

Never. I don't know.

Miss. Why, take it, or let it alone.

Never. I will.

Miss. What will you?

Never. Why, I'll take it, or let it alone.

Miss. Well, you are a provoking creature.

Sir J [*Talking with a glass of wine in his hand.*] I remember a farmer in our country—

Smart. [*Interrupting him.*] Pray, sir John, did you ever hear of parson Palmer?

Sir J. No, my lord; what of him?

Smart. Why, he used to preach over his liquor.

Sir J. I beg your lordship's pardon; here's your lordship's health; I'd drink it up, if it were a mile to the bottom.

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, have you been at the new play?

Never. Yes, madam, I went the first night.

Lady S. Well, and how did it take?

Never. Why, madam, the poet is damn'd.

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Sir J. God forgive you! that's very uncharitable. you ought not to judge so rashly of any Christian.

Never. [*Whispers lady Smart.*] Was ever such a dunce! How well he knows the town! See how he stares like a stuck pig! Well, but, sir John, are you acquainted with any one of our fine ladies yet?

Sir J. No; damn your fire-ships, I have a wife of my own.

Lady S. Pray, my lady Answerall, how do you like these preserved oranges?

Lady A. Indeed, madam, the only fault I find is, that they are too good.

Lady S. O, madam, I have heard 'em say, that too good is stark naught.

Miss *drinking part of a glass of wine.*

Never. Pray, let me drink your snuff.

Miss. No, indeed, you shan't drink after me; for you'll know my thoughts.

Never. I know them already; you are thinking of a good husband. Besides, I can tell your meaning by your mumping.

Lady S. Pray, my lord, did not you order the butler to bring up a tankard of our October to sir John? I believe they stay to brew it.

The butler brings up the tankard to SIR JOHN

Sir J. Won't your ladyship please to drink first?

Lady S. No, sir John; 'tis in a very good hand; I'll pledge you.

Col. [*To ld. Smart.*] My lord, I love October as well as sir John; and I hope you won't make fish of one and flesh of another.

Smart. Colonel, you're heartily welcome. Come, sir John, take it by word of mouth, and then give it to the colonel.

SIR JOHN *drinks.*

Smart. Well, sir John, how do you like it?

Sir J. Not as well as my own in Derbyshire; 'tis plaguy small.

Lady S. I never taste malt liquor; but they say it is well hopp'd.

Sir J. Hopp'd; why, if it had hopp'd a little further, it would have hopp'd into the river. O, my lord, my ale is meat, drink, and cloth; it will make a cat speak and a wise man dumb.

Lady S. I was told ours was very strong.

Sir J. Ay, madam, strong of the water; I believe the brewer forgot the malt, or the river was too near him. Faith, it is mere whip-belly-vengeance; he that drinks most has the worst share.

Col. I believe, sir John, ale is as plenty as water at your house.

Sir J. Why, faith, at Christmas, we have many comers and goers; and they must not be sent away without a cup of Christmas ale, for fear they should p——s behind the door.

Lady S. I hear sir John has the nicest garden in England; they say, 'tis kept so clean, that you can't find a place where to spit.

Sir J. O, madam; you are pleased to say so.

Lady S. But, sir John, your ale is terrible strong and heady in Derbyshire, and will soon make one drunk and sick; what do you then?

Sir J. Why, indeed, it is apt to fox one; but our way is, to take a hair of the same dog next morning. I take a new-laid egg for breakfast; and faith one should drink as much after an egg as after an ox.

Smart. Tom Neverout, will you taste a glass of October?

Never. No, faith, my lord; I like your wine, and won't put a churl upon a gentleman; your honour's claret is good enough for me.

Lady S. What! is this pigeon left for manners? Colonel, shall I send you the legs and rump?

Col. Madam, I could not eat a bit more if the house was full.

Smart. [*Carving a partridge.*] Well, one may ride to Rumford upon this knife, it is so blunt.

Lady A. My lord, I beg your pardon; but they say an ill workman never had good tools.

Smart. Will your lordship have a wing of it?

Spark. No, my lord; I love the wing of an ox a great deal better.

Smart. I'm always cold after eating.

Col. My lord, they say, that's a sign of long life.

Smart. Ay; I believe I shall live till my friends are weary of me.

Col. Pray, does anybody here hate cheese? I would be glad of a bit.

Smart. An odd kind of fellow dined with me t'other day; and when the cheese came upon the table, he pretended to faint; so somebody said, Pray take away the cheese: No, said I; pray take away the fool: said I well?

Here a loud and large laugh.

Col. Faith, my lord, you served the coxcomb right enough; and therefore I wish we had a bit of your lordship's Oxfordshire cheese

Smart. Come, hang saving; bring us up a half-p'orth of cheese.

Lady A. They say, cheese digests everything but itself.

A footman brings a great whole cheese.

Spark. Ay; this would look handsome if anybody should come in.

Sir J. Well: I'm weily brosten, as they say in Lancashire.

Lady S. O! sir John; I would I had something to brost you withal.

Smart. Come, they say, 'tis merry in the hall when beards wag all.

Lady S. Miss, shall I help you to some cheese, or will you carve for yourself?

Never. I'll hold fifty pounds, miss won't cut the cheese.

Miss. Pray, why so, Mr. Neverout?

Never. O, there is a reason, and you know it well enough.

Miss. I can't for my life understand what the gentleman means.

Smart. Pray, Tom, change the discourse: in troth you are too bad.

Col. [*Whispers Neverout.*] Smoke miss; faith, you have made her fret like gum taffeta.

Lady S. Well, but, miss, (hold your tongue, Mr. Neverout,) shall I cut you a piece of cheese?

Miss. No, really, madam; I have dined this half hour.

Lady S. What! quick at meat, quick at work, they say.

SIR JOHN *nods.*

Smart. What! are you sleepy, sir John? do you sleep after dinner?

Sir J. Yes, faith; I sometimes take a nap after my pipe; for when the belly is full, the bones would be at rest.

Lady S. Come, colonel: help yourself, and your friends will love you the better. [*To lady A.*] Madam, your ladyship eats nothing.

Lady A. Lord, madam, I have fed like a farmer: I shall grow as fat a porpoise; I swear, my jaws are weary of chewing.

Col. I have a mind to eat a piece of that sturgeon, but fear it will make me sick.

Never. A rare soldier indeed; let it alone, and I warrant it won't hurt you.

Col. Well, it would vex a dog to see a pudding creep.

SIR JOHN *rises.*

Smart. Sir John, what are you doing?

Sir J. Swolks, I must be going, by'r lady; I have earnest business; I must do as the beggars do, go away when I have got enough.

Smart. Well, but stay till this bottle's out; you know, the man was hang'd that left his liquor behind him: and besides, a cup in the pate is a mile in the gate; and a spur in the head is worth two in the heel.

Sir J. Come then; one brimmer to all your healths. [*The footman gives him a glass half full.*] Pray, friend, what was the rest of this glass made for? an inch at the top, friend, is worth two at the bottom. [*He gets a brimmer and drinks it off.*] Well, there's no deceit in a brimmer, and there's no false Latin in this; your wine is excellent good, so I thank you for the next, for I am sure of this: madam, has your ladyship any commands in Derbyshire? I must go fifteen miles to-night.

Lady S. None, sir John, but to take care of yourself; and my most humble service to your lady unknown.

Sir J. Well, madam I can but love and thank you.

Lady S. Here, bring water to wash; though really, you have all eaten so little, that you have not need to wash your mouths.

Smart. But, prithee, sir John, stay a while longer.

Sir J. No, my lord; I am to smoke a pipe with a friend before I leave the town.

Col. Why, sir John, had not you better set out to-morrow?

Sir J. Colonel, you forget to-morrow is Sunday.

Col. Now I always love to begin a journey on Sundays, because I shall have the prayers of the church to preserve all that travel by land or by water.

Sir J. Well, colonel, thou art a mad fellow to make a priest of.

Never. Fie, sir John! do you take tobacco? How can you make a chimney of your mouth?

Sir J. [*To Neverout.*] What! you don't smoke, I warrant you, but you smock. (Ladies, I beg your pardon.) Colonel, do you never smoke?

Col. No, sir John; but I take a pipe sometimes.

Sir J. Ifaith, one of your finical London blades dined with me last year in Derbyshire: so, after dinner, I took a pipe: so my gentleman turned away his head: so, said I, What, sir, do you never smoke? so he answered, as you do, colonel, No, but I sometimes take a pipe: so he took a pipe in his hand, and fiddled with it till he broke it: so, said I, Pray, sir, can you make a pipe? so he said, No: so, said I, Why then, sir, if you can't make a pipe you should not break a pipe: so we all laughed.

Smart. Well; but, sir John, they say, that the corruption of pipes is the generation of stoppers.

Sir J. Colonel, I hear you go sometimes to Derbyshire; I wish you would come and foul a plate with me.

Col. I hope you will give me a soldier's bottle.

Sir J. Come and try. Mr. Neverout, you are a Town wit: can you tell me what kind of herb is tobacco?

Never. Why, an Indian herb, sir John.

Sir J. No; 'tis a pot herb; and so here's t'ye in a pot of my lord's October.

Lady S. I hear, sir John, since you are married, you have foreswore the town.

Sir J. No, madam; I never foreswore anything but the building of churches.

Lady S. Well; but, sir John, when may we hope to see you again in London?

Sir J. Why, madam, not till the ducks have eat up the dirt, as the children say.

Never. Come, sir John: I foresee it will rain terribly.

Smart. Come, sir John, do nothing rashly; let us drink first.

Spark. I know sir John will go, though he was sure it would rain cats and dogs: but pray stay, sir John; you'll be time enough to go to bed by candlelight.

Smart. Why, sir John, if you must needs go, while you stay, make use of your time; here's my service to you, a health to our friends in Derbyshire: come, sit down; let us put off the evil hour as long as we can.

Sir J. Faith, I could not drink a drop more if the house was full.

Col. Why, sir John, you used to love a glass of good wine in former times.

Sir J. Why, so I do still, colonel; but a man may love his horse very well, without riding on the ridge; besides, I must be with my wife on Tuesday, or there will be the devil and all to pay.

Col. Well, if you go to-day, I wish you may be wet to the skin.

Sir J. Ay; but they say the prayers of the wicked won't prevail.

SIR JOHN *takes his leave and goes away.*

Smart. Well, miss, how do you like sir John?

Miss. Why, I think he's a little upon the silly, or so: I believe he has not all the wit in the world: but I don't pretend to be a judge.

Never. Faith, I believe he was bred at Hog's Norton, where the pigs play upon the organs.

Spark. Why, Tom, I thought you and he were hand and glove.

Never. Faith, he shall have a clean threshold for me; I never darkened his door in my life, neither in town nor country; but he's a queer old duke, by my conscience; and yet, after all, I take him to be more knave than fool.

Lady S. Well, come; a man's a man, if he has but a nose on his face.

Col. I was once with him and some other company over a bottle, and, egad, he fell asleep, and snored so hard that we thought he was driving his hogs to market.

Never. Why, what! you can have no more of a cat than her skin; you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

Spark. Well, since he's gone, the devil go with him and sixpence; and there's money and company too.

Never. Faith, he's a country put. Pray, miss, let me ask you a question.

Miss. Well; but don't ask questions with a dirty face: I warrant, what you have to say will keep cold.

Col. Come, my lord, against you are disposed: here's to all that love and honour you.

Spark. Ay, that was always Dick Nimble's health. I'm sure you know he's dead.

Col. Dead! well, my lord, you love to be a messenger of ill news: I'm heartily sorry; but, my lord, we must all die.

Never. I knew him very well: but, pray, how came he to die?

Miss. There's a question! you talk like a poticary: why, because he could live no longer.

Never. Well; rest his soul: we must live by the living, and not by the dead.

Spark. You know his house was burnt down to the ground?

Col. Yes; it was in the News. Why, fire and water are good servants, but they are very bad masters.

Smart. Here, take away, and set down a bottle of Burgundy. Ladies, you'll stay and drink a glass of wine before you go to your tea.

All taken away, and the wine set down, &c.

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Miss gives NEVEROUT *a smart pinch.*

Never. Lord, miss, what d'ye mean? d'ye think I have no feeling?

Miss. I'm forced to pinch, for the times are hard.

Never. [*Giving Miss a pinch.*] Take that, miss; what's sauce for a goose, is sauce for a gander.

Miss. [*Screaming.*] Well, Mr. Neverout, that shall neither go to heaven nor hell with you.

Never. [*Takes Miss by the hand.*] Come, miss, let us lay all quarrels aside, and be friends.

Miss. Don't be so teazing; you plague a body so! can't you keep your filthy hands to yourself?

Never. Pray, miss, where did you get that picktooth-case?

Miss. I came honestly by it.

Never. I'm sure it was mine, for I lost just such a one; nay, I don't tell you a lie.

Miss. No; if you lie, it is much.

Never. Well; I'm sure 'tis mine.

Miss. What! you think everything is yours, but a little the king has.

Never. Colonel, you have seen my fine picktooth-case; don't you think this is the very same?

Col. Indeed, miss, it is very like it.

Miss. Ay; what he says, you'll swear.

Never. Well; but I'll prove it to be mine.

Miss. Ay; do, if you can.

Never. Why, what's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own.

Miss. Well, run on till you're weary; nobody holds you.

NEVEROUT *gapes.*

Col. What! Mr. Neverout, do you gape for preferment?

Never. Faith, I may gape long enough, before it falls into my mouth.

Lady S. Mr. Neverout, my lord and I intend to beat up your quarters one of these days: I hear you live high.

Never. Yes, faith, madam; I live high and lodge in a garret.

Col. But, miss, I forgot to tell you, that Mr. Neverout got the devilishest fall in the park to-day.

Miss. I hope he did not hurt the ground: but how was it, Mr. Neverout? I wish I had been there to laugh.

Never. Why, madam, it was a place where a cuckold had been buried, and one of his horns sticking out, I happened to stumble against it; that was all.

Lady S. Ladies, let us leave the gentlemen to themselves; I think it is time to go to our tea.

Lady A. and Miss. My lords and gentlemen, your most humble servant.

Smart. Well, ladies, we'll wait on you an hour hence.

The Gentlemen alone.

Smart. Come, John, bring us a fresh bottle.

Col. Ay, my lord; and pray let him carry off the dead men, as we say in the army.

[*Meaning the empty bottles.*

Spark. Mr. Neverout, pray, is not that bottle full?

Never. Yes, my lord, full of emptiness.

Smart. And, d'ye hear, John, bring clean glasses.

Col. I'll keep mine; for I think wine is the best liquor to wash glasses in.

DIALOGUE III.

The Ladies at their tea.

Lady S. Well, ladies; now let us have a cup of discourse to ourselves.

Lady A. What do you think of your friend sir Joan Spendall?

Lady S. Why, madam, 'tis happy for him that his father was born before him.

Miss. They say he makes a very ill husband to my lady.

Lady A. But he must be allowed to be the fondest father in the world.

Lady S. Ay, madam, that's true; for they say, the devil is kind to his own.

Miss. I am told my lady manages him to admiration.

Lady S. That I believe; for she's as cunning as a dead pig, but not half so honest.

Lady A. They say she's quite a stranger to all his gallantries.

Lady S. Not at all; but, you know, there's none so blind as they that won't see.

Miss. O, madam, I am told she watches him as a cat would watch a mouse.

Lady A. Well, if she ben't foully belied, she pays him in his own coin.

Lady S. Madam, I fancy I know your thoughts, as well as if I were within you.

Lady A. Madam, I was t'other day in company with Mrs. Clatter; I find she gives herself airs of being acquainted with your ladyship.

Miss. O the hideous creature! did you observe her nails? they were long enough to scratch her grannum out of her grave.

Lady S. Well, she and Tom Gosling were hanging compliments backward and forward: it looked like two asses scrubbing one another.

Miss. Ay, claw me, and I'll claw you: but, pray, madam, who were the company?

Lady S. Why there was all the world and his wife; there was Mrs. Clatter, lady Singular, the countess of Talkham, (I should have named her first,) Tom Gosling, and some others, whom I have forgot.

Lady A. I think the countess is very sickly.

Lady S. Yes, madam; she'll never scratch a gray head, I promise her.

Miss. And pray, what was your conversation?

Lady S. Why Mrs. Clatter had all the talk to herself, and was perpetually complaining of her misfortunes.

Lady A. She brought her husband 10,000*l.*: she has a town-house and country-house: would the woman have her a— hung with points?

Lady S. She would fain be at the top of the house before the stairs are built.

Miss. Well, comparisons are odious; but she's as like her husband as if she were spit out of his mouth; as like as one egg is to another: pray, how was she dressed?

Lady S. Why, she was as fine as fi'pence; but, truly, I thought there was more cost than worship.

Lady A. I don't know her husband: pray what is he?

Lady S. Why, he's a counsellor of the law; you must know he came to us as drunk as David's sow.

Miss. What kind of creature is he?

Lady S. You must know, the man and his wife are coupled like rabbits, a fat and a lean; he's as fat as a porpus, and she's one of Pharaoh's lean kine: the ladies and Tom Gosling were proposing a party at quadrille, but he refused to make one: Damn your cards, said he, they are the devil's hooks.

Lady A. A dull unmannerly brute! well, God send him more wit, and me more money.

Miss. Lord! madam, I would not keep such company for the world.

Lady S. O, miss, 'tis nothing when you are used to it: besides, you know for want of company, welcome trumpery.

Miss. Did your ladyship play?

Lady S. Yes, and won; so I came off with fiddler's fare, meat, drink, and money.

Lady A. Ay; what says Pluck?

Miss. Well, my elbow itches; I shall change bedfellows.

Lady S. And my right hand itches; I shall receive money.

Lady A. And my right eyes itches; I shall cry.

Lady S. Miss, I hear your friend Mrs. Giddy has discarded Dick Shuttle: pray, has she got another lover?

Miss. I hear of none.

Lady S. Why, the fellow's rich, and I think she was a fool to throw out her dirty water before she got clean.

Lady A. Miss, that's a handsome gown of yours, and finely made; very genteel.

Miss. I am glad your ladyship likes it.

Lady A. Your lover will be in raptures; it becomes you admirably.

Miss. Ay; I assure you I won't take it as I have done; if this won't fetch him, the devil fetch him, say I.

Lady S. [*To lady A.*] Pray, madam, when did you see sir Peter Muckworm?

Lady A. Not this fortnight; I hear he's laid up with the gout.

Lady S. What does he do for it?

Lady A. I hear he's weary of doctoring it, and now makes use of nothing but patience and flannel.

Miss. Pray, how does he and my lady agree?

Lady A. You know he loves her as the devil loves holy water.

Miss. They say she plays deep with sharpers, that cheat her of her money.

Lady A. Upon my word they must rise early that would cheat her of her money; sharp's the word with her; diamonds cut diamonds.

Miss. Well, but I was assured from a good hand, that she lost at one sitting to the tune of a hundred guineas; make money of that!

Lady S. Well, but do you hear that Mrs. Plump is brought to bed at last?

Miss. And pray what has God sent her?

Lady S. Why, guess if you can.

Miss. A boy, I suppose.

Lady S. No, you are out; guess again.

Miss. A girl, then.

Lady S. You have hit it; I believe you are a witch.

Miss. O, madam, the gentlemen say, all fine ladies are witches; but I pretend to no such thing.

Lady A. Well, she had good luck to draw Tom Plump into wedlock; she ris with her a— upwards.

Miss. Fie, madam; what do you mean?

Lady S. O, miss, 'tis nothing what we say among ourselves.

Miss. Ay, madam; but they say hedges have eyes, and walls have ears.

Lady A. Well, miss, I can't help it; you know, I'm old Telltruth; I love to call a spade a spade.

Lady S. [*Mistakes the teatongs for the spoon.*] What! I think my wits are a wool-gathering to-day.

Miss. Why, madam, there was but a right and a wrong.

Lady S. Miss, I hear that you and lady Coupler are as great as cup and can.

Lady A. Ay, miss, as great as the devil and the earl of Kent.[a]

Lady S. Nay, I am told you meet together with as much love as there is between the old cow and the haystack.

[a] An old English saying that obtained from the reign of Edward the Confessor, no way complimentary to Goodwin, earl of Kent.

Miss. I own I love her very well; but there's difference between staring and stark mad.

Lady S. They say she begins to grow fat.

Miss. Fat! ay, fat as a hen in the forehead.

Lady S. Indeed, lady Answerall, (pray forgive me,) I think your ladyship looks thinner than when I saw you last.

Miss. Indeed, madam, I think not; but your ladyship is one of Job's comforters.

Lady A. Well, no matter how I look; I am bought and sold: but really, miss, you are so very obliging, that I wish I were a handsome young lord for your sake.

Miss. O, madam, your love's a million.

Lady S. [*To lady A.*] Madam, will your ladyship let me wait on you to the play to-morrow?

Lady A. Madam, it becomes me to wait on your ladyship.

Miss. What, then, I'm turned out for a wrangler?

The Gentlemen come in to the Ladies to drink tea.

Miss. Mr. Neveroot, we wanted you sadly; you are always out of the way when you should be hang'd.

Never. You wanted me! pray, miss, how do you look when you lie?

Miss. Better than you when you cry. Manners, indeed! I find you mend like sour ale in summer.

Never. I beg your pardon, miss; I only meant, when you lie alone.

Miss. That's well turn'd; one turn more would have turn'd you down stairs.

Never. Come, miss, be kind for once, and order me a dish of coffee.

Miss. Pray, go yourself; let us wear out the oldest; besides I can't go, for I have a bone in my leg.

Col. They say, a woman need but look on her apron-string to find an excuse.

Never. Why, miss, you are grown so peevish, a dog would not live with you.

Miss. Mr. Neverout, I beg your diversion: no offence, I hope; but truly in a little time you intend to make the colonel as bad as yourself; and that's as bad as can be.

Never. My lord, don't you think miss improves wonderfully of late? Why, miss, if I spoil the colonel, I hope you will use him as you do me; for you know, love me, love my dog.

Col. How's that, Tom? Say that again: why, if I am a dog, shake hands, brother.

Here a great, loud, long laugh.

Smart. But pray, gentlemen, why always so severe upon poor miss? On my conscience, colonel and Tom Neverout, one of you two are both knaves.

Col. My lady Answerall, I intend to do myself the honour of dining with your ladyship to-morrow.

Lady A. Ay, colonel, do if you can.

Miss. I'm sure you'll be glad to be welcome.

Col. Miss, I thank you; and, to reward you, I'll come and drink tea with you in the morning.

Miss. Colonel, there's two words to that bargain.

Col. [*To lady Smart.*] Your ladyship has a very fine watch; well may you wear it.

Lady S. It is none of mine, colonel.

Col. Pray, whose is it then?

Lady S. Why, 'tis my lord's; for they say a married woman has nothing of her own but her wedding-ring and her hair-lace: but if women had been the lawmakers, it would have been better.

Col. This watch seems to be quite new.

Lady S. No, sir, it has been twenty years in my lord's family; but Quare put a new case and dial-plate to it.

Never. Why, that's for all the world like the man,

who swore he kept the same knife forty years, only he sometimes changed the haft, and sometimes the blade.

Smart. Well, Tom, to give the devil his due, thou art a right woman's man.

Col. Odd so! I have broke the hinge of my snuff-box; I'm undone, besides the loss.

Miss. Alack-a-day, colonel! I vow I had rather have found 40*s.*

Never. Why, colonel, all that I can say to comfort you is, that you must mend it with a new one.

Miss *laughs.*

Col. What, miss! you can't laugh, but you must show your teeth.

Miss. I'm sure you show your teeth when you can't bite: well, thus it must be, if we sell ale.

Never. Miss, you smell very sweet; I hope you don't carry perfumes?

Miss. Perfumes! No, sir; I'd have you to know, it is nothing but the grain of my skin.

Col. Tom, you have a good nose to make a poor man's sow.

Spark. So, ladies and gentlemen, methinks you are very witty upon one another: come, box it about; 'twill come to my father at last.

Col. Why, my lord, you see miss has no mercy; I wish she were married; but I doubt the gray mare would prove the better horse.

Miss. Well, God forgive you for that wish.

Spark. Never fear him, miss.

Miss. What, my lord, do you think I was born in a wood, to be afraid of an owl?

Smart. What have you to say to that, colonel?

Never. O, my lord, my friend the colonel scorns to set his wit against a child.

Miss. Scornful dogs will eat dirty puddings.

Col. Well, miss, they say a woman's tongue is the last thing about her that dies; therefore, let's kiss and be friends.

Miss. Hands off! that's meat for your master.

Spark. Faith, colonel, you are for ale and cakes: but after all, miss, you are too severe; you would not meddle with your match.

Miss. All they can say goes in at one ear and out at t'other for me, I can assure you: only I wish they would be quiet, and let me drink my tea.

Never. What! I warrant you think all is lost that goes beside your own mouth.

Miss. Pray, Mr. Neverout, hold your tongue for once, if it be possible: one would think you were a woman in man's clothes, by your prating.

Never. No, miss; it is not handsome to see one hold one's tongue: besides, I should slobber my fingers.

Col. Miss, did you never hear that three women and a goose are enough to make a market?

Miss. I'm sure, if Mr. Neverout or you were among them, it would make a fair.

Footman *comes in.*

Lady S. Here, take away the tea-table, and bring up candles.

Lady A. O, madam, no candles yet, I beseech you; don't let us burn day-light.

Never. I dare swear, miss, for her part, will never burn day-light, if she can help it.

Miss. Lord! Mr. Neverout, one cannot hear one's own ears for you.

Lady S. Indeed, madam, it is blindman's holiday; we shall soon be all of a colour.

Never. Why, then, miss, we may kiss where we like best.

Miss. Fogh! these men talk of nothing but kissing.

[*She spits.*

Never. What, miss, does it make your mouth water?

Lady S. It is as good to be in the dark as without light; therefore pray bring in candles: they say women and linen show best by candlelight: come, gentlemen, are you for a party at quadrille?

Col. I'll make one with you three ladies.

Lady A. I'll sit down, and be a stander by.

Lady S. [*To lady A.*] Madam, does your ladyship never play?

Col. Yes; I suppose her ladyship plays sometimes for an egg at Easter.

Never. Ay; and a kiss at Christmas.

Lady A. Come, Mr. Neverout, hold your tongue, and mind your knitting.

Never. With all my heart; kiss my wife, and welcome.

The Colonel, *Mr.* Neverout, Lady Smart, *and* Miss *go to quadrille, and sit there till three in the morning.*

They rise from cards.

Lady S. Well, miss, you'll have a sad husband, you have such good luck at cards.

Never. Indeed, miss, you dealt me sad cards; if you deal so ill by your friends, what will you do with your enemies?

Lady A. I'm sure 'tis time for honest folks to be a-bed.

Miss. Indeed my eyes draw straws.

She's almost asleep.

Never. Why, miss, if you fall asleep, somebody may get a pair of gloves.

Col. I am going to the land of Nod.

Never. Faith, I'm for Bedfordshire.

Lady S. I'm sure I shall sleep without rocking.

Never. Miss, I hope you'll dream of your sweetheart.

Miss. O, no doubt of it. I believe I shan't be able to sleep for dreaming of him.

Col. [*To Miss.*] Madam, shall I have the honour to escort you?

Miss. No, colonel, I thank you; my mamma has sent her chair and footmen. Well, my lady Smart, I'll give you revenge whenever you please.

Footman *comes in.*

Footman. Madam, the chairs are waiting.

They all take their chairs and go off.

DIRECTIONS TO SERVANTS.

"This tract, which immediately followed Swift's Will, is imperfect and unfinished. A preface and dedication were to have been added. It was not published till after the dean's death; but the MS. was handed about, and much applauded in his lifetime. The tract is written in so facetious a kind of low humour that it must please many readers; nor is it without some degree of merit, by pointing out, with an amazing exactness, (and what, in a less trivial case, must have been called judgment,) the faults, blunders, tricks, lies, and various knaveries of domestic servants. How much time must have been employed in putting together such a work! What an intenseness of thought must have been bestowed upon the lowest and most slavish scenes of life! It is one of those compositions that the utmost strength of wit can scarce sustain from sinking. A man of Swift's exalted genius ought constantly to have soared into higher regions. He might to have looked upon persons of inferior abilities as children, whom nature had appointed him to instruct, encourage, and improve. Superior talents seem to have been intended by Providence as public benefits and the person who possesses such blessings is certainly answerable to heaven for those endowments which he enjoys above the rest of mankind. Let him jest with dignity, and let him be ironical upon useful subjects; leaving poor slaves to heat their porridge, or drink their small beer, in such vessels as they shall find proper. The dean, it seems, had not this way of thinking; and having long indulged his passions, at last, perhaps, mistook them for his duty."—Lord Orrery's *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift.* And Faulkner, the Irish editor, gives the following account of "The Directions to Servants."—"The following treatise was begun

some years ago by the author, who had not leisure to finish and put it into proper order, being engaged in many other works of greater use to his country, as may be seen by most of his writings. But as the author's design was to expose the villanies and frauds of servants to their masters and mistresses, we shall make no apology for its publication; but give it our readers in the same manner as we find it in the original, which may be seen in the printer's custody. The few tautologies that occur in the characters left unfinished will make the reader look upon the whole as a rough draught, with several outlines only drawn. However, that there may appear no daubing or patch-work by other hands, it is thought most advisable to give it in the author's own words. It is imagined that he intended to make a large volume of this work; but, as time and health would not permit him, the reader may draw, from what is here exhibited, means to detect the many vices and faults to which people in that kind of low life are subject. If gentlemen would seriously consider this work, which is written for their instruction, (although ironically,) it would make them better economists, and preserve their estates and families from ruin. It may be seen by some scattered papers (wherein were given hints for a dedication and preface, and a list of all degrees of servants) that the author intended to have gone through all their characters. This is all that need be said as to this treatise, which can only be looked upon as a fragment."

RULES THAT CONCERN ALL SERVANTS IN GENERAL.

When your master or lady calls a servant by name, if that servant be not in the way, none of you are to answer, for then there will be no end of your drudgery: and masters themselves allow, that if a servant comes when he is called, it is sufficient.

When you have done a fault, be always pert and insolent, and behave yourself as if you were the injured person; this will immediately put your master or lady off their mettle.

If you see your master wronged by any of your fellow-servants, be sure to conceal it, for fear of being called a tell-tale: however, there is one exception in case of a favourite servant, who is justly hated by the whole family; who therefore are bound, in prudence, to lay all the faults they can upon the favourite.

The cook, the butler, the groom, the market-man, and every other servant who is concerned in the expenses of the family, should act as if his master's whole estate ought to be applied to that servant's particular business. For instance, if the cook computes his master's estate to be 1000*l.* a-year, he reasonably concludes that 1000*l.* a-year will afford meat enough, and therefore he need not be sparing; the butler makes the same judgment; so may the groom and the coachman; and thus every branch of expense will be filled to your master's honour.

When you are chid before company, (which, with submission to your masters and ladies is an unmannerly practice,) it often happens that some stranger will have the good nature to drop a word in your excuse; in such a case you will have a good title to justify yourself, and may rightly conclude, that whenever he chides you afterward, on other occasions, he may be in the wrong; in which opinion you will be the better confirmed, by stating the case to your fellow-servants in your own way, who will certainly decide in your favour: therefore, as I have said before, whenever you are chidden, complain as if you were injured.

It often happens, that servants sent on messages are apt to stay out somewhat longer than the message requires; perhaps two, four, six, or eight hours, or some such trifle; for the temptation to be sure was great, and flesh and blood cannot always resist. When you return, the master storms, the lady scolds; stripping, cudgelling, and turning off is the word. But here you ought be provided with a set of excuses, enough to serve on all occasions: for instance, your uncle came fourscore miles to town this morning on purpose to see you, and goes back by break of day to-morrow: a brother-servant, that borrowed money of you when he was out of place, was running away to Ireland: you were taking leave of an old fellow-servant, who was shipping for Barbadoes: your father sent a cow to you to sell, and you could not get a chapman till nine at night: you were taking leave of a dear cousin who is to be hanged next Saturday: you wrenched your foot against a stone, and were forced to stay three hours in a shop before you could stir a step: some nastiness was thrown on you out of a garret-window, and you were ashamed to come home before you were cleaned, and the smell went off: you were pressed for the sea-service, and carried before a justice of peace, who kept you three hours before he examined you, and you got off with much ado: a bailiff, by mistake, seized you for a debtor, and kept you the whole evening in a spunging-house: you were told your master had gone to a tavern, and came to some mischance, and your grief was so great, that you inquired for his honour in a hundred taverns between Pall-Mall and Temple-bar.

Take all tradesmen's parts against your master, and when you are sent to buy anything, never offer to cheapen it, but generously pay the full demand. This is highly to your master's honour, and may be some shillings in your pocket; and you are to consider if your master has paid too much, he can better afford the loss than a poor tradesman.

Never submit to stir a finger in any business, but that for which you are particularly hired. For example, if the groom be drunk or absent, and the butler be ordered to shut the stable door, the answer is ready, —An please your honour I don't understand horses: if a corner of the hanging wants a single nail to fasten it, and the footman be directed to tack it up, he may say he does not understand that sort of work, but his honour may send for the upholsterer.

Masters and ladies are usually quarrelling with the servants for not shutting the doors after them: but neither masters nor ladies consider that those doors must be open before they can be shut, and that the labour is double to open and shut the doors; therefore the best, and shortest, and easiest way is to do neither. But if you are so often teazed to shut the door, that you cannot easily forget it, then give the door such a clap as you go out, as will shake the whole room, and make everything rattle in it, to put your master and lady in mind that you observe their directions.

If you find yourself to grow into favour with your master or lady, take some opportunity in a very mild way to give them warning; and when they ask the reason, and seem loth to part with you, answer, that you would rather live with them than anybody else but a poor servant is not to be blamed if he strives to better himself; that service is no inheritance; that your work is great, and your wages very small. Upon which, if your master has any generosity, he will add 5s. or 10s. a-quarter rather than let you go: but if you are baulked, and have no mind to go off, get some fellow-servant to tell your master that he has prevailed upon you to stay.

Whatever good bits you can pilfer in the day, save them to junket with your fellow-servants at night; and take in the butler, provided he will give you drink.

Write your own name and your sweetheart's, with the smoke of a candle, on the roof of the kitchen or the servants' hall, to show your learning.

If you are a young, sightly fellow, whenever you whisper your mistress at the table, run your nose full in her cheek; or if your breath be good, breathe full in her face; this I have known to have had very good consequences in some families.

Never come till you have been called three or four times; for none but dogs will come at the first whistle; and when the master calls "Who's there?" no servant

is bound to come; for Who's there is nobody's name.

When you have broken all your earthen drinking-vessels below stairs, (which is usually done in a week,) the copper pot will do as well; it can boil milk, heat porridge, hold small beer, or, in case of necessity, serve for a jordan; therefore apply it indifferently to all these uses; but never wash or scour it, for fear of taking off the tin.

Although you are allowed knives for the servants' hall at meals, yet you ought to spare them, and make use of your master's.

Let it be a constant rule, that no chair, stool, or table, in the servants' hall or the kitchen, shall have above three legs, which has been the ancient and constant practice in all the families I ever knew, and it is said to be founded upon two reasons; first, to show that servants are ever in a tottering condition; secondly, it was thought a point of humility, that the servants' chairs and tables should have at least one leg fewer than those of their masters. I grant there has been an exception to this rule with regard to the cook, who, by old custom, was allowed an easy chair to sleep in after dinner; and yet I have seldom seen them with above three legs. Now this epidemical lameness of servants' chairs is, by philosophers, imputed to two causes, which are observed to make the greatest revolutions in states and empires; I mean love and war. A stool, a chair, or a table is the first weapon taken up in a general romping or skirmish; and after a peace, the chairs, if they be not very strong, are apt to suffer in the conduct of an amour, the cook being usually fat and heavy, and the butler a little in drink.

I could never endure to see maid-servants so ungenteel as to walk the streets with their petticoats pinned up: it is a foolish excuse to allege their petticoats will be dirty, when they have so easy a remedy as to walk three or four times down a clean pair of stairs after they come home.

When you stop to tattle with some crony servant in the same street, leave your own street-door open, that you may get in without knocking when you come back; otherwise your mistress may know you are gone out, and you must be chidden.

I do most earnestly exhort you all to unanimity and concord: but mistake me not—you may quarrel with each other as much as you please, only always bear in mind that you have a common enemy, which is your master and lady, and you have a common cause to defend. Believe an old practitioner; whoever, out of malice to a fellow-servant, carries a tale to his master, shall be ruined by a general confederacy against him.

The general place of rendezvous for all the servants, both in winter and summer, is the kitchen; there the grand affairs of the family ought to be consulted, whether they concern the stable, the dairy, the pantry, the laundry, the cellar, the nursery, the dining-room, or my lady's chamber: there, as in your own proper element, you can laugh, and squall, and romp, in full security.

When any servant comes home drunk, and cannot appear, you must all join in telling your master that he is gone to bed very sick; upon which your lady will be so very good-natured as to order some comfortable thing for the poor man or maid.

When your master and lady go abroad together, to dinner, or on a visit for the evening, you need leave only one servant in the house, unless you have a blackguard boy to answer at the door, and attend the children, if there be any. Who is to stay at home is to be determined by short and long cuts, and the stayer at home may be comforted by a visit from a sweetheart, without danger of being caught together. These opportunities must never be missed, because they come but sometimes; and all is safe enough while there is a servant in the house.

When your master or lady comes home, and wants a servant who happens to be abroad, your answer must be, that he had but just that minute stept out, being sent for by a cousin who was dying.

If your master calls you by name, and you happen to answer at the fourth call, you need not hurry yourself; and if you be chidden for staying, you may lawfully say, you came no sooner, because you did not know what you were called for.

When you are chidden for a fault, as you go out of the room, and down stairs, mutter loud enough to be plainly heard; this will make him believe you are innocent.

Whoever comes to visit your master or lady when they are abroad, never burden your memory with the person's name, for indeed you have too many other things to remember. Besides it is a porter's business, and your master's fault he does not keep one; and who can remember names? and you will certainly mistake them, and you can neither write nor read.

If it be possible, never tell a lie to your master or lady, unless you have some hopes that they cannot find it out in less than half an hour. When a servant is turned off, all his faults must be told, although most of them were never known by his master or lady; and all mischiefs done by others charged to him. And when they ask any of you why you never acquainted them before? the answer is, "Sir, or madam, really I was afraid it would make you angry; and besides, perhaps you might think it was malice in me." Where there are little masters and misses in a house, they are usually great impediments to the diversions of the servants; the only remedy is to bribe them with *goody goodies*, that they may not tell tales to papa and mamma.

I advise you of the servants, whose master lives in the country, and who expect vails, always to stand rank and file when a stranger is taking his leave; so that he must of necessity pass between you; and he must have more confidence, or less money than usual, if any of you let him escape; and according as he behaves himself, remember to treat him the next time he comes.

If you are sent with ready money to buy anything at a shop, and happen at that time to be out of pocket, sink the money and take up the goods on your master's account. This is for the honour of your master and yourself; for he becomes a man of credit at your recommendation.

When your lady sends for you up to her chamber, to give you any orders, be sure to stand at the door, and keep it open, fiddling with the lock all the while she is talking to you, and keep the button in your hand, for fear you should forget to shut the door after you.

If your master or lady happen once in their lives to accuse you wrongfully, you are a happy servant; for you have nothing more to do, than for every fault you commit while you are in their service, to put them in mind of that false accusation, and protest yourself equally innocent in the present case.

When you have a mind to leave your master, and are too bashful to break the matter, for fear of offending him, the best way is to grow rude and saucy of a sudden, and beyond your usual behaviour, till he finds it necessary to turn you off; and when you are gone, to revenge yourself, give him and his lady such a character to all your brother servants who are out of place, that none will venture to offer their service.

Some nice ladies who are afraid of catching cold, having observed that the maids and fellows below stairs often forget to shut the door after them, as they come in or go out into the back yards, have contrived

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that a pulley and a rope with a large piece of lead at the end, should be so fixed, as to make the door shut of itself, and require a strong hand to open it; which is an immense toil to servants whose business may force them to go in and out fifty times in a morning: but ingenuity can do much, for prudent servants have found out an effectual remedy against this insupportable grievance, by tying up the pulley in such a manner that the weight of the lead shall have no effect; however, as to my own part, I would rather choose to keep the door always open, by laying a heavy stone at the bottom of it.

The servants' candlesticks are generally broken, for nothing can last for ever. But you may find out many expedients; you may conveniently stick your candle in a bottle, or with a lump of butter against the wainscot, in a powder-horn, or in an old shoe or in a cleft stick, or in the barrel of a pistol, or upon its own grease on a table, in a coffeecup, or a drinking-glass, a horn-can, a teapot, a twisted napkin, a mustardpot, an inkhorn, a marrowbone, a piece of dough, or you may cut a hole in the loaf, and stick it there.

When you invite the neighbouring servants to junket with you at home in an evening, teach them a peculiar way of tapping or scraping at the kitchen-window, which you may hear, but not your master or lady; whom you must take care not to disturb or frighten at such unseasonable hours.

Lay all faults upon a lap-dog, or favourite cat, a monkey, a parrot, a child; or on the servant who was last turned off: by this rule you will excuse yourself, do no hurt to anybody else, and save your master or lady from the trouble and vexation of chiding.

When you want proper instruments for any work you are about, use all expedients you can invent rather than leave your work undone. For instance, if the poker be out of the way, or broken, stir the fire with the tongs; if the tongs be not at hand, use the muzzle of the bellows, the wrong end of the fire-shovel, the handle of the fire-brush, the end of a mop, or your master's cane. If you want paper to singe a fowl, tear the first book you see about the house. Wipe your shoes, for want of a clout, with the bottom of a curtain, or a damask napkin. Strip your livery lace for garters. If the butler wants a jordan, he may use the great silver cup.

There are several ways of putting out candles, and you ought to be instructed in them all: you may run the candle end against the wainscot, which puts the snuff out immediately; you may lay it on the ground, and tread the snuff out with your foot; you may hold it upside down, until it is choked with its own grease, or cram it into the socket of the candlestick; you may whirl it round in your hand till it goes out; when you go to bed, after you have made water, you may dip the candle end into the chamber-pot; you may spit on your finger and thumb, and pinch the snuff till it goes out. The cook may run the candle's nose into the meal tub, or the groom into a vessel of oats, or a lock of hay, or a heap of litter; the housemaid may put out her candle by running it against the looking-glass, which nothing cleans so well as candle-snuff; but the quickest and best of all methods is to blow it out with your breath, which leaves the candle clear, and readier to be lighted.

There is nothing so pernicious in a family as a tell-tale, against whom it must be the principal business of you all to unite; whatever office he serves in, take all opportunities to spoil the business he is about, and to cross him in everything. For instance, if the butler be a tell-tale, break his glasses whenever he leaves the pantry door open; or lock the cat or the mastiff in it, who will do as well; mislay a fork or a spoon so as he may never find it. If it be the cook, whenever she turns her back, throw a lump of soot, or a handful of salt in the pot, or smoking coals into the dripping-pan, or dauh the roast meat with the back of the chimney, or hide the key of the jack. If a footman be suspected, let the cook dauh the back of his new livery; or when he is going up with a dish of soup, let her follow him softly with a ladleful, and dribble it all the way up stairs to the dining-room, and then let the housemaid make such a noise that her lady may hear it. The waitingmaid is very likely to be guilty of this fault, in hopes to ingratiate herself: in this case the laundress must be sure to tear her smocks in the washing, and yet wash them but half; and when she complains, tell all the house that she sweats so much, and her flesh is so nasty, that she fouls a smock more in one hour, than the kitchenmaid does in a week.

CHAPTER I.

Directions to the Butler.

In my directions to servants, I find from my long observation, that you butlers are the principal persons concerned.

Your business being of the greatest variety, and requiring the greatest exactness, I shall, as well as I can recollect, run through the several branches of your office, and order my instructions accordingly.

In waiting at the sideboard, take all possible care to save your own trouble, and your master's drinking-glasses; therefore, first, since those who dine at the same table are supposed to be friends, let them all drink out of the same glass without washing, which will save you much pains, as well as the hazard of breaking them. Give no person any liquor until he has called for it thrice at least; by which means, some out of modesty, and others out of forgetfulness, will call the seldomer, and thus your master's liquor be saved.

If any one desires a glass of bottled ale, first shake the bottle, to see if anything be in it; then taste it, to see what liquor it is, that you may not be mistaken; and lastly, wipe the mouth of the bottle with the palm of your hand to show your cleanliness.

Be more careful to have the cork in the belly of the bottle than in the mouth; and if the cork be musty, or white friars in your liquor, your master will save the more.

If a humble companion, a chaplain, a tutor, or a dependent cousin, happen to be at table, whom you find to be little regarded by the master and the company, (which nobody is readier to discover and observe than we servants,) it must be the business of you and the footman to follow the example of your betters, by treating him many degrees worse than any of the rest; and you cannot please your master better, or at least your lady.

If any one calls for small beer toward the end of dinner, do not give yourself the pains of going down to the cellar, but gather the droppings and leavings out of the several cups and glasses, and salvers, into one; but turn your back to the company, for fear of being observed. On the contrary, when any one calls for ale toward the end of dinner, fill the largest tankard cup topful, by which you will have the greatest part left to oblige your fellow-servants, without the sin of stealing from your master.

There is likewise a perquisite full as honest, by which you have a chance of getting every day the best part of a bottle of wine for yourself; for you are to suppose that gentlefolks will not care for the remainder of a bottle; therefore always set a fresh one before them after dinner, although there has not been above a glass drank out of the other.

Take special care that your bottles be not musty before you fill them; in order to which, blow strongly

into the mouth of every bottle, and then if you smell nothing but your own breath, immediately fill it.

If you are sent down in haste to draw any drink, and find it will not run, do not be at the trouble of opening a vent, but blow strongly into the faucet, and you will find it immediately pour into your mouth: or take out the vent, but do not stay to put it in again, for fear your master should want you.

If you are curious to taste some of your master's choice bottles, empty as many of them just below the neck as will make the quantity you want; but then take care to fill them up again with clean water, that you may not lessen your master's liquor.

There is an excellent invention found out of late years in the management of ale and small beer at the sideboard: for instance, a gentleman calls for a glass of ale and drinks but half; another calls for small beer; you immediately turn out the remainder of the ale into the tankard, and fill the glass with small beer; and so backward and forward as long as dinner lasts, by which you answer three ends; first, you save yourself the trouble of washing, and consequently the danger of breaking your glasses; secondly, you are sure not to be mistaken in giving gentlemen the liquor they call for; and lastly, by this method, you are certain that nothing is lost.

Because butlers are apt to forget to bring up their ale and beer time enough, be sure you remember to have up yours two hours before dinner; and place them in the sunny part of the room, to let people see that you have not been negligent.

Some butlers have a way of decanting (as they call it) bottled ale, by which they lose a good part of the bottom; let your method be to turn the bottle directly upside down, which will make the liquor appear double the quantity; by this means, you will be sure not to lose one drop, and the froth will conceal the muddiness.

Clean your plate, wipe your knives, and rub the dirty tables with the napkins and table-cloths used that day; for it is but one washing, and besides, it will save you wearing out the coarse rubbers; and in reward of such good husbandry, my judgment is, that you may lawfully make use of the finest damask napkins for night-caps for yourself.

When you clean your plate, leave the whiting plainly to be seen in all the chinks, for fear your lady should not believe you had cleaned it.

There is nothing wherein the skill of a butler more appears than in the management of candles, whereof, although some part may fall to the share of the other servants, yet your being the principal person concerned, I shall direct my instructions upon this article to you only, leaving to your fellow-servants to apply them upon occasion.

First, to avoid burning daylight, and to save your master's candles, never bring them up till half an hour after it be dark, although they are called for ever so often.

Let your sockets be full of grease to the brim, with the old snuff at the top, and then stick on your fresh candles. It is true, this may endanger their falling, but the candles will appear so much the longer and handsomer before company. At other times, for variety, put your candles loose in the sockets, to show they are clean to the bottom.

When your candle is too big for the socket, melt it to the right size in the fire; and to hide the smoke, wrap it in paper half way up.

You cannot but observe, of late years, the great extravagance among the gentry upon the article of candles, which a good butler ought by all means to discourage, both to save his own pains and his master's money; this may be contrived several ways, especially when you are ordered to put candles into the sconces.

Sconces are great wasters of candles; and you, who are always to consider the advantage of your master should do your utmost to discourage them: therefore your business must be to press the candle with both your hands into the socket, so as to make it lean, in such a manner, that the grease may drop all upon the floor, if some lady's head-dress, or gentleman's periwig, be not ready to intercept it: you may likewise stick the candle so loose, that it will fall upon the glass of the sconce, and break it into shatters; this will save your master many a fair penny in the year, both in candles and to the glass-man, and yourself much labour; for the sconces spoiled cannot be used.

Never let the candles burn too low, but give them as a lawful perquisite, to your friend the cook, to increase her kitchen stuff; or, if this be not allowed in your house, give them in charity to the poor neighbours, who often run on your errands.

When you cut bread for a toast, do not stand idly watching it, but lay it on the coals, and mind your other business: then come back, and if you find it toasted quite through, scrape off the burnt side, and serve it up.

When you dress up your sideboard, set the best glasses as near the edge of the table as you can; by which means they will cast a double lustre, and make a much finer figure; and the consequence can be at most but the breaking half a dozen, which is a trifle in your master's pocket.

Wash the glasses with your own water, to save your master's salt.

When any salt is spilt on the table, do not let it be lost, but when dinner is done, fold up the table-cloth with the salt in it, then shake the salt out into the salt-cellar to serve next day: but the shortest and surest way is, when you remove the cloth, to wrap the knives, forks, spoons, salt-cellars, broken bread, and scraps of meat altogether in the table-cloth; by which you will be sure to lose nothing, unless you think it better to shake them out of the window among the beggars, that they may with more convenience eat the scraps.

Leave the dregs of wine, ale, and other liquors, in the bottles: to rinse them is but loss of time, since all will be done at once in a general washing; and you will have a better excuse for breaking them.

If your master has many musty, or very foul and crusted bottles, I advise you, in point of conscience, that those may be the first you truck at the next alehouse for ale or brandy.

When a message is sent to your master, be kind to your brother-servant who brings it; give him the best liquor in your keeping, for your master's honour; and at the first opportunity, he will do the same to you.

After supper, if it be dark, carry your plate and china together in the same basket to save candle-light, for you know your pantry well enough to put them up in the dark.

When company is expected at dinner, or in the evenings, be sure to be abroad, that nothing may be got which is under your key; by which your master will save his liquor, and not wear out his plate.

I come now to a most important part of your economy, the bottling of a hogshead of wine, wherein I recommend three virtues, cleanliness, frugality, and brotherly love. Let your corks be of the longest kind you can get; which will save some wine in the neck of every bottle: as to your bottles, choose the smallest you can find, which will increase the number of dozens, and please your master; for a bottle of wine is always a bottle of wine, whether it hold more or less; and if your master has his proper number of dozens, he cannot complain.

Every bottle must be first rinsed with wine, for fear of any moisture left in the washing: some, out of of a mistaken thrift, will rinse a dozen bottles with

the same wine; but I would advise you, for more caution, to change the wine at every second bottle; a gill may be enough. Have bottles ready by to save it; and it will be a good perquisite, either to sell or drink with the cook.

Never draw your hogshead too low; nor tilt it, for fear of disturbing your liquor. When it begins to run slow, and before the wine grows cloudy, shake the hogshead, and carry a glass of it to your master; who will praise you for your discretion, and give you all the rest as a perquisite to your place: you may tilt the hogshead the next day, and in a fortnight get a dozen or two of good clear wine to dispose of as you please.

In bottling wine, fill your mouth full of corks, together with a large plug of tobacco, which will give to the wine the true taste of the weed, so delightful to all good judges in drinking.

When you are ordered to decant a suspicious bottle, if a pint be out, give your hand a dexterous shake, and show it in a glass, that it begins to be muddy.

When a hogshead of wine or any other liquor is to be bottled off, wash your bottles immediately before you begin; but be sure not to drain them, by which good management your master will save some gallons in every hogshead of wine.

This is the time that, in honour to your master, you ought to show your kindness to your fellow-servants, and especially to the cook; for what signify a few flagons out of a whole hogshead? But make them be drunk in your presence, for fear they should be given to other folks, and so your master be wronged: but advise them, if they get drunk, to go to bed and leave word they are sick; which last caution I would have all the servants observe, both male and female.

If your master finds the hogshead to fall short of his expectation, what is plainer than that the vessel leaked; that the wine-cooper had not filled it in proper time; that a merchant cheated him with a hogshead below the common measure?

When you are to get water on for tea after dinner, (which in many families is part of your office,) to save firing, and to make more haste, pour it into the teakettle from the pot where cabbage or fish have been boiling, which will make it much wholesomer, by curing the acid and corroding quality of the tea.

Be saving of your candles, and let those in the sconces of the hall, the stairs, and in the lantern, burn down into the sockets, until they go out of themselves; for which your master and lady will commend your thriftiness, as soon as they shall smell the snuff.

If a gentleman leaves a snuff-box or pick-tooth-case on the table after dinner, and goes away, look upon it as part of your vails, for so it is allowed by all servants, and you do no wrong to your master or lady.

If you serve a country squire, when gentlemen and ladies come to dine at your house, never fail to make their servants drunk, and especially the coachman, for the honour of your master: to which, in all your actions, you must have a special regard, as being the best judge; for the honour of every family is deposited in the hands of the cook, the butler, and the groom, as I shall hereafter demonstrate.

Snuff the candles at supper as they stand on the table, which is much the securest way; because, if the burning snuff happens to get out of the snuffers, you have a chance that it may fall into a dish of soup, sack-posset, rice-milk, or the like, where it will be immediately extinguished with very little stink.

When you have snuffed the candle, always leave the snuffers open, for the snuff will of itself burn away to ashes, and cannot fall out and dirty the table when you snuff the candles again.

That the salt may lie smooth in the salt-cellar, press it down with your moist palm.

When a gentleman is going away after dining with your master, be sure to stand full in view, and follow him to the door, and, as you have opportunity, look full in his face, perhaps it may bring you a shilling; but if the gentleman has lain there a night, get the cook, the house-maid, the stable-man, the scullion and gardener, to accompany you, and to stand in his way to the hall in a line on each side of him: if the gentleman performs handsomely, it will do him honour and cost your master nothing.

You need not wipe your knife to cut bread for the table, because in cutting a slice or two it will wipe itself.

Put your finger into every bottle to feel whether it be full, which is the surest way, for feeling has no fellow.

When you go down to the cellar to draw ale or small beer, take care to observe directly the following method: hold the vessel between the finger and thumb of your right hand, with the palm upwards; then hold the candle between your fingers, but a little leaning toward the mouth of the vessel; then take out the spigot with your left hand, and clap the point of it in your mouth, and keep your left hand to watch accidents; when the vessel is full, withdraw the spigot from your mouth, well wetted with spittle, which, being of a slimy consistence, will make it stick faster in the faucet: if any tallow drops into the vessel, you may easily (if you think of it) remove it with a spoon.

Always lock up a cat in the closet where you keep your china plates, for fear the mice may steal in and break them.

A good butler always breaks off the point of his bottle-screw in two days, by trying which is hardest, the point of the screw, or the neck of the bottle: in this case to supply the want of a screw, after the stump has torn the cork in pieces, make use of a silver fork, and when the scraps of the cork are almost drawn out, flirt the mouth of the bottle into the cistern three or four times, until you quite clear it.

If a gentleman dines often with your master, and gives you nothing when he goes away, you may use several methods to show him some marks of your displeasure, and quicken his memory: if he calls for bread or drink, you may pretend not to hear, or send it to another who called after him; if he asks for wine, let him stay awhile, and then send him small beer; give him always foul glasses; send him a spoon when he wants a knife; wink at the footman to leave him without a plate: by these and the like expedients, you may probably be a better man by half-a-crown before he leaves the house, provided you watch an opportunity of standing by when he is going.

If your lady loves play, your fortune is fixed for ever; moderate gaming will be a perquisite of ten shillings a-week; and in such a family I would rather choose to be butler than chaplain, or even rather than be steward; it is all ready money, and got without labour, unless your lady happens to be one of those who either obliges you to find wax candles, or forces you to divide it with some favourite servants; but, at worst, the old cards are your own; and if the gamesters play deep or grow peevish, they will change the cards so often, that the old ones will be a considerable advantage by selling them to coffee-houses, or families who love play, but cannot afford better than cards at second-hand; when you attend at the service, be sure to leave new packs within the reach of the gamesters; which those who have ill-luck will readily take to change their fortune; and now and then an old pack mingled with the rest will easily pass. Be sure to be very officious on play nights, and ready with your

candles to light out your company, and have salvers of wine at hand to give them when they call; but manage so with the cook that there be no supper, because it will be so much saved in your master's family; and because a supper will considerably lessen your gains.

Next to cards there is nothing so profitable to you as bottles; in which perquisite you have no competitors except the footmen, who are apt to steal and vend them for pots of beer; but you are bound to prevent any such abuses in your master's family: the footmen are not to answer for what are broken at a general bottling; and those may be as many as your discretion will make them.

The profit of glasses is so very inconsiderable that it is hardly worth mentioning; it consists only in a small present made by the glass-man, and about four shillings in the pound added to the prices, for your trouble and skill in choosing them. If your master has a large stock of glasses, and you or your fellow-servants happen to break any of them without your master's knowledge, keep it a secret till there are not enough left to serve the table, then tell your master that the glasses are gone; this will be but one vexation to him, which is much better than fretting once or twice a-week; and it is the office of a good servant to discompose his master and his lady as seldom as he can; and here the cat and dog will be of great use to take the blame from you. Note, that bottles missing are supposed to be half stolen by stragglers and other servants; and the other half broken by accident and a general washing.

Whet the backs of your knives until they are as sharp as the edge; which will have this advantage, that when gentlemen find them blunt on one side they may try the other; and to show you spare no pains in sharpening the knives, whet them so long, till you wear out a good part of the iron, and even the bottom of the silver handle. This does credit to your master, for it shows good house-keeping, and the goldsmith may one day make you a present.

Your lady, when she finds the small beer or ale dead, will blame you for not remembering to put the peg into the vent-hole. This is a great mistake, nothing being plainer than that the peg keeps the air in the vessel, which spoils the drink, and therefore ought to be let out; but if she insists upon it, to prevent the trouble of pulling out the vent, and putting it in a dozen times a-day, which is not to be borne by a good servant, leave the spigot half out at night, and you will find, with only the loss of two or three quarts of liquor, the vessel will run freely.

When you prepare your candles, wrap them up in a piece of brown paper, and so stick them into the socket: let the paper come half way up the candle, which looks handsome if anybody should come in.

Do all in the dark to save your master's candles.

CHAPTER II.

Directions to the Cook.

Although I am not ignorant that it has been a long time since the custom began among the people of quality to keep men cooks, and generally of the French nation, yet because my treatise is chiefly calculated for the general run of knights, squires, and gentlemen, both in town and country, I shall therefore apply to you, Mrs. Cook, as a woman: however, a great part of what I intend may serve for either sex; and your part naturally follows the former, because the butler and you are joined in interest; your vails are generally equal, and paid when others are disappointed; you can junket together at nights upon your own prog, when the rest of the house are a-bed; and have it in your power to make every fellow-servant your friend; you can give a good bit or a good sup to the little masters and misses, and gain their affections: a quarrel between you is very dangerous to you both, and will probably end in one of you being turned off; in which fatal case, perhaps it will not be so easy in some time to cotton with another. And now, Mrs. Cook, I proceed to give you my instructions; which I desire you will get some fellow-servant in the family to read to you constantly one night in every week when you are going to bed, whether you serve in town or country; for my lessons shall be fitted for both.

If your lady forgets at supper that there is any cold meat in the house, do not you be so officious as to put her in mind; it is plain she did not want it; and if she recollects it the next day, say she gave you no orders, and it is spent; therefore, for fear of telling a lie, dispose of it with the butler, or any other crony, before you go to bed.

Never send up a leg of a fowl at supper while there is a cat or a dog in the house that can be accused for running away with it: but if there happen to be neither, you must lay it upon the rats, or a strange greyhound.

It is ill housewifery to foul your kitchen rubbers with wiping the bottoms of the dishes you send up, since the table-cloth will do as well, and is changed every meal.

Never clean your spits after they have been used; for the grease left upon them by meat is the best thing to preserve them from rust; and when you make use of them again, the same grease will keep the inside of the meat moist.

If you live in a rich family, roasting and boiling are below the dignity of your office, and which it becomes you to be ignorant of; therefore leave that work wholly to the kitchen-wench, for fear of disgracing the family you live in.

If you are employed in marketing, buy your meat as cheap as you can; but when you bring in your accounts, be tender of your master's honour, and set down the highest rate; which, besides, is but justice; for nobody can afford to sell at the same rate that he buys, and I am confident that you may charge safely; swear that you gave no more than what the butcher and poulterer asked. If your lady orders you to set up a piece of meat for supper, you are not to understand that you must set it up all, therefore you may give half to yourself and the butler.

Good cooks cannot abide what they justly call fiddling work, where abundance of time is spent, and little done: such, for instance, is the dressing small birds, requiring a world of cookery and clutter, and a second or third spit, which, by the way, is absolutely needless; for it will be a very ridiculous thing, indeed, if a spit, which is strong enough to turn a sirloin of beef, should not be able to turn a lark; however, if your lady be nice, and is afraid that a large spit will tear them, place them handsomely in the dripping-pan, where the fat of roasted mutton or beef falling on the birds will serve to baste them, and so save both time and butter: for what cook of any spirit would lose her time in picking larks, wheatears, and other small birds? Therefore, if you cannot get the maids or the young misses to assist you, e'en make short work, and either singe or flay them; there is no great loss in the skins, and the flesh is just the same.

If you are employed in marketing, do not accept a treat of a beef-steak and a pot of ale from the butcher, which I think in conscience is no better than wronging your master; but do you always take that perquisite in money, if you do not go in trust; or in poundage, when you pay the bills.

The kitchen bellows being usually out of order with

stirring the fire with the muzzle, to save the tongs and poker, borrow the bellows out of your lady's bed-chamber, which, being least used, are commonly the best in the house: and if you happen to damage or grease them, you have a chance to have them left entirely for your own use.

Let a blackguard boy be always about the house to send on your errands, and go to market for you on rainy days, which will save your clothes, and make you appear more creditable to your mistress.

If your mistress allows you the kitchen-stuff, in return of her generosity take care to boil and roast your meat sufficiently. If she keeps it for her own profit, do her justice; and rather than let a good fire be wanting, enliven it now and then with the dripping and the butter that happens to turn to oil.

Send up your meat well stuck with skewers, to make it look round and plump; and an iron skewer rightly employed now and then will make it look handsomer.

When you roast a long joint of meat, be careful only about the middle, and leave the two extreme parts raw, which will serve another time, and will also save firing.

When you scour your plates and dishes, bend the brim inward, so as to make them hold the more.

Always keep a large fire in the kitchen when there is a small dinner, or the family dines abroad, that the neighbours, seeing the smoke, may commend your master's housekeeping: but when much company is invited, then be as sparing as possible of your coals, because a great deal of the meat being half raw will be saved, and serve next day.

Boil your meat constantly in pump water, because you must sometimes want river or pipe water; and then your mistress, observing your meat of a different colour, will chide you when you are not in fault.

When you have plenty of fowl in the larder, leave the door open, in pity to the poor cat, if she be a good mouser

If you find it necessary to go to market in a wet day, take out your mistress's riding-hood and cloak, to save your clothes.

Get three or four charwomen to attend you constantly in the kitchen, whom you pay at small charges, only with the broken meat, a few coals, and all the cinders.

To keep troublesome servants out of the kitchen, always leave the winder sticking on the jack, to fall on their heads.

If a lump of soot falls into the soup, and you cannot conveniently get it out, stir it well, and it will give the soup a high French taste.

If you melt your butter to oil, be under no concern, but send it up, for oil is a genteeler sauce than butter.

Scrape the bottoms of your pots and kettles with a silver spoon, for fear of giving them a taste of copper.

When you send up butter for sauce, be so thrifty as to let it be half water; which is also much wholesomer.

If your butter, when it is melted, tastes of brass, it is your master's fault, who will not allow you a silver saucepan: besides, the less of it will go further, and new tinning is very chargeable; if you have a silver saucepan, and the butter smells of smoke, lay the fault upon the coals.

Never make use of a spoon in anything that you can do with your hands, for fear of wearing out your master's plate.

When you find that you cannot get dinner ready at the time appointed, put the clock back, and then it may be ready to a minute.

Let a red-hot coal now and then fall into the dripping-pan, that the smoke of the dripping may ascend, and give the roast meat a high taste.

You are to look upon the kitchen as your dressing-room; but you are not to wash your hands till you have gone to the necessary-house, and spitted your meat, trussed your fowl, picked your sallad, not indeed till after you have sent up your second course; for your hands will be ten times fouler with the many things you are forced to handle; but when your work is over, one washing will serve for all.

There is but one part of your dressing that I would admit while the victuals are boiling, roasting, or stewing; I mean the combing your head, which loses no time, because you can stand over your cookery, and watch it with one hand, while you are using your comb with the other.

If any of the combings happen to be sent up with the victuals, you may safely lay the fault upon any of the footmen that has vexed you; as those gentlemen are sometimes apt to be malicious, if you refuse them a sop in the pan, or a slice from the spit, much more when you discharge a ladleful of hot porridge on their legs, or send them up to their masters with a dish-clout pinned at their tails.

In roasting and boiling, order the kitchen-maid to bring none but large coals, and save the small ones for the fires above stairs; the first are properest for dressing meat, and when they are out, if you happen to miscarry in any dish, you may fairly lay the fault upon want of coals; besides, the cinder-pickers will be sure to speak ill of your master's housekeeping, where they do not find plenty of large cinders mixed with fresh large coals; thus you may dress your meat with credit, do an act of charity, raise the honour of your master, and sometimes get share of a pot of ale for your bounty to the cinder-woman.

As soon as you have sent up the second course, you have nothing to do (in a great family) until supper; therefore scour your hands and face, put on your hood and scarf, and take your pleasure among your cronies till nine or ten at night.—But dine first.

Let there be always a strict friendship between you and the butler, for it is both your interests to be united; the butler often wants a comfortable tit-bit, and you much oftener a cool cup of good liquor. However, be cautious of him, for he is sometimes an inconstant lover, because he has great advantage to allure the maids with a glass of sack, or white wine and sugar.

When you roast a breast of veal, remember your sweetheart the butler loves a sweet-bread; therefore set it aside till evening; you can say, the cat or the dog has run away with it, or you found it tainted, or fly-blown; and besides, it looks as well at the table without it as with it.

When you make the company wait long for dinner, and the meat be overdone, which is generally the case, you may lawfully lay the fault upon your lady, who hurried you so to send up dinner, that you was forced to send it up too much boiled and roasted.

If your dinner miscarries in almost every dish, how could you help it? You were teazed by the footmen coming into the kitchen; and, to prove it true, take occasion to be angry, and throw a ladleful of broth on one or two of their liveries; besides, Friday and Childermas-day are two cross days in the week, and it is impossible to have good luck on either of them; therefore on those two days you have a lawful excuse.

When you are in haste to take down your dishes, tip them in such a manner that a dozen will fall together upon the dresser, just ready for your hand.

To save time and trouble, cut your apples and onions with the same knife; and well-bred gentry love the taste of an onion in everything they eat.

Lump three or four pounds of butter together with

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your hand, then dash it against the wall just over the dresser, so as to have it ready to pull by pieces as you have occasion for it.

If you have a silver saucepan for the kitchen use, let me advise you to batter it all, and keep it always black; this will be for your master's honour, for it shows there has been constant good housekeeping; and make room for the saucepan by wriggling it on the coals, &c.

In the same manner, if you are allowed a large silver spoon for the kitchen, let half the bowl of it be worn out with continual scraping and stirring, and often say merrily, This spoon owes my master no service.

When you send up a mess of broth, water-gruel, or the like, to your master in a morning, do not forget with your thumb and fingers to put salt on the side of the plate; for if you make use of a spoon or the end of a knife, there may be danger that the salt would fall, and that would be a sign of ill luck; only remember to lick your thumb and fingers clean before you offer to touch the salt.

CHAPTER III.

Directions to the Footman.

Your employment being of a mixed nature, extends to a great variety of business, and you stand in a fair way of being the favourite of your master or mistress, or of the young masters and misses: you are the fine gentleman of the family, with whom all the maids are in love. You are sometimes a pattern of dress to your master, and sometimes he is so to you. You wait at table in all companies, and consequently have the opportunity to see and know the world, and to understand men and manners. I confess your vails are but few, unless you are sent with a present, or attend the tea in the country; but you are called Mr. in the neighbourhood, and sometimes pick up a fortune; perhaps your master's daughter; and I have known many of your tribe to have good commands in the army. In Town you have a seat reserved for you in the playhouse, where you have an opportunity of becoming wits and critic: you have no professed enemy except the rabble, and my lady's waiting-woman, who are sometimes apt to call you skip-kennel. I have a true veneration for your office, because I had once the honour to be one of your order, which I foolishly left by demeaning myself with accepting an employment in the custom-house. But that you, my brethren, may come to better fortunes, I shall here deliver my instructions, which have been the fruits of much thought and observation, as well as of seven years' experience.

In order to learn the secrets of other families, tell them those of your master's; thus you will grow a favourite both at home and abroad, and be regarded as a person of importance.

Never be seen in the streets with a basket or bundle in your hands, and carry nothing but what you can hide in your pocket, otherwise you will disgrace your calling; to prevent which, always retain a blackguard boy to carry your load; and if you want farthings, pay him with a good slice of bread, or scrap of meat.

Let a shoe-boy clean your own shoes first, for fear of fouling the chamber, then let him clean your master's; keep him on purpose for that use, and to run of errands, and pay him with scraps. When you are sent on an errand, be sure to edge in some business of your own, either to see your sweetheart, or drink a pot of ale with some brother-servants, which is so much time clear gained.

There is a great controversy about the most convenient and genteel way of holding your plate at meals; some stick it between the frame and the back of the chair, which is an excellent expedient, where the make of the chair will allow it; others, for fear the plate should fall, grasp it so firmly that their thumb reaches to the middle of the hollow; which, however, if your thumb be dry, is no secure method; and therefore, in that case, I advise you wetting the ball of it with your tongue: as to that absurd practice of letting the back of the plate lie leaning on the hollow of your hand, which some ladies recommend, it is universally exploded, being liable to so many accidents. Others again are so refined that they hold their plate directly under the left arm-pit, which is the best situation for keeping it warm; but this may be dangerous in the article of taking away a dish, where your plate may happen to fall upon some of the company's heads. I confess myself to have objected against all these ways, which I have frequently tried; and therefore, I recommend a fourth, which is to stick your plate up to the rim inclusive, in the left side, between your waistcoat and your shirt: this will keep it at least as warm as under your arm-pit or ockster, as the Scots call it; this will hide it so as strangers may take you for a better servant, too good to hold a plate; this will secure it from falling, and thus disposed, it lies ready for you to whip out in a moment, ready warmed, to any guest within your reach who may want it. And lastly, there is another convenience in this method, that if at any time during your waiting you find yourself going to cough or sneeze, you can immediately snatch out the plate, and hold the hollow part close to your nose or mouth, and thus prevent spirting any moisture from either, upon the dishes or the ladies' dress; you see gentlemen and ladies observe a like practice on such an occasion, with a hat or handkerchief; yet a plate is less fouled, and sooner cleaned, than either of these; for, when your cough or sneeze is over, it is but returning your plate to the same position, and your shirt shall clean it in the passage.

Take off the largest dishes, and set them on with one hand, to show the ladies your vigour and strength of back; but always do it between two ladies, that if the dish happens to slip, the soup or sauce may fall on their clothes, and not dash the floor; by this practice, two of our brethren, my worthy friends, got considerable fortunes.

Learn all the new-fashion words, and oaths, and songs, and scraps of plays, that your memory can hold. Thus you will become the delight of nine ladies in ten, and the envy of ninety-nine beaux in a hundred.

Take care that, at certain periods, during dinner especially, when persons of quality are there, you and your brethren be all out of the room together; by which you will give yourself some ease from the fatigue of waiting, and at the same time leave the company to converse more freely, without being constrained by your presence.

When you are sent on a message, deliver it in your own words, although it be to a duke or a duchess, and not in the words of your master or lady; for how can they understand what belongs to a message as well as you, who have been bred to the employment? But never deliver the answer till it is called for, and then adorn it in your own style.

When dinner is done, carry down a great heap of plates to the kitchen, and when you come to the head of the stairs, trundle them all before you: there is not a more agreeable sight or sound, especially if they be silver, besides the trouble they save you, and there they will lie ready near the kitchen-door for the scullion to wash them.

If you are bringing up a joint of meat in a dish, and it falls out of your hand before you get into the dining-room, with the meat on the ground, and the sauce spilled, take up the meat gently, wipe it with the flap of your coat, then put it again into the dish, and serve

it up; and when your lady misses the sauce, tell her it is to be sent up in a plate by itself.

When you carry up a dish of meat, dip your fingers in the sauce, or lick it with your tongue, to try whether it be good and fit for your master's table.

You are the best judge of what acquaintance your lady ought to have, and therefore if she sends you on a message of compliment or business to a family you do not like, deliver the answer in such a manner as may breed a quarrel between them not to be reconciled; or if a footman comes from the same family on the like errand, turn the answer she orders you to deliver, in such a manner, as the other family may take it for an affront.

When you are in lodgings, and no shoe-boy to be got, clean your master's shoes with the bottom of the curtains, a clean napkin, or your landlady's apron.

Ever wear your hat in the house, but when your master calls; and as soon as you come into his presence, pull it off to show your manners.

Never clean your shoes on the scraper, but in the entry, or at the foot of the stairs, by which you will have the credit of being at home almost a minute sooner, and the scraper will last longer.

Never ask leave to go abroad, for then it will be always known that you are absent, and you will be thought an idle, rambling fellow; whereas if you go out and nobody observes you, you have a chance of coming home without being missed; and you need not tell your fellow-servants where you are gone, for they will be sure to say you were in the house but two minutes ago, which is the duty of all servants.

Snuff the candles with your fingers, and throw the snuff on the floor, and then tread it out, to prevent stinking: this method will very much save the snuffers from wearing out. You ought also to snuff them close to the tallow, which will make them run, and so increase the perquisite of the cook's kitchen-stuff; for she is the person you ought in prudence to be well with.

While grace is saying after meat, do you and your brethren take the chairs from behind the company, so that when they go to sit again, they may fall backward, which will make them all merry; but be you so discreet as to hold your laughter till you get to the kitchen, and then divert your fellow-servants.

When you know your master is most busy in company, come in and pretend to settle about the room, and if he chides, say, you thought he rung the bell. This will divert him from plodding on business too much, or spending himself in talk, or racking his thoughts, all which are hurtful to his constitution.

If you are ordered to break the claw of a crab or a lobster, clap it between the sides of the dining-room door between the hinges: thus you can do it gradually, without mashing the meat, which is often the fate of the street-door key, or the pestle.

When you take a foul plate from any of the guests, and observe the foul knife and fork lying on the plate, show your dexterity; take up the plate, and throw off the knife and fork on the table, without shaking off the bones or broken meat that are left; then the guest, who has more time than you, will wipe the fork and knife already used.

When you carry a glass of liquor to any person who has called for it, do not bob him on the shoulder, or cry, sir, or madam, here's the glass; that would be unmannerly, as if you had a mind to force it down one's throat, but stand at the person's left shoulder, and wait his time; and if he strikes it down with his elbow by forgetfulness, that was his fault, and not yours.

When your mistress sends you for a hackney-coach in a wet day, come back in the coach, to save your clothes and the trouble of walking: it is better the bottom of her petticoats should be daggled with your dirty shoes, than your livery be spoiled, and yourself get a cold.

There is no indignity so great to one of your station, as that of lighting your master in the streets with a lantern; and therefore it is very honest policy to try all arts how to evade it; besides, it shows your master to be either poor or covetous, which are the two worst qualities you can meet with in any service. When I was under these circumstances, I made use of several wise expedients, which I here recommend to you: sometimes I took a candle so long, that it reached to the very top of the lantern, and burned it; but my master, after a good beating, ordered me to paste it over with paper. I then used a middling candle, but stuck it so loose in the socket, that it leaned toward one side, and burned a whole quarter of the horn. Then I used a bit of candle of half an inch, which sunk in the socket, and melted the solder, and forced my master to walk half the way in the dark. Then he made me stick two inches of candle in the place where the socket was, after which I pretended to stumble, put out the candle, and broke all the tin part to pieces: at last, he was forced to make use of a lantern-boy, out of perfect good husbandry.

It is much to be lamented that the gentlemen of our employment have but two hands to carry plates, dishes, bottles, and the like, out of the room at meals; and the misfortune is still the greater, because one of those hands is required to open the door, while you are encumbered with your load; therefore I advise, that the door may be always left a-jar, so as to open it with your foot, and then you may carry out plates and dishes from your belly up to your chin, besides a good quantity of things under your arms, which will save you many a weary step; but take care that none of the burden falls till you are out of the room, and, if possible, out of hearing.

If you are sent to the post-office with a letter in a cold rainy night, step to the ale-house and take a pot, until it is supposed you have done your errand; but take the next fair opportunity to put the letter in carefully, as becomes an honest servant.

If you are ordered to make coffee for the ladies after dinner, and the pot happens to boil over while you are running up for a spoon to stir it, or thinking of something else, or struggling with the chamber-maid for a kiss, wipe the sides of the pot clean with a dish-clout, carry up your coffee boldly, and when your lady finds it too weak, and examines you whether it has not run over, deny the fact absolutely; swear you put in more coffee than ordinary, that you never stirred an inch from it, that you strove to make it better than usual, because your mistress had ladies with her, that the servants in the kitchen will justify what you say; upon this, you will find that the other ladies will pronounce your coffee to be very good, and your mistress will confess that her mouth is out of taste, and she will for the future suspect herself, and be more cautious in finding fault. This I would have you do from a principle of conscience, for coffee is very unwholesome, and, out of affection to your lady, you ought to give it her as weak as possible; and upon this argument, when you have a mind to treat any of the maids with a dish of fresh coffee, you may and ought to subtract a part of the powder, on account of your lady's health, and getting her maid's good will.

If your master sends you with a small, trifling present to one of his friends, be as careful of it as you would be of a diamond-ring; therefore, if the present be only half-a-dozen pippins, send up the servant who received the message, to say that you were ordered to deliver them with your own hands. This will show your exactness and care to prevent accidents or mistakes; and the gentleman or lady cannot do less than give you a

shilling: so when your master receives the like present, teach the messenger who brings it to do the same, and give your master hints that may stir up his generosity; for brother-servants should assist one another, since it is all for their master's honour, which is the chief point to be consulted by every good servant, and of which he is the best judge.

When you step but a few doors off to tattle with a wench, or take a running pot of ale, or to see a brother footman going to be hanged, leave the street door open, that you may not be forced to knock, and your master discover you are gone out; for a quarter of an hour's time can do his service no injury.

When you take away the remaining pieces of bread after dinner, put them on foul plates, and press them down with other plates over them, so as nobody can touch them; and so they will be a good perquisite to the blackguard boy in ordinary.

When you are forced to clean your master's shoes with your own hand, use the edge of the sharpest case-knife, and dry them with the toes an inch from the fire, because wet shoes are dangerous, and besides by these arts you will get them the sooner for yourself.

In some families the master often sends to the tavern for a bottle of wine, and you are the messenger: I advise you therefore to take the smallest bottle you can find; but, however, make the drawer give you a full quart, then you will get a good sup for yourself, and your bottle will be filled. As for a cork to stop it, you need be at no trouble, for the thumb will do as well, or a bit of dirty chewed paper.

In all disputes with chairmen and coachmen, for demanding too much, when your master sends you down to chaffer with them, take pity of the poor fellows, and tell your master that they will not take a farthing less: it is more for your interest to get share of a pot of ale, than to save a shilling for your master, to whom it is a trifle.

When you attend your lady in a dark night, if she uses her coach, do not walk by the coach-side, so as to tire and dirt yourself, but get up into your proper place behind it, and so hold the flambeau sloping forward over the coach roof; and when it wants snuffing, dash it against the corners.

When you leave your lady at church on Sundays, you have two hours safe to spend with your companions at the ale-house, or over a beef-steak and a pot of beer at home with the cook and the maids; and, indeed, poor servants have so few opportunities to be happy that they ought not to lose any.

Never wear socks when you wait at meals, on account of your own health, as well as of them who sit at table; because as most ladies like the smell of young men's toes, so it is a sovereign remedy against vapours.

Choose a service, if you can, where your livery colours are least tawdry and distinguishing; green and yellow immediately betray your office, and so do all kinds of lace, except silver, which will hardly fall to your share, unless with a duke, or some prodigal just come to his estate. The colours you ought to wish for are blue, or filemot turned up with red; which, with a borrowed sword, a borrowed air, your master's linen, and a natural and improved confidence, will give you what title you please, where you are not known.

When you carry dishes or other things out of the room at meals, fill both your hands as full as possible; for although you may sometimes spill, and sometimes let fall, yet you will find at the year's end you have made great despatch and saved abundance of time.

If your master or mistress happen to walk the streets, keep on one side and as much on the level with them as you can, which people observing, will either think you do not belong to them, or that you are one of their companions; but if either of them happen to turn back and speak to you, so that you are under the necessity to take off your hat, use but your thumb and one finger, and scratch your head with the rest.

In winter time light the dining-room fire but two minutes before dinner is served up, that your master may see how saving you are of his coals.

When you are ordered to stir up the fire, clean away the ashes from betwixt the bars with the fire-brush.

When you are ordered to call a coach, although it be midnight, go no further than the door, for fear of being out of the way when you are wanted; and there stand bawling, Coach, coach, for half an hour.

Although you gentlemen in livery have the misfortune to be treated scurvily by all mankind, yet you make a shift to keep up your spirits, and sometimes arrive at considerable fortunes. I was an intimate friend to one of our brethren who was footman to a court lady; she had an honourable employment, was sister to an earl, and the widow of a man of quality. She observed something so polite in my friend, tho gracefulness with which he tripped before her chair, and put his hair under his hat, that she made him many advances; and one day taking the air in her coach, with Tom behind it, the coachman mistook the way, and stopped at a privileged chapel, where the couple were married, and Tom came home in the chariot by his lady's side: but he unfortunately taught her to drink brandy, of which she died, after having pawned all her plate to purchase it, and Tom is now a journeyman maltster.

Boucher, the famous gamester, was another of our fraternity: and when he was worth 50,000*l.* he dunned the duke of Buckingham for an arrear of wages in his service: and I could instance many more, particularly another, whose son had one of the chief employments at court: and it is sufficient to give you the following advice, which is, to be pert and saucy to all mankind, especially to the chaplain, the waiting-woman, and the better sort of servants in a person of quality's family; and value not now and then a kicking, or a caning, for your insolence will at last turn to good account; and from wearing a livery, you may probably soon carry a pair of colours.

When you wait behind a chair at meals, keep constantly wriggling the back of the chair that the person behind whom you stand may know you are ready to attend him.

When you carry a parcel of china plates, if they chance to fall, as it is a frequent misfortune, your excuse must be, that a dog ran across you in the hall; that the chamber-maid accidentally pushed the door against you; that a mop stood across the entry, and tripped you up; that your sleeve stuck against the key, or button of the lock.

When your master and lady are talking together in their bed-chamber, and you have some suspicion that you or your fellow-servants are concerned in what they say, listen at the door, for the public good of all the servants, and join all to take proper measures for preventing any innovations that may hurt the community.

Be not proud in prosperity: you have heard that fortune turns on a wheel; if you have a good place, you are at the top of the wheel. Remember how often you have been stripped, and kicked out of doors, your wages all taken up before-hand, and spent in translated red-heeled shoes, second-hand toupees, and repaired laced ruffles, beside a swinging debt to the ale-wife and the brandy-shop. The neighbouring tapster, who before would beckon you over to a savoury bit of ox-cheek in the morning, give it you gratis, and only score you up for the liquor, immediately after

you were packed off in disgrace, carried a petition to your master, to be paid out of your wages, whereof not a farthing was due, and then pursued you with bailiffs into every blind cellar. Remember how soon you grew shabby, threadbare, and out at heels; was forced to borrow an old livery coat, to make your appearance while you were looking for a place: and sneak to every house where you had an old acquaintance, to steal you a scrap to keep life and soul together; and, upon the whole, were in the lowest station of human life, which, as the old ballad says, is that of a skip-kennel turned out of place; I say, remember all this now in your flourishing condition. Pay your contributions duly to your late brothers the cadets, who are left to the wide world; take one of them as your dependent, to send on your lady's messages, when you have a mind to go to the ale-house; slip him out privately, now and then, a slice of bread, and bit of cold meat; your master can afford it; and if he be not yet put upon establishment for a lodging, let him lie in the stable or the coach-house, or under the back-stairs, and recommend him to all the gentlemen who frequent your house as an excellent servant.

To grow old in the office of a footman is the highest of all indignities; therefore, when you find years coming on, without hopes of a place at court, a command in the army, a succession to the stewardship, an employment in the revenue, (which two last you cannot obtain without reading and writing,) or running away with your master's niece or daughter, I directly advise you to go upon the road, which is the only post of honour left you; there you will meet many of your old comrades, and live a short life and a merry one, and make a figure at your exit, wherein I will give you some instructions.

The last advice I give you relates to your behaviour when you are going to be hanged; which, either for robbing your master, for house-breaking, or going upon the highway, or, in a drunken quarrel, by killing the first man you meet, may very probably be your lot, and is owing to one of these three qualities; either a love of good fellowship, a generosity of mind, or too much vivacity of spirits. Your good behaviour on this article will concern your whole community. Deny the fact with all solemnity of imprecations: a hundred of your brethren, if they can be admitted, will attend about the bar, and be ready, upon demand, to give you a character before the court. Let nothing prevail on you to confess, but the promise of a pardon for discovering your comrades: but I suppose all this to be in vain; for if you escape now, your fate will be the same another day. Get a speech to be written by the best author of Newgate; some of your kind wenches will provide you with a Holland shirt and white cap, crowned with a crimson or black ribbon: take leave cheerfully of all your friends in Newgate; mount the cart with courage; fall on your knees; lift up your eyes; hold a book in your hands, although you cannot read a word; deny the fact at the gallows; kiss and forgive the hangman, and so farewell: you shall be buried in pomp, at the charge of the fraternity; the surgeon shall not touch a limb of you; and your fame shall continue until a successor of equal renown succeeds in your place.

CHAPTER IV.

Directions to the Coachman.

You are strictly bound to nothing but to step into the box, and carry your master or lady.

Let your horses be so well trained that when you attend your lady at a visit, they will wait until you slip into a neighbouring ale-house to take a pot with a friend.

When you are in no humour to drive, tell your master that the horses have got a cold, that they want shoeing, that rain does them hurt, and rongnens their coat, and rots the harness. This may likewise be applied to the groom.

If your master dines with a country friend, drink as much as you can get; because it is allowed that a good coachman never drives so well as when he is drunk; and then show your skill by driving to an inch by a precipice, and say you never drive so well as when drunk.

If you find any gentleman fond of one of your horses, and willing to give you a consideration beside the price, persuade your master to sell him, because he is so vicious that you cannot undertake to drive him, and is foundered into the bargain.

Get a blackguard boy to watch your coach at the church-door on Sundays, that you and your brother-coachmen may be merry together at the ale-house, while your master and lady are at church.

Take care that your wheels be good, and get a new set bought as often as you can, whether you are allowed the old as your perquisite or not: in one case it will turn to your honest profit, and in the other it will be a just punishment on your master's covetousness; and probably the coach-maker will consider you too.

CHAPTER V.

Directions to the Groom.

You are the servant upon whom the care of your master's honour in all journeys entirely depends; your breast is the sole repository of it. If he travels the country, and lodges at inns, every dram of brandy, every pot of ale extraordinary that you drink raises his character; and therefore his reputation ought to be dear to you; and I hope you will not stint yourself in either. The smith, the saddler's journeyman, the cook at the inn, the ostler, and the boot-catcher, ought all, by your means, to partake of your master's generosity: thus his fame will reach from one county to another; and what is a gallon of ale, or a pint of brandy in his worship's pocket? And although he should be in the number of those who value their credit less than their purse, yet your care of the former ought to be so much the greater. His horse wanted two removes; your horse wanted nails; his allowance of oats and beans was greater than the journey required; a third may be retrenched, and turned into ale or brandy; and thus his honour may be preserved by your discretion, and less expense to him; or, he travels with no other servant, the matter is easily made up in the bill, between you and the tapster.

Therefore, as soon as you alight at the inn, deliver your horses to the stable-boy, and let him gallop them to the next pond: then call for a pot of ale, for it is very fit that a Christian should drink before a beast. Leave your master to the care of the servants in the inn, and your horses to those in the stable: thus both he and they are left in the properest hands; but you are to provide for yourself; therefore get your supper, drink freely, and go to bed without troubling your master, who is in better hands than yours. The ostler is an honest fellow, and loves horses in his heart, and would not wrong the dumb creatures for the world. Be tender of your master, and order the servants not to wake him too early. Get your breakfast before he is up, that he may not wait for you; make the ostler tell him the roads are very good, and the miles short; but advise him to stay a little longer, till the weather clears up, for he is afraid there will be rain, and he will be time enough after dinner.

Let your master mount before you, out of good manners. As he is leaving the inn, drop a good word in favour of the ostler, what care he took of the cattle; and add that you never saw civiller servants. Let your master ride on before, and do you stay until you

landlord has given you a dram; then gallop after him through the town or village with full speed, for fear he should want you, and to show your horsemanship.

If you are a piece of a farrier, as every good groom ought to be, get sack, brandy, or strong beer, to rub your horses' heels every night, and be not sparing, for (if any be spent) what is left, you know how to dispose of it.

Consider your master's health, and rather than let him take long journeys, say the cattle are weak, and fallen in their flesh with hard riding; tell him of a very good inn five miles nearer than he intended to go; or leave one of his horse's fore-shoes loose in the morning; or contrive that the saddle may pinch the beast in his withers; or keep him without corn all night and morning, so that he may tire on the road; or wedge a thin plate of iron between the hoof and the shoe, to make him halt: and all this in perfect tenderness to your master.

When you are going to be hired, and the gentleman asks you, Whether you are apt to be drunk? own freely that you love a cup of good ale; but that it is your way, drunk or sober, never to neglect your horses.

When your master has a mind to ride out for the air, or for pleasure, if any private business of your own makes it inconvenient for you to attend him, give him to understand that the horses want bleeding or purging; that his own pad has got a surfeit; or that the saddle wants stuffing, and his bridle is gone to be mended; this you may honestly do, because it will be no injury to the horses or your master, and at the same time shows the great care you have of the poor dumb creatures.

If there be a particular inn in the town whither you are going, and where you are well acquainted with the ostler or tapster, and the people of the house, find fault with the other inns, and recommend your master thither; it may probably be a pot and a dram or two more in your way, and to your master's honour.

If your master sends you to buy hay, deal with those who will be the most liberal to you; for service being no inheritance, you ought not to let slip any lawful and customary perquisite. If your master buys it himself, he wrongs you; and, to teach him his duty, be sure to find fault with the hay as long as it lasts; and, if the horses thrive with it, the fault is yours.

Hay and oats, in the management of a skilful groom, will make excellent ale, as well as brandy; but this I only hint.

When your master dines or lies at a gentleman's house in the country, although there be no groom, or he be gone abroad, or that the horses have been quite neglected, be sure to employ some of the servants to hold the horse when your master mounts. This I would have you do when your master only alights to call in for a few minutes: for brother-servants must always befriend one another, and that also concerns your master's honour; because he cannot do less than give a piece of money to him who holds his horse.

In long journeys, ask your master leave to give ale to the horses; carry two quartsful to the stable, pour half a pint into a bowl, and if they will not drink it, you and the ostler must do the best you can; perhaps they may be in a better humour at the next inn; for I would have you never fail to make the experiment.

When you go to air your horses in the park, or the fields, give them to a horse-boy, or one of the blackguards, who, being lighter than you, may be trusted to run races with less damage to the horses, and teach them to leap over hedges and ditches, while you are drinking a friendly pot with your brother grooms; but sometimes you and they may run races yourselves, for the honour of your horses, and of your masters.

Never stint your horses at home in hay and oats, but fill the rack to the top, and the manger to the brim, for you would take it ill to be stinted yourself; although perhaps they may not have the stomach to eat, consider they have no tongues to ask. If the hay be thrown down, there is no loss, for it will make litter, and save straw.

When your master is leaving a gentleman's house in the country, where he has lain a night, then consider his honour; let him know how many servants there are of both sexes, who expect vails; and give them their one to attend in two lines, as he leaves the house; but desire him not to trust the money with the butler, for fear he should cheat the rest; this will force your master to be more generous; and then you may take occasion to tell your master, that squire such a one, whom you lived with last, always gave so much a-piece to the common servants, and so much to the housekeeper, and the rest, naming at least double to what he intended to give; but be sure to tell the servants what a good office you did them; this will gain you love, and your master honour.

You may venture to be drunk much oftener than the coachman, whatever he pretends to allege in his own behalf, because you hazard nobody's neck but your own; for the horse will probably take so much care of himself, as to come off with only a strain or a shoulder-slip.

When you carry your master's riding-coat in a journey, wrap your own in it, and buckle them up close with a strap, but turn your master's inside out, to preserve the outside from wet and dirt: thus, when it begins to rain, your master's coat will be first ready to be given him; and if it get more hurt than yours, he can afford it better, for your livery must always serve its year's apprenticeship.

When you come to your inn with the horses wet and dirty after hard riding, and are very hot, make the ostler immediately plunge them into water up to their bellies, and allow them to drink as much as they please; but be sure to gallop them full speed a mile at least, to dry their skins, and warm the water in their bellies. The ostler understands his business; leave all to his discretion, while you get a pot of ale and some brandy at the kitchen fire, to comfort your heart.

If your horse drop a fore-shoe, be so careful as to alight and take it up; then ride with all the speed you can, with the shoe in your hand, (that every traveller may observe your care,) to the next smith on the road, make him put it on immediately, that your master may not wait for you, and that the poor horse may be as short a time as possible without a shoe.

When your master lies at a gentleman's house, if you find the hay and oats are good, complain aloud of their badness; this will get you the name of a diligent servant; and be sure to cram the horses with as much oats as they can eat, while you are there, and you may give them so much the less for some days at the inns, and turn the oats into ale. When you leave the gentleman's house, tell your master what a covetous hunks that gentleman was; that you got nothing but buttermilk or water to drink; this will make your master, out of pity, allow you a pot of ale the more at the next inn; but if you happen to get drunk in a gentleman's house, your master cannot be angry, because it cost him nothing; and so you ought to tell him as well as you can in your present condition, and let him know it is both for his and the gentleman's honour to make a friend's servant welcome.

A master ought always to love his groom, to put him in a handsome livery, and to allow him a silver-laced hat. When you are in this equipage, all the honours he receives on the road are owing to you alone: that he is not turned out of the way by every carrier, is caused by the civility he receives at second-hand from the respect paid to your livery.

You may now and then lend your master's pad to

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a brother-servant, or your favourite maid, for a short jaunt, or hire him for a day, because the horse is spoiled for want of exercise; and if your master happens to want his horse, or has a mind to see the stable, curse that rogue the helper, who has gone out with the key.

When you want to spend an hour or two with your companions at the ale-house, and that you stand in need of a reasonable excuse for your stay, go out of the stable door, or the back way, with an old bridle, girth, or stirrup-leather in your pocket; and on your return, come home by the street door, with the same bridle, girth, or stirrup-leather dangling in your hand, as if you came from the saddler's, where you were getting the same mended: if you were not missed, all is well; but if you are met by your master, you will have the reputation of a careful servant. This I have known practised with good success.

CHAPTER VI.

Directions to the House Steward and Land Steward.

Lord Peterborough's steward that pulled down his house, sold the materials, and charged my lord with repairs. Take money for forbearance from tenants. Renew leases, and get by them, and sell woods. Lend my lord his own money. Gil Blas said much of this, to whom I refer.

CHAPTER VII.

Directions to the Porter.

If your master be a minister of state, let him be at home to none but his pimp, or chief flatterer, or one of his pensionary writers, or his hired spy and informer, or his printer in ordinary, or his city solicitor, or a land-jobber, or his inventor of new funds, or a stock-jobber.

CHAPTER VIII.

Directions to the Chambermaid.

The nature of your employment differs according to the quality, the pride, or the wealth of the lady you serve; and this treatise is to be applied to all sorts of families; so that I find myself under great difficulty to adjust the best business for which you are hired. In a family where there is a tolerable estate, you differ from the housemaid, and in that view I give my directions. Your particular province is your lady's chamber, where you make the bed, and put things in order; and if you live in the country, you take care of rooms where ladies lie who come into the house, which brings in all the vails that fall to your share. Your usual lover, as I take it, is the coachman; but, if you are under twenty, and tolerably handsome, perhaps a footman may cast his eyes on you.

Get your favorite footman to help you in making your lady's bed; and if you serve a young couple, the footman and you, as you are turning up the bed-clothes, will make the prettiest observations in the world; which, whispered about, will be very entertaining to the whole family, and get among the neighbourhood.

Do not carry down the necessary-vessels for the fellows to see, but empty them out of the window, for your lady's credit. It is highly improper for men-servants to know that fine ladies have occasion for such utensils; and do not scour the chamber-pot, because the smell is wholesome.

If you happen to break any china with the top of the whisk, on the mantle-tree or the cabinet, gather up the fragments, put them together as well as you can, and place them behind the rest, so that when your lady comes to discover them, you may safely say they were broke long ago, before you came to the service. This will save your lady many an hour's vexation.

It sometimes happens that a looking-glass is broken by the same means: while you are looking another way as you sweep the chamber, the long end of the brush strikes against the glass, and breaks it to shivers. This is the extremest of all misfortunes, and all remedy desperate in appearance, because it is impossible to be concealed. Such a fatal accident once happened in a great family where I had the honour to be a footman; and I will relate the particulars, to show the ingenuity of the poor chamber-maid on so sudden and dreadful an emergency, which perhaps may help to sharpen your invention, if your evil star should ever give you the like occasion. The poor girl had broken a large japan glass, of great value, with a stroke of her brush: s'e had not considered long, when, by a prodigious presence of mind, she locked the door, stole into the yard, brought a stone of three pounds weight into the chamber, laid it on the hearth, just under the looking-glass, then broke a pane in the sash window that looked into the same yard, so shut the door, and went about her other affairs. Two hours after, the lady goes into the chamber, sees the glass broken, the stone lying under, and a whole pane in the window destroyed; from all which circumstances she concluded just as the maid could have wished, that some idle straggler in the neighbourhood, or perhaps one of the out-servants, had, through malice, accident, or carelessness, flung in the stone, and done the mischief. Thus far all things went well, and the girl concluded herself out of danger; but it was her ill fortune, that a few hours after in came the parson of the parish, and the lady naturally told him the accident, which you may believe had much discomposed her; but the minister, who happened to understand mathematics, after examining the situation of the yard, the window, and the chimney, soon convinced the lady that the stone could never reach the looking-glass without taking three turns in its flight from the hand that threw it; and the maid, being proved to have swept the room the same morning, was strictly examined, but constantly denied that she was guilty, upon her salvation, offering to take her oath upon the Bible, before his reverence, that she was as innocent as the child unborn; yet the poor wench was turned off, which I take to have been hard treatment, considering her ingenuity: however, this may be a direction to you in the like case, to contrive a story that will better hang together. For instance, you might say, that while you were at work with a mop or brush, a flash of lightning came suddenly in at the window, which almost blinded you; that you immediately heard the ringing of broken glass on the hearth; that as soon as you recovered your eyes, you saw the looking-glass all broken to pieces: or you may allege, that, observing the glass a little covered with dust, and going very gently to wipe it, you suppose the moisture of the air had dissolved the glue or cement, which made it fall to the ground: or, as soon as the mischief is done, you may cut the cords that fastened the glass to the wainscot, and so let it fall flat on the ground; run out in a fright, tell your lady, curse the upholsterer, and declare how narrowly you escaped that it did not fall upon your head. I offer these expedients from a desire I have to defend the innocent; for innocent you certainly must be, if you did not break the glass on purpose, which I would by no means excuse, except upon great provocations.

Oil the tongs, poker, and fire-shovel, up to the top, not only to keep them from rusting, but likewise to prevent meddling people from wasting your master's coals with stirring the fire.

When you are in haste, sweep the dust into a corner of the room, but leave your brush upon it, that it may not be seen, for that would disgrace you.

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Never wash your hands, or put on a clean apron, till you have made your lady's bed, for fear of rumpling your apron, or fouling your hands again.

When you bar the window-shuts of your lady's bed-chamber at nights, leave open the sashes, to let in the fresh air, and sweeten the room against morning.

In the time when you leave the windows open for air, leave books, or something else, on the window-seat, that they may get air too.

When you sweep your lady's room, never stay to pick up foul smocks, handkerchiefs, pinners, pin-cushions, teaspoons, ribbons, slippers, or whatever lies in your way; but sweep all into a corner, and then you may take them up in a lump, and save time.

Making beds in hot weather is a very laborious work, and you will be apt to sweat; therefore, when you find the drops running down from your forehead, wipe them off with a corner of the sheet, that they may not be seen on the bed.

When your lady sends you to wash a china cup, and it happen to fall, bring it up, and swear you did but just touch it with your hand, when it broke into three halves; and here I must inform you, as well as your fellow-servants, that you ought never to be without an excuse; it does no harm to your master, and it lessens your fault; as in this instance, I do not commend you for breaking the cup; but it is certain you did not break it on purpose; and the thing is possible, that it might break in your hand.

You are sometimes desirous to see a funeral, a quarrel, a man going to be hanged, a wedding, a bawd carted, or the like. As they pass by in the street, you lift up the sash suddenly, there, by misfortune, it sticks; this was no fault of yours; young women are curious by nature; you have no remedy but to cut the cord, and lay the fault upon the carpenter, unless nobody saw you, and then you are as innocent as any servant in the house.

Wear your lady's smock when she has thrown it off; it will do you credit, save your own linen, and be not a pin the worse.

When you put a clean pillow-case on your lady's pillow, be sure to fasten it well with corking-pins, that it may not fall off in the night.

When you spread bread and butter for tea, be sure that all the holes in the loaf be left full of butter, to keep the bread moist against dinner; and let the mark of your thumb be seen only upon one end of every slice, to show your cleanliness.

When you are ordered to open or lock any door, trunk, or cabinet, and miss the proper key, or cannot distinguish it in the bunch, try the first key that you can thrust in, and turn it with all your strength till you open the lock, or break the key, for your lady will reckon you a fool to come back and do nothing.

CHAPTER IX.

Directions to the Waiting-maid.

Two accidents have happened to lessen the comforts and profits of your employment; first, that execrable custom got among ladies of trucking their old clothes for china, or turning them to cover easy chairs, or making them into patch-work for screens, stools, cushions, and the like. The second is the invention of small chests and trunks with lock and key, wherein they keep the tea and sugar, without which it is impossible for a waiting-maid to live; for, by this means, you are forced to buy brown sugar, and pour water upon the leaves, when they have lost all their spirit and taste. I cannot contrive any perfect remedy against either of these two evils. As to the former, I think there should be a general confederacy of all the servants in every family, for the public good, to drive those china hucksters from the doors; and as to the latter, there is no other method to relieve yourselves but by a false key, which is a point both difficult and dangerous to compass; but, as to the circumstance of honesty in procuring one, I am under no doubt, when your mistress gives you so just a provocation, by refusing you an ancient and legal perquisite. The mistress of the tea-shop may now and then give you half an ounce; but that will be only a drop in the bucket: therefore I fear you must be forced, like the rest of your sisters, to run in trust, and pay for it out of your wages, as far as they will go, which you can easily make up other ways, if your lady be handsome, or her daughters have good fortunes.

If you are in a great family, and my lady's woman, my lord may probably like you, although you are not half so handsome as his own lady. In this case, take care to get as much out of him as you can; and ever allow him the smallest liberty, not the squeezing of your hand, unless he puts a guinea into it; so, by degrees, make him pay accordingly for every new attempt, doubling upon him in proportion to the concessions you allow, and always struggling, and threatening to cry out, or tell your lady, although you receive his money: five guineas for handling your breast is a cheap pennyworth, although you seem to resist with all your might; but never allow him the last favour under 100 guineas, or a settlement of 20*l.* a-year for life.

In such a family, if you are handsome, you will have the choice of three lovers, the chaplain, the steward, and my lord's gentleman. I would first advise you to choose the steward; but if you happen to be young with child by my lord, you must take up with the chaplain. I like my lord's gentleman the least of the three: for he is usually vain and saucy from the time he throws off his livery; and if he misses a pair of colours, or a tide-waiter's place, he has no remedy but the highway.

I must caution you particularly against my lord's eldest son. If you are dexterous enough, it is odds that you may draw him to marry you, and make you a lady; if he be a common rake, (and he must be one or t'other,) avoid him like Satan; for he stands less in awe of a mother than my lord does of a wife; and after ten thousand promises, you will get nothing from him but a big belly or a clap, and probably both together.

When your lady is ill, and, after a very bad night, is getting a little nap in the morning, if a footman comes with a message to inquire how she does, do not let the compliment be lost, but shake her gently until she wakes; then deliver the message, receive her answer, and leave her to sleep.

If you are so happy as to wait on a young lady with a great fortune, you must be an ill-manager if you cannot get 500*l.* or 600*l.* for disposing of her. Put her often in mind that she is rich enough to make any man happy; that there is no real happiness but in love; that she has liberty to choose wherever she pleases, and not by the directions of parents, who never give allowances for an innocent passion; that there are a world of handsome, fine, sweet young gentlemen in Town, who would be glad to die at her feet; that the conversation of two lovers is a heaven upon earth; that love, like death, equals all conditions; that if she should cast her eyes upon a young fellow below her in birth and estate, his marrying her would make him a gentleman; that you saw yesterday on the Mall the prettiest ensign, and that if you had 40,000*l.*, it should be at his service. Take care that everybody should know what lady you live with; how great a favourite you are; and that she always takes your advice. Go often to St. James's Park; the fine fellows will soon discover you, and contrive to slip a letter into your sleeve or your bosom: pull it out in a fury,

and throw it on the ground, unless you find at least two guineas along with it; but in that case seem not to find it, and to think he was only playing the wag with you. When you come home, drop the letter carelessly in your lady's chamber; she finds it, is angry; protest you know nothing of it, only you remember that a gentleman in the Park struggled to kiss you, and you believe it was he that put the letter into your sleeve or petticoat; and, indeed, he was as pretty a man as ever you saw: that she may burn the letter if she pleases. If your lady be wise, she will burn some other paper before you, and read the letter when you are gone down. You must follow this practice as often as you safely can; but let him who pays you best with every letter be the handsomest man. If a footman presumes to bring a letter to the house to be delivered to you for your lady, although it come from your best customer, throw it at his head, call him impudent rogue and villain, and shut the door in his face; run up to your lady, and, as a proof of your fidelity, tell her what you have done.

I could enlarge very much upon this subject, but I trust to your own discretion.

If you serve a lady who is a little disposed to gallantries, you will find it a point of great prudence how to manage. Three things are necessary: First, how to please your lady; secondly, how to prevent suspicion in the husband, or among the family; and lastly, but principally, how to make it most for your own advantage. To give you full directions in this important affair would require a large volume. All assignations at home are dangerous, both to your lady and yourself; and therefore contrive, as much as possible, to have them in a third place; especially if your lady, as it is a hundred odds, entertains more lovers than one, each of whom is often more jealous than a thousand husbands; and very unlucky rencontres may often happen under the best management. I need not warn you to employ your good offices chiefly in favour of those whom you find most liberal: yet, if your lady should happen to cast an eye upon a handsome footman, you should be generous enough to bear with her humour, which is no singularity, but a very natural appetite: it is still the safest of all home intrigues, and was formerly the least suspected, until of late years it has grown more common. The great danger is, lest this kind of gentry, dealing too often in bad ware, may happen not to be sound; and then your lady and you are in a very bad way, although not altogether desperate.

But, to say the truth, I confess it is a great presumption in me to offer you any instructions in the conduct of your lady's amours, wherein your whole sisterhood is already so expert and deeply learned; although it be much more difficult to compass than that assistance which my brother-footmen give their masters on the like occasion; and therefore I leave this affair to be treated by some abler pen.

When you lock up a silk mantua, or laced head, in a trunk or chest, leave a piece out, that when you open the trunk again, you may know where to find it.

CHAPTER X.

Directions to the Housemaid.

If your master and lady go into the country for a week or more, never wash the bed-chamber or dining-room until just the hour before you expect them to return; thus the rooms will be perfectly clean to receive them, and you will not be at the trouble to wash them so soon again.

I am very much offended with those ladies who are so proud and lazy that they will not be at the pains of stepping into the garden to pluck a rose, but keep an odious implement, sometimes in the bed-chamber itself, or at least in a dark closet adjoining, which they make use of to ease their worst necessities; and you are the usual carriers away of the pan, which makes not only the chamber, but even their clothes, offensive to all who come near. Now, to cure them of this odious practice, let me advise you, on whom the office lies to convey away this utensil, that you will do it openly down the great stairs, and in the presence of the footman; and if anybody knocks, to open the street-door while you have the vessel filled in your hands; this, if anything can, will make your lady take the pains of evacuating her person in the proper place, rather than expose her filthiness to all the men-servants in the house.

Leave a pail of dirty water, with a mop in it, a coal-box, a bottle, a broom, a chamber-pot, and such other unsightly things, either in a blind entry, or upon the darkest part of the back-stairs, that they may not be seen; and if people break their shins by trampling on them, it is their own fault.

Never empty the chamber-pots until they are quite full; if that happens in the night, empty them into the street; if in the morning, into the garden; for it would be an endless work to go a dozen times from garret and upper rooms down to the backside; but never wash them in any other liquor except their own: what cleanly girl would be dabbling in other folk's urine? and, besides, the smell of stale, as I observed before, is admirable against the vapours, which, a hundred to one, may be your lady's case.

Brush down the cobwebs with a broom that is wet and dirty, which will make them stick the faster to it, and bring them down more effectually.

When you rid up the parlour hearth in a morning, throw the last night's ashes into a sieve; and what falls through, as you carry it down, will serve instead of sand for the rooms and the stairs.

When you have scoured the brasses and irons in the parlour chimney, lay the foul wet clout upon the next chair, that your lady may see you have not neglected your work: observe the same rule when you clean the brass locks, only with this addition, to leave the marks of your fingers on the doors, to show you have no forgot.

Leave your lady's chamber-pot in her bed-chamber window all day to air.

Bring up none but large coals to the dining-room and your lady's chamber: they make the best fires, and if you find them too big, it is easy to break them on the marble hearth.

When you go to bed, be sure take care of the fire; and therefore blow the candle out with your breath, and then thrust it under your bed. Note, the smell of the snuff is very good against vapours.

Persuade the footman who got you with child to marry you before you are six months gone; and if your lady asks you why you would take a fellow who was not worth a groat? let your answer be, That service is no inheritance.

When your lady's bed is made, put the chamber-pot under it, but in such a manner as to thrust the valance along with it, that it may be full in sight, and ready for your lady when she has occasion to use it.

Lock up a cat or a dog in some room or closet, so as to make such a noise all over the house as may frighten away the thieves, if any should attempt to break or steal in.

When you wash any of the rooms toward the street over night, throw the foul water out of the street-door; but be sure not to look before you, for fear those on whom the water light might think you uncivil, and that you did it on purpose. If he who suffers breaks the windows in revenge, and your lady chides you, and gives positive orders that you should carry the pail down, and empty it into the sink, you have an easy

remedy: when you wash an upper room, carry down the pail so as to let the water dribble on the stairs all the way down to the kitchen, by which not only your load will be lighter, but you will convince your lady that it is better to throw the water out of the windows, or down the street-door steps; besides, this latter practice will be very diverting to you and the family in a frosty night, to see a hundred people on their noses or backsides before your door when the water is frozen.

Polish and brighten the marble hearths and chimney-pieces with a clout dipped in grease; nothing makes them shine so well; and it is the business of the ladies to take care of their petticoats.

If your lady be so nice that she will have the room scoured with freestone, be sure to leave the marks of the freestone six inches deep round the bottom of the wainscot, that your lady may see your obedience to her orders.

CHAPTER XI.

Directions to the Dairymaid.

Fatigue of making butter: put scalding water in your churn, although in summer, and churn close to the kitchen fire, and with cream of a week old. Keep cream for your sweetheart.

CHAPTER XII.

Directions to the Children's Maid.

If a child be sick, give it whatever it wants to eat or drink, although particularly forbid by the doctor; for what we long for in sickness will do us good; and throw the physic out of the window: the child will love you the better; but bid it not tell. Do the same for your lady when she longs for anything in sickness, and engage it will do her good.

If your mistress comes to the nursery, and offers to whip a child, snatch it out of her hands in a rage, and tell her she is the cruellest mother you ever saw: she will chide, but love you the better. Tell the children stories of spirits when they offer to cry, &c.

Be sure to wean the children, &c.

CHAPTER XIII.

Directions to the Nurse.

If you happen to let the child fall, and lame it, be sure never to confess it; and if it dies, all is safe.

Contrive to be with child as soon as you can, while you are giving suck, that you may be ready for another service when the child you nurse dies, or is weaned.

CHAPTER XIV.

Directions to the Laundress.

If you singe the linen with the iron, rub the place with flour, chalk, or white powder; and if nothing will do, wash it so long till it be either not to be seen, or torn to rags.

About tearing linen in washing:—

When your linen is pinned on the line, or on a hedge, and it rains, whip it off, although you tear it, &c. But the place for hanging them is on young fruit-trees, especially in blossom; the linen cannot be torn, and the trees give them a fine smell.

CHAPTER XV.

Directions to the Housekeeper.

You must always have a favourite footman whom you can depend upon; and order him to be very watchful when the second course is taken off, that it may be brought safely to your office, that you and the steward may have a tit-bit together.

CHAPTER XVI.

Directions to the Tutoress, or Governess.

Say the children have sore eyes; Miss Betty won't take to her book, &c.

Make the misses read French and English novels, and French romances, all the comedies writ in king Charles II. and king William's reigns, to soften their nature, and make them tender-hearted, &c

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To the preceding Directions to servants, the following may be added, as they were both written with the same design, though in a very different manner. It will easily be perceived that these are to be understood literally, and the others ironically.

The Duty of Servants at Inns.

Be mounted before your master. When you see him mounted, ride out before him. When he baits at noon, enter the inn gate before him, and call the ostler to hold your master's horse while he alights. Leave your master to the servants of the inn; go you with the horses into the stable; choose a place furthest from the stable-door; see the standing be dry; send immediately for fresh straw; see all the old hay out of the rack, and get fresh put in; see your horses girths be loosed and stuffed; take not off the bridles till they are cool, nor saddles in an hour; see their hoofs be well picked; try if the heads of the nails be fast, and whether they be well clenched; if not, send presently for a smith; always stand by while the smith is employed. Give the oats the last thing. Water your horses when you are within a mile of the inn. Never keep above forty yards before or behind your master, unless he commands you. Try the oats by smelling and weighing them; see you have good measure; stand by while your horses are eating their oats.

When you enter your evening inn, let your horses' feet be stuffed with cow-dung every night. Observe the same rules, only be sure if anything be wanting for a smith, let it be done overnight.

Know the time your master will set out in the morning: allow him a full hour to get himself ready. Contrive, both at morn and noon, to eat so that your master need not stay for you. Do not let the drawer carry the bill to your master, but examine it first carefully and honestly, and then bring it yourself, and be able to account for every article. If the servants have not been civil, tell your master, before their faces, when he is going to give them money.

Duty of the other Servant where there are two.

Ride forty yards behind your master; but be mounted before him. Observe now and then whether his horses' shoes be right. When you come to an inn at noon, give your horse to the ostler; bestir yourself to get a convenient room for your master; bring all his things into his room, full in his sight; inquire what is in the house, see it yourself, and tell your master how you like it. Step yourself now and then into the kitchen to hasten dinner or supper, and observe whether they be cleanly. Taste the ale, and tell your master whether it be good or bad. If he want wine, go you with the drawer and choose a bottle well filled and stopped. If the wine be in hogsheads, desire to taste and and smell it; if it be sour, or not clear, or ill-tasted, let your master know it, that he may not be at the charge of wine not fit to be drunk. See the salt be dry and powdered, the bread new and clean, the knives sharp. At night observe the same rules; but first choose him a warm room, with a lock and key in order; then call immediately for the sheets, see them well aired, and at a large fire; feel the blankets, bed, bolster, pillow, whether they be dry, and whether the floor under the bed be damp. Let the chamber be that

which has been last laid in: inquire about it. If the bed itself be damp, let it be brought before a large fire, and air it on both sides. That you may forget nothing in the inn, have a fair list of what you want to take out; and when you put them up, compare them with your list.

You are to step now and then into the stable, to see whether the groom performs his duty.

For packing up your things, have a list of linen, &c. In packing, take care that no hard things be together, and that they be wrapped up in a paper, and other waste paper. Remember to put everything in their proper places in the portmanteau. Stuff the shoes and slippers at the toes with a small lock of hay; fold up the clothes so as that they may not be rumpled. When your master is in his room at night, put all his things in such a manner as he has them at home. Learn to have some skill in cookery, that at a pinch you may be able to make your master easy.

The Groom.—Carry with you a stirrup-leather, an awl, twelve horse-nails, and a horse's fore-shoes, pick, and a hammer, for fear of an accident; and some ends and pack-thread, a bottle-screw, knife, and pen-knife, needles, pins, thread, silk, worsted, &c.; some plasters and scissars.

Item.—The servants to carry their own things, have a pocket-book, keep all their bills, date the time and place, and indorse the numbers.

Inquire in every town if there be anything worth seeing. Observe the country seats, and ask whom they belong to; and enter them, and the counties where they are.

Search under your master's bed when he is gone up, lest a cat or something else may be under it.

When your master's bed is made, and his things ready, lock the chamber-door, and keep the key till he goes to bed; then keep it in your pocket till morn.

Let the servants of the inn be sure to wake you above an hour before your master is to go, that he may have an hour to prepare himself.

If the ostler has been knavish or negligent, do not let him hold your master's horse. Observe the same rule at a gentleman's house; if the groom has not taken care of your horses, do not let him hold your master's.

Inquire at every inn where you stay what is the best inn in the next town you are to come to; yet do not rely on that, but likewise, as you enter into any town to stay, ask the people which is the best inn, and go to that which most people commend.

See that your master's boots be dried and well liquored over night.

LAWS FOR THE DEAN'S SERVANTS.

If either of the two men-servants be drunk, he shall pay an English crown out of his wages for the said offence, by giving the dean a receipt for so much wages received.

When the dean is at home, no servant shall presume to be absent without giving notice to the dean, and asking leave, upon the forfeiture of sixpence for every half-hour that he is absent, to be stopped out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean is abroad, no servant except the woman shall presume to leave the house for above one half-hour; after which, for every half-hour's absence, he shall forfeit sixpence: and if the other servant goes out before the first returns, he shall pay five shillings out of his wages as above.

Whatever servant shall be taken in a manifest lie, shall forfeit one shilling out of his or her board-wages.

When the dean goes about the house, or out-houses, or garden, or to Naboth's vineyard, whatever things he finds out of order, by neglect of any servant under whose care it was, that servant shall forfeit sixpence, and see to get it mended as soon as possible, or suffer more forfeitures, at the dean's discretion.

If two servants be abroad together when the dean is from home, and the fact be concealed from the dean, the concealer shall forfeit two crowns out of his or her wages, as above.

If, in waiting at table, the two servants be out of the room together, without orders, the last who went out shall forfeit threepence out of his board-wages.

The woman may go out when the dean is abroad for one hour, but no longer, under the same penalty with the men, but, provided the two men-servants keep the house until she returns: otherwise, either of the servants who goes out before her return, shall forfeit a crown out of his wages, as above.

Whatever other laws the dean shall think fit to make at any time to come, for the government of his servants, and forfeitures for neglect or disobedience, all the servants are bound to submit to.

Whatever other servant, except the woman, shall presume to be drunk, the other two servants shall inform the dean thereof, under pain of forfeiting two crowns out of his or her wages, besides the forfeiture of a crown from the said servant who was drunk.

DR. SWIFT'S REMARKS

ON "THE FIRST FIFTEEN PSALMS OF DAVID, TRANSLATED INTO[a] LYRIC VERSE.

Proposed as an essay supplying the perspicuity and coherence according to the modern art of poetry; not known to have been attempted before[b] in any language. With a preface, containing some observations of the great and general defectives of[c] the present version in Greek, Latin, and English; by Dr. [James] Gibbs.[d] London, printed by J. Mathews, for J. Bartley, over against Gray's-Inn in Holborn, 1701."

"The following manuscript was literally copied from the printed original, found in the library of Dr. J. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. The marginal notes and parodies were written by the dean's own hand, except such as are distinguished with this mark, (φ,) with which I am only chargeable. Witness my hand, this 25th day of February, 1745. WILLIAM DUNKIN

"N.B.—The original was by me presented to his excellency Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, lord-lieutenant general and general-governor of Ireland.—W. D."

DR. GIBBS.

PSALM OF DAVID. (1)

Comparing the different state of the righteous and the wicked, both in this and the next world.

THRICE happy he that doth refuse
With *impious* (2) *sinners* to combine;
Who ne'er their wicked way pursues,
And does the sinners' *seat* (3) *decline.*

SWIFT'S REMARKS.

(1) I warn the reader that this is a lie, both here and all over this book; for these are not the Psalms of David, but of Dr. Gibbs.

(2) But I suppose, with *pious* sinners a man may combine safely enough.

(3) What part of speech is it?

[a] Bagpipe. [b] Nor, I hope, ever will again [c] This and [d] Sternholdides.—SWIFT

DR. GIBBS.	SWIFT'S REMARKS.
But still to learn and to obey The law of God is his delight, In that employs himself all day And reads and thinks thereon at (1) night.	(1) A man must have some time to sleep; so that I will change this verse thus: "And thinks and dreams thereon all night."
For as a tree, whose spreading root By some prolific stream is fed, Produces (2) fair and lively fruit, And numerous boughs adorn its head;	(2) Look ye, you must thin the boughs at the top, or your fruit will be neither fair nor timely.
Whose very (3) leaves, though storms descend, In lively verdure still appear: Such blessings always shall attend The man that does the Lord revere.	(3) Why, what other part of a tree appears in a lively verdure, beside the leaves? Read— These very leaves on which you spend Your woful stuff, may serve for squibs· Such blessings always shall attend The madrigals of Dr. Gibbs.

The above may serve for a tolerable specimen of Swift's remarks. The whole should be given, if it were possible to make them intelligible, without copying the version which is ridiculed; a labour for which our readers would scarcely thank us. A few detached stanzas, however, with the dean's notes on them, shall be transcribed

Why do the heathen nations rise, And in mad tumults join? Confederate kings vain plots (1) devise Against the Almighty's reign!	(1) I don't believe that ever kings entered into plots and confederacies against the reign of God Almighty.
But those that do thy laws refuse, In pieces thou shalt break; (2) And with an iron sceptre bruise The disobedient (3) *neck*.	(2) After a man is broken in pieces, it is no great matter to have his neck bruised. (3) Neck.
Ye earthly kings, the caution *hear*, Ye rulers *learn* the same (4); Serve God with reverence, and with *fear* (5) His joyful praise proclaim.	(4) Rulers must *learn* it, but kings may only *hear* it. (5) Very proper, to make a joyful proclamation with fear.
(6) For should the madness of his foes Th' avenging God incense, Happy are they that can repose In him their confidence. (7)	(6) For should the foes of David's ape Provoke his gray-goose quills, Happy are they that can escape The vengeance of his pills. (7) Admirably reasoned and connected!
No fears shall then my soul depress,* Though thus my enemies increase: (8) And therefore, now arise, O Lord,* And graciously thy help afford.	* Depresse, Lord, Scotice.
And *thus* (9) to grant a sure defence Belongs to God's (10) omnipotence.	(8) He desires God's help, because he is not afraid of his enemies; others, I think, usually desire it when they *are* afraid. (9) The doctor has a mighty affection for the particle *thus*: he uses it four times in this (the 3rd) Psalm, and 100 times in other places and always wrong. (10) That is as much as to say, that he that can do all things can defend a man; which I take to be an undoubted truth.
But you, my frail, (11) malicious foes, Who do my power despise, Vainly how long will ye oppose, And (12) falsely calumnize!	(11) Are they malicious out of frailty, or frail out of malice? (12) That is, they say *false* things *falsely*. I will discover the doctor's secret of making coherence and connexions in the Psalms, that he brags of in his title and preface: he lays violent hands on certain particles (such as, *and*, *when*, *since*, *for*, *but*, *thus*, *so*, &c.), and presses them to his service on all occasions, sore against their will, and without any regard whether the sense will admit them or not.
Since those alone the Lord has blest Who do from sin refrain, He therefore grants what I request, (13) And hears when I (14) complain.	(13) It is plain the doctor never requested to be a poet. (14) If your requests be granted, why do you complain?
Then shall my soul with more divine And solid joys abound, Than they with stores of corn and wine, Those earthly riches, crown'd. (15)	(15) I have heard of a crown or garland of corn; but a crown of wine is new, and can hardly be explained, unless we suppose the wine to be in icicles.
And thus confiding, Lord, in thee, I take my calm repose; (16) For thou each night protectest me, From all my (17) treacherous foes.	(16) And yet, to show I tell no fibs, Thou hast left me in thrall To Hopkins eke, and doctor Gibbs, The vilest rogue of all. (17) Ay, and open foes too, or his repose would not be very calm.
Thy heavy hand restrain; (18) With mercy, Lord, correct; Do not (19) (as if in high disdain) My helpless soul reject.	(18) Thy heavy hand restrain; Have mercy, Dr. Gibbs: Do not, I pray thee, paper stain With rhymes retail'd in dribbs. (19) That bit is a most glorious batch.

DR. GIBBS.	SWIFT'S REMARKS.
For how shall I sustain (1) Those ills which now I bear? My vitals are consumed with pain, (2) My soul oppress'd with care!	(1) The squeaking of a huggrel. (2) To listen to thy doggrel.
Lord, I have pray'd in (3) vain, So long, so much oppress'd; My very (4) cries increase my pain, And tears prevent my rest:	(3) The doctor must mean himself; for I hope David never thought so. (4) Then he is a dunce for crying.
These do my sight impair, And flowing eyes decay: While to my enemies I fear Thus (5) to become a prey.	(5) That is, he is afraid of becoming a prey to his enemies while his eyes are sore.
If I've not spared him though he's grown My causeless (6) enemy; Then let my life and fortune (7) crown Become to him a prey.	(6) If he be grown his *causeless* enemy, he is no longer *guiltless*. (7) He gives a thing before he has it, and gives it to him that has it already; for Saul is the person meant.
But, Lord, thy kind assistance (8) lend; Arise in my defence: According to thy laws (9) contend For injured innocence.	(8) But why *lend?* Does he design to return it back when he has done with it? (9) Profane rascal! he makes it a struggle and contention between God and the wicked.
That all the nations that oppose, May then confess thy power; Therefore assist my righteous cause, That they may thee adore:	
For equal judgment, Lord, to thee The nations (10) all submit; Be therefore (11) merciful to me, And my just soul acquit. (12)	(10) Yet, in the very verse before, he talks of nations that *oppose*. (11) Because all nations submit to God, therefore God must be merciful to Dr. Gibbs. (12) Of what? Poor David never could acquit A criminal like thee, Against his Psalms who could commit Such wicked poetry.
Thus, by God's gracious providence, (13) I'm still preserved secure, Who all the good and just defends With a resistless (14) power.	(13) Observe the connexion. (14) That's right, doctor; but there will be no contending, as you dis red a while ago. 'Tis wonderful that Providence Should save thee from the halter, Who hast in numbers without sense Burlesqu'd the holy Psalter.
All men he does with justice view, And their iniquity With direful vengeance can pursue, Or patiently (15) pass by.	(15) That is no great mark of viewing them with justice. God has wiser ends for passing by his vengeance on the wicked, you profane dunce!
Lo! now th' inflictions (16) they design'd By others to be borne, Even all the mischiefs (17) in their mind, Do on themselves return.	(16) Ay, but what sort of things are these inflictions? (17) If the mischiefs be in their mind, what need they return on themselves? are they not there already?
O'er all the birds that mount the air, And fish that in the floods appear (18).	(18) Those, I think are not very many: they are good fish when they are caught, but till then we have no great sway over them.
Confounded at the sight of thee, My foes are put to flight (19). Thus thou, great God of equity, Dost still assert my right (20).	(19) The doctor is mistaken; for, when people are confounded they cannot fly. (20) Against Sternhold and Hopkins.
But God eternally remains (21) Fix'd in his throne on high, And to the world from thence ordains (22) Impartial equity.	(21) That is false and profane; God is not fixed anywhere. (22) Did anybody ever hear of *partial* equity?
And thus consider still, O Lord, The justice of my cause; Who often hast my life (23) restor'd From death's devouring jaws.	(23) Nothing is restored but what has been taken away; so that he has been often raised from the dead, if this be true.
And from the barbarous (24) paths they tread, No acts of Providence Can e'er oblige them to recede, Or stop (25) their bold offence.	(24) The author should first have premised what sort of paths were properly barbarous. I suppose they must be very deep or dirty, or very rugged and stony: both which I myself have heard travellers call barbarous roads. (25) Which is the way to stop an offence? Would you have it stopped like a bottle, or a thief?
And on their impious heads will pour Of snares (26) and flames a dismal shower; And this their bitter cup shall be, (27) To drink to all eternity.	(26) A shower of snares on a man's head would do wonderful execution. However, I grant it is a scurvy thing enough to swallow them. (27) To taste the doctor's poetry.

DR. GIBBS.

(1) But they were all perverted grown,
Polluted all with blood,
And other impious crimes; not one
Was either just (2) or good.

Are they so stupid (3), then, said (4) God,
Who thus my (5) saints devour?
These (6) crimes have they not understood,
Nor thought upon my power.

(7) O, that his aid we now might have
From Sion's holy hill,
That God the captive just would save,
And glad all Israel!
All those that lead a life like this
Shall reign in everlasting bliss (8).

SWIFT'S REMARKS

(1) But they were all perverted grown,
In spite of Dr. Gibbs's blood:
Of all his impious strains not one
Was either just or good.

(2) For a man, it seems, may be good, and not just.

(3) The fault was not that they devoured saints, but that they were stupid. *Qy.* Whether stupidity makes men devour saints, or devouring saints makes a man stupid? I believe the latter, because they may be apt to lie heavy on one's stomach.

(4) Clod (5) Strains.
(6) Crimes.

(7) And O that every parish clerk,
Who hums what Brady cribs
From Hopkins, would attend this work,
And glad the heart with Gibbs.

(8) And so the doctor now may kiss——!

FINIS.

Fiddling Foolish. Impudent Idle. Nauseous Nonsensical Illiterate Ignorant Scoundrel Scot Sot.

At the end of the MS. is the following note:—

"The above was written from the manuscript mentioned in the first page, now in the hands of Nicholas Coyne, Esq., being the only copy in the kingdom of Ireland; he having purchased the original, and afterward generously given it to his friend Dr. Dunkin, finding the doctor extremely uneasy at the disappointment the earl of Chesterfield was like to meet with, as he had promised the earl to attend the auction and procure it for him at any price; and is now transcribed by Neale Molloy, Esq., of Dublin, by the favour of the said Nicholas Coyne, his brother-in-law, and sent by him to his kinsman and dear friend, Charles Molloy, of London, Esquire.

"Dublin, May 26, 1748."

LAW IS A BOTTOMLESS PIT;

OR,

THE HISTORY OF JOHN BULL.

PUBLISHED FROM A MANUSCRIPT FOUND IN THE CABINET OF THE FAMOUS SIR H. POLESWORTH, IN THE YEAR 1712.

"You must buy a small twopenny pamphlet called *Law is a Bottomless Pit*. It is very prettily written; and there will be a second part."—JOURNAL TO STELLA, *March* 10, 1711-12.

"The second Part of *Law is a Bottomless Pit* is just now printed; and better, I think, than the first."—Ibid. *March* 16, 1711-12.

The Appendix to the third Part of *John Bull* was published yesterday; it is equal to the last. I hope you read John Bull. It was a Scotch gentleman, a friend of mine, that wrote it; but they put it upon me."—Ibid. *May* 10, 1712.

"*John Bull* is not wrote by the person you imagine. It is too good for another to own. Had it been Grub street, I would have let people think as they please; and I think that's right."—Ibid. *June* 17.

"Have you seen the fourth part of *John Bull*? It is equal to the first, and extremely good."—Ibid. *August* 7.

CHAPTER I.

The Occasion of the Lawsuit.

I NEED not tell you of the great quarrels that have happened in our neighbourhood since the death of the late lord Strutt [Charles II. of Spain]; how the parson and a cunning attorney, got him to settle his estate upon his cousin Philip Baboon* to the great disappointment of his cousin esquire South. Some stick not to say, that the parson and the attorney forged a will, for which they were well paid by the family of the Baboons: let that be as it will, it is matter of fact, that the honour and estate have continued ever since in the person of Philip Baboon.

You know that the lord Strutts have for many years been possessed of a very great landed estate, well-conditioned, wooded, watered; with coal, salt, tin, copper, iron, &c., all within themselves; that it has been the misfortune of that family to be the property of their stewards, tradesmen, and inferior servants, which has brought great incumbrances upon them; at the same time, their not abating of their expensive way of living has forced them to mortgage their best manors; it is credibly reported, that the butchers' and bakers' bills of a lord Strutt, that lived two hundred years ago, are not yet paid.

When Philip Baboon came first to the possession of lord Strutt's estate, his tradesmen, as is usual upon such occasions, waited upon him to wish him joy and bespeak his custom: the two chief were John Bull [English] the clothier, and Nic. Frog [Dutch] the linen-draper: they told him, that the Bulls and Frogs had served the lord Strutts with drapery-ware for many years; that they were honest and fair dealers; that their bills had never been questioned; that the lord Strutts lived generously, and never used to dirty their fingers with pen, ink, and counters; that his lordship might depend upon their honesty; that they would use him as kindly as they had done his predecessors. The young lord seemed to take all in good part, and dismissed them with a deal of seeming content, assuring them he did not intend to change any of the honourable maxims of his predecessors.

CHAPTER II.

How Bull and Frog grew jealous, that the Lord Strutt intended to give all his Custom to his Grandfather Lewis Baboon [Louis XIV.]

IT happened, unfortunately for the peace of our neighbourhood, that this young lord had an old cunning

* Cardinal Portocarrero and the marshal of Harcourt, employed, as is supposed, by the house of Bourbon, prevailed upon him to make a will, by which he settled the succession of the Spanish monarchy upon Philip of Bourbon, duke of Anjou, though his right had by solemn renunciation been barred in favour of the archduke Charles of Austria.

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rogue, or (as the Scots call it) a *false loon*, of a grandfather, that one might justly call a jack of all trades; sometimes you would see him behind his counter selling broad-cloth, sometimes measuring linen; next day he would be dealing in mercery-ware: high heads, ribbons, gloves, fans, and lace he understood to a nicety; Charles Mather could not hubble a young beau better with a toy; nay, he would descend even to the selling of tape, garters, and shoebuckles; when shop was shut up, he would go about the neighbourhood, and earn half-a-crown by teaching the young men and maids to dance. By these methods he had acquired immense riches, which he used to squander away at back-sword, quarter-staff, and cudgel-play, in which he took great pleasure, and challenged all the country. You will say, it is no wonder if Bull and Frog should be jealous of this fellow. "It is not impossible,' says Frog to Bull, "but this old rogue will take the management of the young lord's business into his hands; besides the rascal has good ware, and will serve him as cheap as anybody. In that case, I leave you to judge what must become of us and our families; we must starve, or turn journeymen to old Lewis Baboon; therefore, neighbour, I hold it advisable that we write to young lord Strutt to know the bottom of this matter."

CHAPTER III.

A Copy of Bull and Frog's Letter to Lord Strutt.

My Lord, I suppose your lordship knows that the Bulls and the Frogs have served the lord Strutts with all sorts of drapery-ware time out of mind: and whereas we are jealous, not without reason, that your lordship intends henceforth to buy of your grandsire old Lewis Baboon; this is to inform your lordship, that this proceeding does not suit with the circumstances of our families, who have lived and made a good figure in the world by the generosity of the lord Strutts. Therefore we think fit to acquaint your lordship, that you must find sufficient security to us, our heirs and assigns, that you will not employ Lewis Baboon; or else we will take our remedy at law, clap an action upon you of 20,000*l.* for old debts, seize and distrain your goods and chattels, which, considering your lordship's circumstances, will plunge you into difficulties, from which it will not be easy to extricate yourself; therefore we hope, when your lordship has better considered on it, you will comply with the desire of your loving friends,

JOHN BULL,
NIC. FROG.

Some of Bull's friends advised him to take gentler methods with the young lord; but John naturally loved rough play. It is impossible to express the surprise of the lord Strutt upon the receipt of this letter; he was not flush in ready, either to go to law or clear old debts; neither could he find good bail: he offered to bring matters to a friendly accommodation; and promised, upon his word of honour, that he would not change his drapers; but all to no purpose, for Bull and Frog saw clearly that old Lewis would have the cheating of him.

CHAPTER IV.

How Bull and Frog went to law with lord Strutt about the Premises, and were joined by the rest of the tradesmen.

ALL endeavours of accommodation between lord Strutt and his drapers proved vain; jealousies increased, and indeed it was rumoured abroad, that lord Strutt had bespoke his new liveries of old Lewis Baboon. This coming to Mrs. Bull's ears, when John Bull came home, he found all his family in an uproar. Mrs. Bull, you must know, was very apt to be choleric. "You sot," says she, "you loiter about alehouses and taverns, spend your time at billiards, nine-pins, or puppet-shows, or flaunt about the streets in your new gilt chariot, never minding me nor your numerous family. Don't you hear how lord Strutt has bespoke his liveries at Lewis Baboon's shop? Don't you see how that old fox steals away your customers, and turns you out of your business every day, and you sit like an idle drone with your hands in your pockets? Fie upon it! up, man, rouse thyself; I'll sell to my shift, before I'll be so used by that knave." You must think Mrs. Bull had been pretty well tuned up by Frog, who chimed in with her learned harangue. No further delay now, but to counsel learned in the law they go, who unanimously assured them both of the justice and infallible success of their lawsuit.

I told you before that old Lewis Baboon was a sort of a jack of all trades, which made the rest of the tradesmen jealous, as well as Bull and Frog; they, hearing of the quarrel, were glad of an opportunity of joining against old Lewis Baboon, provided that Bull and Frog would bear the charges of the suit: even lying Ned, the chimney-sweeper of Savoy [duke of Savoy], and Tom, the Portugal dustman [king of Portugal], put in their claims; and the cause was put into the hands of Humphry Hocus the attorney [duke of Marlborough].

A declaration was drawn up to show, "that Bull and Frog had undoubted right by prescription to be drapers to the lord Strutts; that there were several old contracts to that purpose; that Lewis Baboon had taken up the trade of clothier and draper without serving his time or purchasing his freedom; that he sold goods that were not marketable, without the stamp; that he himself was more fit for a bully than a tradesman, and went about through all the country fairs, challenging people to fight prizes, wrestling, and cudgel-play; and abundance more to this purpose.

CHAPTER V.

The true character of John Bull, Nic. Frog, and Hocus.

For the better understanding the following history, the reader ought to know that Bull, in the main, was an honest plain-dealing fellow, choleric, bold, and of a very unconstant temper; he dreaded not old Lewis, either at back-sword, single falchion, or cudgel-play; but then he was very apt to quarrel with his best friends, especially if they pretended to govern him; if you flattered him, you might lead him like a child. John's temper depended very much upon the air; his spirits rose and fell with the weather glass. John was quick, and understood his business very well; but no man alive was more careless in looking into his accounts, or more cheated by partners, apprentices, and servants. This was occasioned by his being a boon companion, loving his bottle and his diversion; for, to say truth, no man kept a better house than John, nor spent his money more generously. By plain and fair dealing, John had acquired some plums, and might have kept them had it not been for his unhappy lawsuit.

Nic. Frog was a cunning, sly whoreson, quite the reverse of John in many particulars; covetous, frugal; minded domestic affairs; would pinch his belly to save his pocket; never lost a farthing by careless servants, or bad debtors. He did not care much for any sort of diversions, except tricks of high German artists, and legerdemain: no man exceeded Nic. in these; yet it must be owned, that Nic. was a fair dealer, and in that way acquired immense riches.

Hocus was an old cunning attorney; and though this was the first considerable suit that ever he was engaged in, he showed himself superior in his address to most of his profession; he kept always good clerks, he loved money, was smooth-tongued, gave good words, and

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seldom lost his temper: he was not worse than an infidel, for he provided plentifully for his family; but he loved himself better than them all; the neighbours reported that he was henpecked; which was impossible by such a mild-spirited woman as his wife was.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the various success of the lawsuit.

Law is a bottomless pit; it is a cormorant—a harpy that devours everything. John Bull was flattered by the lawyers that his suit would not last above a year or two at most; that before that time he would be in quiet possession of his business: yet ten long years did Hocus steer his cause through all the meanders of the law, and all the courts. No skill, no address was wanting; and, to say truth, John did not starve his cause: there wanted not yellow-boys to fee counsel, hire witnesses, and bribe juries: lord Strutt was generally cast, never had one verdict in his favour; and John was promised that the next, and the next, would be the final determination:[a] but, alas! that final determination and happy conclusion was like an enchanted island, the nearer John came to it, the further it went from him: new trials upon new points still arose; new doubts, new matters to be cleared; in short, lawyers seldom part with so good a cause till they have got the oyster, and the clients the shell. John's ready money, book-debts, bonds, mortgages, all went into the lawyers' pockets: then John began to borrow money upon bank-stock and East-India bonds: now and then a farm went to pot: at last it was thought a good expedient to set up esquire South's title, to prove the will forged, and dispossess Philip lord Strutt at once.[b] Here again was a new field for the lawyers, and the cause grew more intricate than ever. John grew madder and madder; wherever he met any of lord Strutt's servants, he tore off their clothes: now and then you would see them come home naked, without shoes, stockings, and linen. As for old Lewis Baboon, he was reduced to his last shift, though he had as many as any other: his children were reduced from rich silks to doily stuffs, his servants in rags, and barefooted: instead of good victuals, they now lived upon neck-beef, and bullock's liver: in short, nobody got much by the matter, but the men of law.

CHAPTER VII.

How John Bull was so mightily pleased with his success, that he was going to leave off his trade and turn lawyer.

It is wisely observed by a great philosopher, that habit is a second nature; this was verified in the case of John Bull, who, from an honest and plain tradesman, had got such a haunt about the courts of justice, and such a jargon of law words, that he concluded himself as able a lawyer as any that pleaded at the bar or sat on the bench; he was overheard one day talking to himself after this manner:[c] "How capriciously does fate or chance dispose of mankind! How seldom is that business allotted to a man for which he is fitted by nature! It is plain I was intended for a man of law; how did my guardians mistake my genius, in placing me, like a mean slave, behind the counter! Bless me! what immense estates these fellows raise by the law! Besides, it is the profession of a gentleman. What a pleasure is it to be victorious in a cause! to swagger at the bar! What a fool am I to drudge any more in this woollen trade! for a lawyer I was born, and a lawyer I will be; one is never too old to learn." All this while John had conned over such a catalogue of hard words as were enough to conjure up the devil; this he used to babbla indifferently in all companies, especially at coffee-houses; so that his neighbour tradesmen began to shun his company as a man that was cracked. Instead of the affairs of Blackwell-hall, and the price of broad cloth, wool, and baizes, he talks of nothing but actions upon the case, returns, capias, alias capias, demurrers, venire facias, replevins, supersedeases, certioraris, writs of error, actions of trover and conversion, trespasses, precipes and dedimus. This was matter of jest ta the learned in law; however, Hocus and the rest of the tribe encouraged John in his fancy, assuring him that he had a great genius for law; that they questioned not but in time he might raise money enough by it to reimburse him all his charges; that if he studied, he would undoubtedly arrive to the dignity of a lord chief-justice: as for the advice of honest friends and neighbours, John despised it; he looked upon them as fellows of a low genius, poor grovelling mechanics; John reckoned it more honour to have got one favourable verdict than to have sold a bale of broad cloth. As for Nic. Frog, to say the truth, he was more prudent; for though he followed his lawsuit closely, he neglected not his ordinary business, but was both in court and in his shop at the proper hours.

CHAPTER VIII.

How John discovered that Hocus had an intrigue with his wife; and what followed thereupon.

John had not run on a madding so long, had it not been for an extravagant hitch of a wife, whom Hocus, perceiving John to be fond of, was resolved to win over to his side. It is a true saying, "that the last man of the parish that knows of his cuckoldom is himself." It was observed by all the neighbourhood that Hocus had dealings with John's wife,[a] that were not so much for his honour; but this was perceived by John a little too late; she was a luxurious jade, loved splendid equipages, plays, treats, and balls, differing very much from the sober manners of her ancestors, and by no means fit for a tradesman's wife. Hocus fed her extravagancy (what was still more shameful) with John's own money. Everybody said that Hocus had a month's mind to her body; be that as it will, it is matter of fact, that upon all occasions she run out extravagantly on the praise of Hocus. When John used to be finding fault with his bills, she used to reproach him as ungrateful to his greatest benefactor; one that had taken so much pains in his lawsuits, and retrieved his family from the oppression of old Lewis Baboon. A good swingeing sum of John's readiest cash went toward building of Hocus's country-house.[b] This affair between Hocus and Mrs. Bull was now so open that all the world were scandalized at it; John was not so clod-pated but at last he took the hint. The parson of the parish, preaching one day with more zeal than sense against adultery,[c] Mrs. Bull told her husband, that he was a very uncivil fellow to use such coarse language before people of condition; that Hocus was of the same mind; and that they would join to have him turned out of his living, for using personal reflections.[d] "How do you mean," says John, "by personal

[a] The war was carried on against France and Spain with great success, and a peace might have been concluded upon the principles of the alliance.

[b] It was insisted that the will in favour of Philip was contrary to treaty.

[c] The manners and sentiments of the nation became extravagant and chimerical.

[a] It was believed that the general tampered with the parliament.

[b] Parliament voted repeated thanks to the duke, and settled upon him the manor of Woodstock, with 5000*l* per annum, and an immense sum of the nation's money was expended in building Blenheim-house.

[c] Dr Henry Sacheverel preached a sermon against popular resistance of regal authority.

[d] The house of commons voted this sermon a libel on her majesty and her government, the Revolution, the Protestant

reflections? I hope in God, wife, he did not reflect upon you?" "No, thank God, my reputation is too well established in the world to receive any hurt from such a foul-mouthed scoundrel as he; his doctrine tends only to make husbands tyrants, and wives slaves; must we be shut up, and husbands left to their liberty? Very pretty indeed! A wife must never go abroad with a Platonic to see a play or a ball; she must never stir without her husband, nor walk in Spring-garden with a cousin. I do say, husband, and I will stand by it, that without the innocent freedoms of life, matrimony would be a most intolerable state; and that a wife's virtue ought to be the result of her own reason, and not of her husband's government; for my part, I would scorn a husband that would be jealous if he saw a fellow a-bed with me."[a] All this while John's blood boiled in his veins; he was now confirmed in all his suspicions; jade, hitch, and whore were the best words that John gave her.[b] Things went from better to worse, till Mrs. Bull aimed a knife[c] at John, though John threw a bottle[d] at her head, very brutally indeed; and after this there was nothing but confusion; bottles, glasses, spoons, plates, knives, forks, and dishes flew about like dust;[e] the result of which was, that Mrs. Bull received a bruise[f] in her right side, of which she died half a year after. The bruise imposthumated, and afterwards turned to a stinking ulcer, which made everybody shy to come near her; yet she wanted not the help of many able physicians, who attended very diligeotly, and did what men of skill could do; but all to no purpose, for her condition was now quite desperate, all regular physicians and her nearest relations having given her over.

CHAPTER IX.

How some quacks undertook to cure Mrs. Bull of her ulcer.

There is nothing so impossible in nature but mountebanks will undertake; nothing so incredible but they will affirm: Mrs. Bull's condition was looked upon as desperate by all the men of art; but there were those that bragged they had an infallible ointment and plaster which, being applied to the sore, would cure it in a few days; at the same time, they would give her a pill that would purge off all her bad humours, sweeten her blood, and rectify her disturbed imaginations. In spite of all applications, the patient grew worse every day; she stunk so nobody durst come within a stone's throw of her, except those quacks who attended her close, and apprehended no danger. If one asked them, how Mrs. Bull did? Better and better, said they; the parts heal, and her constitution mends; if she submits to our government, she will be abroad in a little time. Nay, it is reported, that they wrote to her friends in the country, that she would dance a jig next October in Westminister-hall, and that her illness had chiefly been owing to bad physicians. As last, one of them [lord Chancellor] was sent for in great haste, his patient grew worse and worse: when he came, he affirmed that it was a gross mistake, and that she was never in a fairer way: Bring hither the salve, says he, and give her a plentiful draught of my cordial. As he was applying his ointments and administering the cordial, the patient gave up the ghost, to the great confusion of the quack, and the great joy of Bull and his friends. The quack flung away out of the house in great disorder, and swore there was foul play, for he was sure his medicines were infallible. Mrs. Bull having died without any signs of repentance or devotion, the clergy would hardly allow her a Christian burial. The relations had once resolved to sue John for the murder; but considering better of it, and that such a trial would rip up old sores, and discover things not so much to the reputation of the deceased, they dropped their design. She left no will, only there was found in her strong box, the following words wrote on a scrip of paper: "My curse on John Bull and all my posterity if ever they come to any composition with the lord Strutt."

She left him three daughters, whose names were Polemia, Discordia, and Usuria [War, Faction, and Usury].

CHAPTER X.

Of John Bull's second wife, and the good advice that she gave him.

John quickly got the better of his grief, and seeing that neither his constitution nor the affairs of his family could permit him to live in an unmarried state, he resolved to get him another wife: a cousin of his last wife's was proposed, but John would have no more of the breed: in short, he wedded a sober country gentlewoman, of a good family, and a plentiful fortune, the reverse of the other in her temper;[a] not but that she loved money, for she was saving, and applied her fortune to pay John's clamorous debts, that the unfrugal methods of his last wife and this ruinous lawsuit had brought him into. One day, as she had got her husband in a good humour, she talked to him after the following manner:[b] "My dear, since I have been your wife, I have observed great abuses and disorders in your family; your servants are mutinous and quarrelsome, and cheat you most abominably; your cook-maid is in a combination with your butcher, poulterer, and fishmonger; your butler purloins your liquor, and the brewer sells you hogwash; your baker cheats both in weight and in tale; even your milk-woman and your nursery-maid have a fellow-feeling; your tailor, instead of shreds, cabbages whole yards of cloth; besides, leaving such long scores, and not going to market with ready money, forces us to take bad ware of the tradesmen at their own price. You have not posted your books these ten years; how is it possible for a man of business to keep his affairs even in the world at this rate? Pray God this Hocus be honest: would to God you would look over his bills, and see how matters stand between Frog and you:[c] prodigious sums are spent in this lawsuit, and more must be borrowed of scriveners and usurers at heavy interest. Besides, my dear, let me beg of you to lay aside that wild project of leaving your business to turn lawyer, for which, let me tell you, nature never designed you. Believe me, these rogues do but flatter that they may pick your pocket; observe what a parcel of hungry ragged fellows live by your cause; to be sure they will never make an end on't: I foresee this haunt you have got about the courts will one day or other bring your family to beggary. Consider, my dear, how indecent it is to abandon your shop and follow pettifoggers; the habit is so strong upon you, that there is hardly a plea between two country esquires, about a barren acre upon a common, but you draw yourself in as bail, surety, or solicitor."[d] John heard

succession, and the parliament: they impeached the author of high crimes and misdemeanours; he was silenced for three years, and the sermon burnt by the hangman.

[a] These proceedings caused a great ferment in the public mind.

[b] The house complained of being aspersed and villified: opprobrious terms were used by both parties

[c] The ministry had recourse to the military power.

[d] Various mobs and tumults were excited by the high church party

[e] The Whig or low church party in the house of commons began to decline.

[f] Parliament was prorogued.

[a] The new parliament was averse to the war.

[b] The house of commons made a representation of the mismanagement in the several offices.

[c] The amount of money that had been expended on the war.

[d] The war was then a great favourite with the people.

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her all this while with patience, till she pricked his maggot, and touched him in the tender point; then he broke out into a violent passion, "What, I not fit for a lawyer! Let me tell you, my clod-pated relations spoiled the greatest genius in the world when they bred me a mechanic. Lord Strutt and his old rogue of a grandsire have found to their cost that I can manage a lawsuit as well as another." "I don't deny what you say," replied Mrs. Bull, "nor do I call in question your parts; but I say it does not suit with your circumstances: you and your predecessors have lived in good reputation among your neighbours by this same clothing trade, and it were madness to leave it off. Besides, there are few that know all the tricks and cheats of these lawyers: does not your own experience teach you how they have drawn you on from one term to another, and how you have danced the round of all the courts, still flattering you with a final issue, and, for aught I can see, your cause is not a bit clearer than it was seven years ago." "I will be damned," says John, "if I accept of any composition from Strutt or his grandfather; I'll rather wheel about the streets an engine to grind knives and scissars; however, I'll take your advice, and look over my accompts."

CHAPTER XI.

How John looked over his attorney's bill

When John first brought out the bills, the surprise of all the family was inexpressible at the prodigious dimensions of them; they would have measured with the best bale of cloth in John's shop. Fees to judges, puisne judges, clerks, prothonotaries, filacers, chirographers, under-clerks, proclamators, council, witnesses, jurymen, marshals, tipstaffs, criers, porters; for enrollings, exemplifications, bails, vouchers, returns, caveats, examinations, filing of writs, entries, declarations, replications, recordata, noli prosequis, certioraris, mittimuses, demurrers, special verdicts, informations, scire facias, supersedeas, habeas corpus, coach-hire, treating of witnesses, &c. "Verily," says John, "there are a prodigious number of learned words in this law; what a pretty science it is!" "Ay, but husband, you have paid for every syllable and letter of these fine words; bless me, what immense sums are at the bottom of the accompt!" John spent several weeks in looking over his bills; and by comparing and stating his accompts, he discovered that, beside the extravagance of every article, he had been egregiously cheated; that he had paid for council that were never feed, for writs that were never drawn, for dinners that were never dressed, and journeys that were never made: in short, that the tradesmen, lawyers, and Frog, had agreed to throw the burden of the lawsuit upon his shoulders.

CHAPTER XII.

How John grew angry, and resolved to accept a composition;[a] and what methods were practised by the lawyers for keeping him from it.

Well might the learned Daniel Burgess say, that a lawsuit is a suit for life. He that sows his grain upon marble will have many a hungry belly before harvest. This John felt by woful experience. John's cause was a good milch-cow, and many a man subsisted his family out of it. However, John began to think it high time to look about him. He had a cousin in the country, one sir Roger Bold,[b] whose predecessors had been bred up to the law, and knew as much of it as anybody; but having left off the profession for some time, they took great pleasure in compounding lawsuits among their neighbours, for which they were the aversion of the gentlemen of the long robe, and at perpetual war with all the country attorneys. John put his cause in sir Roger's hands, desiring him to make the best of it: the news had no sooner reached the ears of the lawyers but they were all in an uproar. They brought all the rest of the tradesmen upon John: squire South swore he was betrayed, that he would starve before he compounded; Frog said he was highly wronged; even lying Ned the chimney-sweeper, and Tom the dustman, complained that their interest was sacrificed.[a] The lawyers, solicitors, Hocus, and his clerks, were all up in arms at the news of the composition; they abused him and his wife most shamefully.[b] "You silly, awkward, ill-bred, country sow," quoth one, "have you no more manners than to rail at Hocus that has saved that clod-pated numskull'd ninny-hammer of yours from ruin, and all his family? It is well known how he has risen early and sat up late to make him easy when he was sotting at every alehouse in town. I knew his last wife; she was a woman of breeding, good humour, and complaisance; knew how to live in the world: as for you, you look like a puppet moved by clockwork: your clothes hang upon you as they were upon tenter-hooks, and you come into a room as you were going to steal away a p—s-pot: get you gone into the country to look after your mother's poultry, to milk the cows, churn the butter, and dress up nosegays for a holiday, and not meddle with matters which you know no more of than the sign-post before your door: it is well known that Hocus had an established reputation; he never swore an oath, nor told a lie in all his life; he is grateful to his benefactors, faithful to his friends, liberal to his dependents, and dutiful to his superiors; he values not your money more than the dust under his feet, but he hates to be abused. Once for all, Mrs. Mynx, leave off talking of Hocus, or I will pull out those saucer eyes of yours, and make that red-streak country face look as raw as an ox cheek upon a butcher's stall: remember, I say, that there are pillories and ducking-stools." With this away they flung, leaving Mrs. Bull no time to reply. No stone was left unturned to fright John from his composition: sometimes they spread reports at coffeehouses that John and his wife were run mad; that they intended to give up house, and make over all their estate to Lewis Baboon; that John had been often heard talking to himself, and seen in the streets without shoes or stockings; that he did nothing from morning till night but beat his servants, after having been the best master alive: as for his wife, she was a mere natural. Sometimes John's house was beset with a whole regiment of attorneys' clerks, bailiffs, and bailiffs' followers, and other small retainers of the law, who threw stones at his windows, and dirt at himself as he went along the street. When John complained of want of ready money to carry on his suit, they advised him to pawn his plate and jewels, and that Mrs. Bull should sell her linen and wearing-clothes.

And the lawyers agreed to send Don Diego Dismallo, the conjurer, to John Bull, to dissuade him from making an end of his lawsuit, and this is what passed between them.

Bull. How does my good friend Don Diego?

Don. Never worse. Who can be easy when their friends are playing the fool?

Bull. But then you may be easy, for I am resolved to play the fool no longer: I wish I had hearkened to your advice, and compounded this lawsuit sooner.

Don. It is true; I was then against the ruinous ways of this lawsuit, but, looking over my scheme since, I find there is an error in my calculation. Sol and

[a] When peace was thought to be eligible, a treaty was entered into.

[b] Robert Harley, treasurer instead of lord Godolphin.

[a] The measure was opposed by the Allies.

[b] The house of commons was censured for ignorance of public business.

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Jupiter were in a wrong house, but I have now discovered their true places; I find that the stars are unanimously of opinion that you will be successful in this cause: that Lewis will come to an untimely end, and Strutt will be turned out of doors by his wife and children.

Then he went on with a torrent of ecliptics, cycles, epicycles, ascendants, trines, quadrants, conjunctions, bulls, bears, goats, and rams, and abundance of hard words, which, being put together, signified nothing. John all this while stood gaping and staring like a man in a trance.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mrs. Bull's vindication of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom, incumbent upon wives in case of the tyranny, infidelity, or insufficiency of husbands: being a full answer to the doctor's sermon against adultery.*

John found daily fresh proofs of the infidelity and bad designs of his deceased wife; among other things, one day looking over his cabinet, he found the following paper:—

It is evident that matrimony is founded upon an original contract, whereby the wife makes over the right she has by the law of nature to the *concubitus vagus* in favour of the husband; by which he acquires the property of all her posterity. But then the obligation is mutual: and where the contract is broken on one side, it ceases to bind on the other. Where there is a right, there must be a power to maintain it, and to punish the offending party. The power I affirm to be that original right, or rather that indispensable duty of cuckoldom, lodged in all wives in the cases above mentioned. No wife is bound by any law to which herself has not consented: all economical government is lodged originally in the husband and wife, the executive part being in the husband; both have their privileges secured to them by law and reason: but will any man infer from the husband's being invested with the executive power that the wife is deprived of her share, and that, which is the principal branch of it, the original right of cuckoldom? and that she has no remedy left but *preces et lachrymæ*, or an appeal to a supreme court of judicature? No less frivolous are the arguments that are drawn from the general appellations and terms of husband and wife. A husband denotes several different sorts of magistracy, according to the usages and customs of different climates and countries. In some Eastern nations it signifies a tyrant, with the absolute power of life and death: in Turkey it denotes an arbitrary governor, with power of perpetual imprisonment: in Italy it gives the husband power of poison and padlocks: in the countries of England, France, and Holland it has quite a different meaning, implying a free and equal government, securing to the wife, in certain cases, the liberty of cuckoldom, and the property of pin-money, and separate maintenance. So that the arguments drawn from the terms of husband and wife are fallacious, and by no means fit to support a tyrannical doctrine, as that of absolute unlimited chastity and conjugal fidelity.

The general exhortations to chastity in wives are meant only for rules in ordinary cases; but they naturally suppose three conditions, of ability, justice, and fidelity in the husband: such an unlimited, unconditional fidelity in the wife could never be supposed by reasonable men: it seems a reflection upon the ch—rch to charge her with doctrines that countenance oppression.

This doctrine of the original right of cuckoldom is congruous to the law of nature, which is superior to all human laws, and for that I dare appeal to all wives: it is much to the honour of our English wives that they have never given up that fundamental point; and that though in former ages they were muffled up in darkness and superstition, yet that notion seemed engraven on their minds, and the impression so strong, that nothing could impair it.

To assert the illegality of cuckoldom upon any pretence whatsoever were to cast odious colours upon the married state, to blacken the necessary means of perpetuating families: such laws can never be supposed to have been designed to defeat the very end of matrimony, the propagation of mankind. I call them necessary means; for in many cases what other means are left? Such a doctrine wounds the honour of families; unsettles the titles to kingdoms, honours, and estates; for if the actions from which such settlements spring were illegal, all that is built upon them must be so too; but the last is absurd, therefore the first must be so likewise. What is the cause that Europe groans at present under the heavy load of a cruel and expensive war, but the tyrannical custom of a certain nation, and the scrupulous nicety of a silly queen, [consort of Charles II. of Spain,] in not exercising this indispensable duty of cuckoldom, whereby the kingdom might have had an heir, and a controverted succession might have been avoided? These are the effects of the narrow maxims of your clergy, That one must not do evil that good may come of it.

The assertors of this indefeasible right, and *jus divinum* of matrimony, do all, in their hearts, favour gallants, and the pretenders to married women: for if the true legal foundation of the married state be once sapped, and instead thereof tyrannical maxims introduced, what must follow but elopements, instead of secret and peaceable cuckoldom?

From all that has been said, one may clearly perceive the absurdity of the doctrine of this seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher, asserting, That the grand security of the matrimonial state, and the pillar upon which it stands, is founded upon the wife's belief of an absolute unconditional fidelity to the husband's bed; by which bold assertion he strikes at the root, digs the foundation, and removes the basis upon which the happiness of a married state is built. As for his personal reflections, I would gladly know who are those wanton wives he speaks of? who are those ladies of high station that he so boldly traduces in his sermon? It is pretty plain whom these aspersions are aimed at, for which he deserves the pillory, or something worse.

In confirmation of this doctrine of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom, I could bring the example of the wisest wives in all ages, who by these means have preserved their husbands' families from ruin and oblivion by want of posterity; but what has been said is a sufficient ground for punishing this pragmatical parson.

CHAPTER XIV.

The two great parties of wives, the Devotees and the Hitts.*

The doctrine of unlimited chastity and fidelity in wives was universally espoused by all husbands, who went about the country and made the wives sign papers, signifying their utter detestation and abhorrence of Mrs. Bull's wicked doctrine of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom. Some yielded, others refused to part with their native liberty; which gave rise to two great parties among the wives, the devotees and the hitts. Though it must be owned, the distinction was more nominal than real; for the devotees would abuse freedoms sometimes; and those who were distinguished by the name of hitts, were often very honest. At the

* The Tories' representation of the speeches at Sacheverell's trial.

* Those who were for or against the doctrine of non-resistance.

same time there came out an ingenious treatise, with the title of "Good Advice to Husbands;" in which they are counselled not to trust too much to their wives owning the doctrine of unlimited conjugal fidelity, and so to neglect family duty, and a due watchfulness over the manners of their wives; that the greatest security to husbands was a vigorous constitution, good usage of their wives, and keeping them from temptation; many husbands having been sufferers by their trusting too much to general professions, as was exemplified in the case of a foolish and negligent husband, who, trusting to the efficacy of this principle, was undone by his wife's elopement from him.[a]

CHAPTER XV.

An account of the Conference between Mrs. Bull and Don Diego.

The lawyers, as their last effort to put off the composition, sent Don Diego[b] to John. Don Diego was a very worthy gentleman, a friend to John, his mother, and present wife; and therefore supposed to have some influence over her: he had been ill-used himself by John's lawyers: but, because of some animosity to sir Roger,[c] was against the composition:[d] the conference between him and Mrs. Bull was word for word as follows:—

Don D. Is it possible, cousin Bull, that you can forget the honourable maxims of the family you are come of, and break your word with three of the honestest, best meaning persons in the world, esquire South, Frog, and Hocus, that have sacrificed their interests to yours? It is base to take advantage of their simplicity and credulity, and leave them in the lurch at last.

Mrs. B. I am sure they have left my family in a bad condition; we have hardly money to go to market, and nobody will take our word for sixpence. A very fine spark this esquire South! My husband took him in, a dirty snotty-nosed boy; it was the business of half the servants to attend him, the rogue did bawl and make such a noise: sometimes he fell in the fire and burnt his face, sometimes broke his shins clambering over the benches, often p—d a-bed, and always came in so dirty as if he had been dragged through the kennel at a boarding-school. He lost his money at chuck-farthing, shuffle-cap, and all-fours; sold his books, pawned his linen, which we were always forced to redeem. Then the whole generation of him are so in love with bagpipes and puppetshows! I wish you knew what my husband has paid at the pastry-cook's and confectioner's for Naples biscuits, tarts, custards, and sweetmeats.[e] All this while my husband considered him as a gentleman of a good family that had fallen into decay, gave him good education, and has settled him in a good creditable way of living, having procured him, by his interest, one of the best places of the country; and what return, think you, does this fine gentleman make us? He will hardly give me or my husband a good word, or a civil expression: instead of sir and madam, (which, though I say it, is our due,) he calls us goody and gaffer such a one: says he did us a great deal of honour to board with us: huffs and dings at such a rate because we will not spend the little we have left to get him the title and estate of lord Strutt: and then, forsooth, we shall have the honour to be his woollen-drapers. Besides, esquire South will be esquire South still; fickle, proud, and ungrateful. If he behaves himself so, when he depends on us for his daily bread, can any man say what he will do when he is got above the world?

Don D. And would you lose the honour of so noble and generous an undertaking? Would you rather accept this scandalous composition, and trust that old rogue Lewis Baboon?

Mrs. B. Look you, friend Diego, if we law it on till Lewis turns honest, I am afraid our credit will run low at Blackwell-hall. I wish every one had his own; but I still say that lord Strutt's money shines as bright, and chinks as well, as esquire South's. I don't know any other hold, that we tradesmen have of these great folks but their interest; buy dear and sell cheap, and I'll warrant ye you will keep your customer. The worst is, that lord Strutt's servants have got such a haunt about that old rogue's shop, that it will cost us many a firkin of strong beer to bring them back again; and the longer they are in a bad road, the harder it will be to get them out of it.

Don D. But poor Frog! what has he done? On my conscience, if there be an honest sincere man in the world it is that Frog.

Mrs. B. I think I need not tell you how much Frog has been obliged to our family from his childhood; he carries his head high now, but he had never been the man he is without our help. Ever since the commencement of this lowsuit, it has been the business of Hocus, in sharing our expenses, to plead for Frog. "Poor Frog," says he, "is in hard circumstances; he has a numerous family, and lives from hand to mouth; his children don't eat a bit of good victuals from one year's end to the other, but live upon salt herring, sour curd, and borecole; he does his utmost, poor fellow, to keep things even in the world, and has exerted himself beyond his ability in this lawsuit; but he really has not wherewithal to go on. What signifies this hundred pounds? place it upon your side of the account; it is a great deal to poor Frog, and a trifle to you." This has been Hocus's constant language, and I am sure he has had obligations enough to us to have acted another part.

Don D. No doubt Hocus meant all this for the best, but he is a tender-hearted, charitable man; Frog is indeed in hard circumstances.

Mrs. B. Hard circumstances! I swear this is provoking to the last degree. All the time of the lawsuit, as fast as I have mortgaged, Frog has purchased: from a plain tradesman, with a shop, warehouse, and a country hut, with a dirty fish-pond at the end of it, he is now grown a very rich country gentleman, with a noble landed estate, noble palaces, manors, parks, gardens, and farms, finer than any we were ever master of. Is it not strange, when my husband disbursed great sums every term, Frog should be purchasing some new farm or manor? So that if this lawsuit lasts, he will be far the richest man in his country. What is worse than all this, he steals away my customers every day; twelve of the richest and the best have left my shop by his persuasion, and whom, to my certain knowledge, he has under bonds never to return again: judge you if this be neighbourly dealing.

Don D. Frog is indeed pretty close in his dealings, but very honest: you are so touchy, and take things so hotly, I am sure there must be some mistake in this.

Mrs. B. A plaguy one indeed! You know, and have often told me of it, how Hocus and those rogues kept my husband John Bull drunk for five years together with punch and strong waters; I am sure he never went one night sober to bed till they got him to sign the strangest deed that ever you saw in your life. The methods they took to manage him I'll tell you another time; at present I'll read only the writing.

[a] Alluding to the Revolution, when James II. lost his kingdom.

[b] Among other obstacles to the treaty, was the opposition of the earl of Nottingham, a Tory nobleman, who possessed very great influence in the house of commons.

[c] The cause of this animosity was Mr. Harley's being chosen to succeed Nottingham as principal secretary-of-state.

[d] He expostulated against the peace when the queen was present incognito.

[e] Something relating to the manners of a great prince.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN JOHN BULL, CLOTHIER, AND NICHOLAS FROG, LINEN-DRAPER.[a]

I. That for maintaining the ancient good correspondence and friendship between the said parties, I, Nicholas Frog, do solemnly engage and promise to keep peace in John Bull's family; that neither his wife, children, nor servants, give him any trouble, disturbance, or molestation whatsoever, but to oblige them all to do their duty quietly in their respective stations; and whereas the said John Bull, from the assured confidence that he has in my friendship, has appointed me executor of his last will and testament and guardian to his children, I do undertake for me, my heirs and assigns, to see the same duly executed and performed, and that it shall be unalterable in all its parts by John Bull, or anybody else; for that purpose it shall be lawful and allowable for me to enter his house at any hour of the day or night; to break open bars, bolts, and doors, chests of drawers, and strong boxes, in order to secure the peace of my friend John Bull's family, and to see his will duly executed.

II. In consideration of which kind neighbourly office of Nicholas Frog, in that he has been pleased to accept of the aforesaid trust, I, John Bull, having duly considered that my friend Nicholas Frog at this time lives in a marshy soil and unwholesome air, infested with fogs and damps destructive of the health of himself, wife and children, do bind and oblige me, my heirs and assigns, to purchase for the said Nicholas Frog, with the best and readiest of my cash, bonds, mortgages, goods and chattels, a landed estate, with parks, gardens, palaces, rivers, fields, and outlets, consisting of as large extent as the said Nicholas Frog shall think fit. And whereas the said Nicholas Frog is at present hemmed in too close by the grounds of Lewis Baboon, master of the science of defence, I, the said John Bull, do oblige myself, with the readiest of my cash, to purchase and enclose the said grounds for as many fields and acres as the said Nicholas shall think fit, to the intent that the said Nicholas may have free egress and regress, without let or molestation, suitable to the demands of himself and family.

III. Furthermore, the said John Bull obliges himself to make the country neighbours of Nicholas Frog allot a certain part of their yearly rents to pay for the repairs of the said landed estate, to the intent that his good friend Nicholas Frog may be eased of all charges.

IV. And whereas the said Nicholas Frog did contract with the deceased lord Strutt about certain liberties, privileges, and immunities, formerly in the possession of the said John Bull, I, the said John Bull, do freely by these presents renounce, quit, and make over to the said Nicholas the liberties, privileges, and immunities contracted for, in as full a manner as if they never had belonged to me.

V. The said John Bull obliges himself, his heirs and assigns, not to sell one rag of broad or coarse cloth to any gentleman within the neighbourhood of the said Nicholas, except in such quantities and such rates as the said Nicholas shall think fit.

(*Signed and Sealed*) John Bull,
Nic. Frog.

[The reading of this paper put Mrs. Bull in such a passion that she fell down right into a fit, and they were forced to give her a good quantity of the spirit of hartshorn before she recovered.]

Don D. Why in such a passion, cousin? considering your circumstances at that time, I don't think this such an unreasonable contract. You see Frog, for all this, is religiously true to his bargain; he scorns to hearken to any composition without your privacy.

Mrs. B. You know the contrary.[a] Read that letter.

[Reads the superscription.]

For Lewis Baboon, Master of the Noble Science of Defence.

Sir,—I understand that you are at this time treating with my friend John Bull about restoring the lord Strutt's custom, and besides, allowing him certain privileges of parks and fish-ponds; I wonder how you, that are a man that knows the world, can talk with that simple fellow. He has been my bubble these twenty years, and to my certain knowledge understands no more of his own affairs than a child in swaddling-clothes. I know he has got a sort of a pragmatical silly jade of a wife, that pretends to take him out of my hands; but you and she both will find yourselves mistaken; I'll find those that shall manage her; and for him, he dares as well be hanged as take one step in his affairs without my consent. If you will give me what you promised him, I will make all things easy, and stop the deeds of ejectment against lord Strutt; if you will not, take what follows: I shall have a good action against you, for pretending to rob me of my bubble. Take this warning from your loving friend, Nic. Frog.

I am told, cousin Diego, you are one of those that have undertaken to manage me, and that you have said you will carry a green bag yourself rather than we shall make an end of our lawsuit: I'll teach them and you too to manage.

Don D. For God's sake, madam, why so choleric? I say this letter is some forgery; it never entered into the head of that honest man Nic. Frog to do any such thing.

Mrs. B. I can't abide you; you have been railing these twenty years at esquire South, Frog, and Hocus, calling them rogues and pickpockets, and now they are turned the honestest fellows in the world. What is the meaning of all this?

Don D. Pray tell me how you came to employ this sir Roger in your affairs, and not to think of your old friend Diego?

Mrs. B. So, so, there it pinches. To tell you truth, I have employed sir Roger in several weighty affairs, and have found him trusty and honest; and the poor man always scorned to take a farthing of me. I have abundance that profess great zeal, but they are damnable greedy of the pence. My husband and I are now in such circumstances that we must be served upon cheaper terms than we have been.

Don D. Well, cousin, I find I can do no good with you; I am sorry that you will ruin yourself by trusting this sir Roger.

CHAPTER XVI.

How the guardians of the deceased Mrs. Bull's three daughters came to John, and what advice they gave him; wherein are briefly treated the characters of the three daughters: also John Bull's answer to the three guardians.[b]

I told you in a former chapter, that Mrs. Bull, before she departed this life, had blessed John with three daughters. I need not here repeat their names, neither would I willingly use any scandalous reflections upon young ladies, whose reputations ought to be very tenderly handled; but the characters of these were so well known in the neighbourhood, that it is

[a] A treaty which had been concluded by the lord Townshend at the Hague between the queen and the States in 1709, for securing the Protestant succession, and for setting a barrier for Holland against France.

[a] The Dutch were negotiating with France.

[b] The debates in parliament were still continued.

doing them no injury to make a short description of them.

The eldest was a termagant, imperious, prodigal, lewd, profligate wench, as ever breathed [*Polemia*, War]; she used to rantipole about the house, pinch the children, kick the servants, and torture the cats and the dogs; she would rob her father's strong-box for money to give the young fellows that she was fond of; she had a noble air, and something great in her mien, but such a noisome infectious breath, as threw all the servants that dressed her into consumptions; if she smelt to the freshest nosegay, it would shrivel and wither as it had been blighted; she used to come home in her cups and break the china and the looking-glasses; and was of such an irregular temper, and so entirely given up to her passion, that you might argue as well with the north wind as with her ladyship; so expensive that the income of three dukedoms was not enough to supply her extravagance. Hocus loved her best, believing her to be his own, got upon the body of Mrs. Bull.

The second daughter, [*Discordia*, Faction,] born a year after her sister, was a peevish, froward, ill-conditioned creature as ever was; ugly as the devil, lean, haggard, pale, with saucer eyes, a sharp nose, and hunchbacked; but active, sprightly, and diligent about her affairs. Her ill complexion was occasioned by her bad diet, which was coffee, morning, noon, and night; she never rested quietly a-bed; but used to disturb the whole family with shrieking out in her dreams, and plague them next day with interpreting them, for she took them all for gospel; she would cry out murder, and disturb the whole neighbourhood; and when John came running down stairs, to inquire what the matter was; nothing, forsooth, only her maid had stuck a pin wrong in her gown: she turned away one servant for putting too much oil in her sallad, and another for putting too little salt in her watergruel; but such, as by flattery had procured her esteem, she would indulge in the greatest crime. Her father had two coachmen; when one was on the coach-box, if the coach swung but the least to one side, she used to shriek so loud that all the street concluded she was overturned; but though the other was eternally drunk, and had overturned the whole family, she was very angry with her father for turning him away. Then she used to carry tales and stories from one to another, till she had set the whole neighbourhood together by the ears; and this was the only diversion she took pleasure in. She never went abroad but she brought home such a bundle of monstrous lies as would have amazed any mortal but such as knew her; of a whale that had swallowed a fleet of ships; of the lions being let out of the Tower to destroy the Protestant religion; of the pope's being seen in a brandy-shop at Wapping; and of a prodigious strong man, that was going to shove down the cupola of St. Paul's; of three millions of five pound pieces that esquire South had found under an old wall; of blazing stars, flying dragons, and abundance of such stuff. All the servants in the family made high court to her, for she domineered there, and turned out and in whom she pleased; only there was an old grudge between her and sir Roger, whom she mortally hated, and used to hire fellows to squirt kennel-water upon him as he passed along the streets; so that he was forced constantly to wear a surtout of oiled cloth, by which means he came home pretty clean, except where the surtout was a little scanty.

As for the third, [*Usuria*, Usury,] she was a thief, and a common mercenary prostitute, and that without any solicitation from nature, for she owned that she had no enjoyment. She had no respect of persons; a prince or a porter was all one, according as they paid; yea, she would leave the finest gentleman in the world to go to an ugly pocky fellow for sixpence more. In the practice of her profession she had amassed vast magazines of all sorts of things; she had above five hundred suits of fine clothes, and yet went abroad like a cinder-wench: she robbed and starved all the servants, so that nobody could live near her.

So much for John's three daughters, which you will say were rarities to be fond of: yet nature will show itself; nobody could blame their relations for taking care of them: and therefore it was that Hocus, with two other of the guardians, thought it their duty to take care of the interest of the three girls, and gave John their best advice before he compounded the lawsuit.

Hocus. What makes you so shy of late, my good friend? There's nobody loves you better than I, nor has taken more pains in your affairs: as I hope to be saved, I would do anything to serve you; I would crawl upon all four to serve you; I have spent my health and paternal estate in your service. I have indeed a small pittance left, with which I might retire, and with as good a conscience as any man; but the thought of this disgraceful composition so touches me to the quick, that I cannot sleep; after I had brought the cause to the last stroke, that one verdict more had quite ruined old Lewis and lord Strutt, and put you in the quiet possession of everything; then to compound! I cannot bear it. This cause was my favourite, I had set my heart upon it; it is like an only child; I cannot endure it should miscarry; for God's sake consider only to what a dismal condition old Lewis is brought. He is at an end of all his cash; his attorneys have hardly one trick left; they are at an end of all their chicane; besides, he has both his law and his daily bread now upon trust. Hold out only one term longer, and I'll warrant you, before the next, we shall have him in the Fleet. I'll bring him to the pillory; his ears shall pay for his perjuries. For the love of God don't compound: let me be damned if you have a friend in the world that loves you better than I: there is nobody can say I am covetous, or that I have any interest to pursue but yours.

2nd Guardian. There is nothing so plain as that this Lewis has a design to ruin all his neighbouring tradesmen; and at this time he has such a prodigious income by his trade of all kinds, that if there is not some stop put to his exorbitant riches, he will monopolize everything: nobody will be able to sell a yard of drapery or mercery-ware but himself. I then hold it advisable, that you continue the lawsuit and burst him at one. My concern for the three poor motherless children obliges me to give you this advice; for their estates, poor girls! depend upon the success of this cause.

3rd Guardian. I own this writ of ejectment has cost dear; but then consider it is a jewel well worth the purchasing at the price of all you have. None but Mr. Bull's declared enemies can say he has any other security for his clothing trade but the ejectment of lord Strutt. The only question then that remains to be decided is, who shall stand the expenses of the suit? To which the answer is as plain; who but he that is to have the advantage of the sentence! When esquire South has got possession of his title and honour, is not John Bull to be his clothier? Who, then, but John ought to put him in possession? Ask but any indifferent gentleman who ought to bear his charges at law? and he will readily answer, his tradesmen. I do therefore affirm, and I will go to death with it, that, being his clothier, you ought to put him in quiet possession of his estate, and, with the same generous spirit you have begun it, complete the good work. If you persist in the bad measures you are now in, what must

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become of the three poor orphans? My heart bleeds for the poor girls.

John B. You are all very eloquent persons; but give me leave to tell you, you express a great deal more concern for the three girls than for me; I think my interest ought to be considered in the first place. As for you, Hocus, I can't but say you have managed my lawsuit with great address, and much to my honour; and, though I say it, you have been paid well for it. Why must the burden be taken off Frog's back, and laid upon my shoulders? He can drive about his own parks and fields in his gilt chariot, when I have been forced to mortgage my estate; his note will go further than my bond. Is it not matter of fact that, from the richest tradesman in all the country, I am reduced to beg and borrow from scriveners and usurers, that suck the heart, blood, and guts out of me? and what is all this for? Did you like Frog's countenance better than mine? Was not I your old friend and relation? Have I not presented you nobly? Have I not clad your whole family? Have you not had a hundred yards at a time of the finest cloth in my shop? Why must the rest of the tradesmen be not only indemnified from charges, but forbid to go on with their own business, and what is more their concern than mine? As to holding out this term, I appeal to your own conscience, has not that been your constant discourse these six years, "one term more, and old Lewis goes to pot?" If thou art so fond of my cause, be generous for once, and lend me a brace of thousands. Ah, Hocus! Hocus! I know thee; not a sous to save me from gaol, I trow. Look ye, gentlemen, I have lived with credit in the world, and it grieves my heart never to stir out of my doors but to be pulled by the sleeve by some rascally dun or other: "Sir, remember my bill: there's a small concern of a thousand pounds, I hope you think on't, sir." And to have these usurers transact my debts at coffeehouses, and alehouses, as if I were going to break up shop. Lord! that ever the rich, the generous John Bull, clothier, the envy of all his neighbours, should be brought to compound his debts for five shillings in the pound: and to have his name in an advertisement for a statute of bankrupt. The thought of it makes me mad. I have read somewhere in the Apocrypha, that one should "not consult with a woman touching her of whom she is jealous; nor with a merchant, concerning exchange; nor with a buyer, of selling; nor with an unmerciful man, of kindness," &c. I could have added one thing more, "nor with an attorney, about compounding a lawsuit." The ejectment of lord Strutt will never do. The evidence is crimp; the witnesses swear backward and forward, and contradict themselves; and his tenants stick by him. One tells me that I must carry on my suit because Lewis is poor; another, because he is still too rich: whom shall I believe? I am sure of one thing, that a penny in the purse is the best friend John can have at last; and who can say that this will be the last suit I shall be engaged in? Besides, if this ejectment were practicable, is it reasonable, that when esquire South is losing his money to sharpers and pickpockets, going about the country with fiddlers and buffoons, and squandering his income with hawks and dogs, I should lay out the fruits of my honest industry in a lawsuit for him only upon the hopes of being his clothier? And when the cause is over, I shall not have the benefit of my project for want of money to go to market. Look ye, gentlemen, John Bull is but a plain man; but John Bull knows when he is ill used. I know the infirmity of our family; we are apt to play the boon companion, and throw away our money in our cups; but it was an unfair thing in you, gentlemen, to take advantage of my weakness, to keep a parcel of roaring bullies about me day and night, with huzzas and hunting-horns, and ringing the changes on butchers' cleavers, never let me cool, and make me set my hand to papers when I could hardly hold my pen. There will come a day of reckoning for all that proceeding. In the mean time, gentlemen, I beg you will let me into my affairs a little, and that you would not grudge me the small remainder of a very great estate.

CHAPTER XVII.

Esquire South's message and letter to Mrs. Bull.

The arguments used by Hocus and the rest of the guardians had hitherto proved insufficient:[a] John and his wife could not be persuaded to bear the expense of esquire South's lawsuit. They thought it reasonable, that since he was to have the honour and advantage, he should bear the greatest share of the charges; and retrench what he lost to sharpers, and spent upon country dances and puppet-plays, to apply it to that use. This was not very grateful to the esquire: therefore, as the last experiment, he resolved to send signior Benenato,[b] master of his fox-hounds, to Mrs. Bull, to try what good he could do with her. This signior Benenato had all the qualities of a fine gentleman that were fit to charm a lady's heart; and if any person in the world could have persuaded her, it was he. But such was her unshaken fidelity to her husband, and the constant purpose of her mind to pursue his interest, that the most refined arts of gallantry that were practised could not seduce her heart. The necklaces, diamond crosses, and rich bracelets that were offered, she rejected with the utmost scorn and disdain. The music and serenades that were given her, sounded more ungrateful in her ears than the noise of a screech-owl; however, she recieved esquire South's letter by the hands of signior Benenato with that respect which became his quality. The copy of the letter is as follows, in which you will observe he changes a little his usual style:—

Madam,—The writ of ejectment against Philip Baboon (pretended lord Strutt) is just ready to pass; there want but a few necessary forms, and a verdict or two more, to put me in quiet possession of my honour and estate. I question not but that, according to your wonted generosity and goodness, you will give it the finishing stroke—an honour that I would grudge anybody but yourself. In order to ease you of some part of the charges, I promise to furnish pen, ink, and paper, provided you pay for the stamps. Besides, I have ordered my stewards to pay, out of the readiest and best of my rents, 5*l.* 10*s.* a-year, till my suit is finished. I wish you health and happiness, being, with due respect, madam, your assured friend, South.

What answer Mrs. Bull returned to his letter you shall know in my second part, only they were at a pretty good distance in their proposals; for as esquire South only offered to be at the charges of pen, ink, and paper, Mrs. Bull refused any more than to lend her barge,[c] to carry his counsel to Westminster-hall.

THE SECOND PART.

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

The world is much indebted to the famous sir Humphry Polesworth for his ingenious and impartial account of John Bull's lawsuit; yet there is just cause of complaint against him, in that he relates it only by parcels,

[a] But as all attempts of the party to preclude the treaty were ineffectual, and complaints were made of the deficiencies of the house of Austria, the archduke sent a message and letter.

[b] By prince Eugene, urging the continuance of the war, and offering to bear a proportion of the expense.

[c] This proportion was however thought to be so inconsiderable that the letter produced no other effect than the convoy of the forces by the English fleet to Barcelona.

and won't give us the whole work: this forces me, who am only the publisher, to bespeak the assistance of his friends and acquaintance to engage him to lay aside that stingy humour and gratify the curiosity of the public at once. He pleads, in excuse, that they are only private memoirs, written for his own use, in a loose style, to serve as a help to his ordinary conversation. I represented to him the good reception the first part had met with; that, though calculated only for the meridian of Grub-street, it was yet taken notice of by the better sort; that the world was now sufficiently acquainted with John Bull, and interested itself in his concerns. He answered, with a smile, that he had indeed some trifling things to impart, that concerned John Bull's relations and domestic affairs; if these would satisfy me, he gave me free leave to make use of them, because they would serve to make the history of the lawsuit more intelligible. When I had looked over the manuscript, I found likewise some further account of the composition, which perhaps may not be unacceptable to such as have read the former part.

CHAPTER I.

The Character of John Bull's Mother.

JOHN had a mother [the Church of England] whom he loved and honoured extremely, a discreet, grave, sober, good-conditioned, cleanly old gentlewoman as ever lived; she was none of your cross-grained, termagant, scolding jades, that one had as good be hanged as live in the house with, such as are always censuring the conduct, and telling scandalous stories of their neighbours, extolling their own good qualities, and undervaluing those of others. On the contrary, she was of a meek spirit, and as she was strictly virtuous herself, so she always put the best construction upon the words and actions of her neighbours, except where they were irreconcileable to the rules of honesty and decency. She was neither one of your precise prudes, nor one of your fantastical old belles, that dress themselves like girls of fifteen; as she neither wore a ruff, forehead-cloth, nor high-crowned hat, so she had laid aside feathers, flowers, and crimped ribbons, in her head-dress, furbelow-scarfs, and hoop petticoats. She scorned to patch and paint, yet she loved to keep her hands and her face clean. Though she wore no flaunting laced ruffles, she would not keep herself in a constant sweat with greasy flannel; though her hair was not stuck with jewels, she was not ashamed of a diamond cross; she was not, like some ladies, hung about with toys and trinkets, tweezer-cases, pocket glasses, and essence-bottles; she used only a gold watch and an almanac, to mark the hours and the holidays.

Her furniture was neat and genteel, well fancied, with a *bon goust*. As she affected not the grandeur of a state with a canopy, she thought there was no offence in an elbow-chair; she had laid aside your carving, gilding, and japan-work, as being too apt to gather dirt; but she never could be prevailed upon to part with plain wainscot and clean hangings. There are some ladies that affect to smell a stink in everything; they are always highly perfumed, and continually burning frankincense in their rooms; she was above such affectation, yet she never would lay aside the use of brooms and scrubbing-brushes, and scrupled not to lay her linen in fresh lavender.

She was no less genteel in her behaviour, well-bred, without affectation, in the due mean between one of your affected curt'sying pieces of formality, and your romps that have no regard to the common rules of civility. There are some ladies that affect a mighty regard for their relations: We must not eat to-day, for my uncle Tom, or my cousin Betty, died this time ten years: Let's have a ball to-night, it is my neighbour such-a-one's birth-day. She looked upon all this as grimace; yet she constantly observed her husband's birth-day, her wedding-day, and some few more.

Though she was a truly good woman, and had a sincere motherly love for her son John, yet there wanted not those who endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between them; and they had so far prevailed with him once, that he turned her out of doors, to his great sorrow, as he found afterwards, for his affairs went on at sixes and sevens.

She was no less judicious in the turn of her conversation and choice of her studies, in which she far exceeded all her sex: your rakes that hate the company of all sober, grave gentlewomen, would bear hers; and she would, by her handsome manner of proceeding, sooner reclaim them than some that were more sour and reserved; she was a zealous preacher up of chastity, and conjugal fidelity in wives, and by no means a friend to the new-fangled doctrine of the indispensable duty of cuckoldom; though she advanced her opinions with a becoming assurance, yet she never ushered them in, as some positive creatures will do, with dogmatical assertions, This is infallible; I cannot be mistaken; none but a rogue can deny it. It has been observed, that such people are oftener in the wrong than anybody.

Though she had a thousand good qualities, she was not without her faults; among which one might perhaps reckon too great lenity to her servants, to whom she always gave good counsel, but often too gentle correction. I thought I could not say less of John Bull's mother, because she bears a part in the following transactions.

CHAPTER II.

The Character of John Bull's Sister Peg, [the Nation and Scotch Church,] with the Quarrels that happened between Master and Miss in their childhood.

JOHN had a sister, a poor girl that had been starved at nurse; anybody would have guessed miss to have been bred up under the influence of a cruel step-dame, and John to be the fondling of a tender mother. John looked ruddy and plump, with a pair of cheeks like a trumpeter; miss looked pale and wan, as if she had the green-sickness; and no wonder, for John was the darling, he had all the good bits, was crammed with good pullet, chicken, pig, goose, and capon; while miss had only a little oatmeal and water, or a dry crust without butter. John had his golden pippins, peaches, and nectarines; poor miss, a crab-apple, sloe, or blackberry. Master lay in the best apartment, with his bedchamber toward the south sun. Miss lodged in a garret, exposed to the north wind, which shrivelled her countenance; however, this usage, though it stunted the girl in her growth, gave her a hardy constitution; she had life and spirit in abundance, and knew when she was ill used: now and then she would seize upon John's commons, snatch a leg of a pullet, or a bit of good beef, for which they were sure to go to fisty-cuffs. Master was indeed too strong for her; but miss would not yield in the least point, but even when master had got her down, she would scratch and bite like a tiger; when he gave her a cuff on the ear, she would prick him with her knitting-needle. John brought a great chain one day to tie her to the bed-post, for which affront miss aimed a penknife at his heart.[a] In short, these quarrels grew up to rooted aversions; they gave one another nicknames; she called him Gundyguts, and he called her Lousy Peg; though the girl was a tight clever wench as any was, and through her pale looks you might discern spirit and vivacity, which made her not, indeed, a perfect beauty, but something that was agreeable. It was barbarous in parents not to take notice of these early quarrels, and make their

[a] Henry VIII., to unite the two kingdoms under one sovereign, offered his daughter Mary to James V. of Scotland.

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live better together, such domestic feuds proving afterward the occasion of misfortunes to them both. Peg had, indeed, some odd humours, and comical antipathies, for which John would jeer her. "What think you of my sister Peg," says he, "that faints at the sound of an organ, and yet will dance and frisk at the noise of a bagpipe?"—"What's that to you, Gundy-guts?" quoth Peg; "every one's to choose their own music." Then Peg had taken a fancy not to say her *Pater noster*, which made people imagine strange things of her. Of the three brothers, that have made such a clutter in the world, lord Peter, Martin, and Jack, Jack had of late been her inclinations, [Presbytery,] lord Peter she detested; nor did Martin stand much better in her good graces; but Jack had found the way to her heart. I have often admired what charms she discovered in that awkward booby, till I talked with a person that was acquainted with the intrigue, who gave me the following account of it.

CHAPTER III.

Jack's Charms, or the method by which he gained Peg's Heart.[a]

In the first place, Jack was a very young fellow, by much the youngest of the three brothers, and people, indeed, wondered how such a young upstart jackanapes should grow so pert and saucy, and take so much upon him.

Jack bragged of greater abilities than other men; he was well gifted as he pretended; I need not tell you what secret influence that has upon the ladies.

Jack had a most scandalous tongue, and persuaded Peg that all mankind, beside himself, were poxed by that scarlet-faced whore signiora Bubonia.[b] "As for his brother, lord Peter, the tokens were evident on him, blotches, scabs, and the corona; his brother Martin, though he was not quite so bad, had some nocturnal pains, which his friends pretended were only scurbutical; but he was sure it proceeded from a worse cause." By such malicious insinuations, he had possessed the lady that he was the only man in the world of a sound, pure, and untainted constitution; though there were some that stuck not to say, that signiora Bubonia and Jack railed at one another, only the better to hide an intrigue; and that Jack had been found with signiora under his cloak, carrying her home in a dark stormy night.

Jack was a prodigious ogler; he would ogle you the outside of his eye inward, and the white upward.

Jack gave himself out for a man of great estate in the Fortunate Islands; of which the sole property was vested in his person: by this trick he cheated abundance of poor people of small sums, pretending to make over plantations in the said islands; but when the poor wretches came there with Jack's grant, they were beat, mocked, and turned out of doors.

I told you that Peg was whimsical, and loved anything that was particular: in that way, Jack was her man, for he neither thought, spoke, dressed, nor acted like other mortals: he was for your bold strokes; he railed at fops, though he was himself the most affected in the world; instead of the common fashion, he would visit his mistress in a mourning cloak, band, short cuffs, and a peaked beard. He invented a way of coming into a room backward, which, he said, showed more humility, and less affectation: where other people stood, he sat; where they sat, he stood; when he went to court, he used to kick away the state, and sit down by his prince cheek-by-jole: confound these states, says he, they are a modern invention: when he spoke to his prince, he always turned his br—ch upon him: if he was advised to fast for his health, he would eat roast beef; if he was allowed a more plentiful diet, then he would be sure that day to live upon water-gruel; he would cry at a wedding, laugh and make jests at a funeral.

He was no less singular in his opinions; you would have burst your sides to hear him talk of politics: "All government," says he, "is founded upon the right distribution of punishments; decent executions keep the world in awe; for that reason the majority of mankind ought to be hanged every year. For example, I suppose, the magistrates ought to pass an irretrievable sentence upon all blue-eyed children from the cradle [Absolute predestination]; but that there may be some show of justice in this proceeding, these children ought to be trained up by masters appointed for that purpose, to all sorts of villainy [Reprobation]; that they may deserve their fate, and the execution of them may serve as an object of terror to the rest of mankind." As to the giving of pardons, he had this singular method, that when these wretches had the rope about their necks, it should be inquired, who believed they should be hanged, and who not?[a] the first were to be pardoned, the last hanged outright. Such as were once pardoned, were never to be hanged afterward for any crime whatsoever [Election]. He had such skill in physiognomy, that he would pronounce peremptorily upon a man's face, That fellow, says he, do what he will, can't avoid hanging; he has a hanging look. By the same art he would prognosticate a principality to a scoundrel.

He was no less particular in the choice of his studies; they were generally bent toward exploded chimeras, the *perpetuum mobile*, the circular shot, philosopher's stone, silent gunpowder, making chains for fleas, nets for flies, and instruments to unravel cobwebs, and split hairs.[b]

Thus, I think, I have given a distinct account of the methods he practised upon Peg. Her brother would now and then ask her, "What a devil do'st thou see in that pragmatical coxcomb to make thee so in love with him? he is a fit match for a tailor or a shoemaker's daughter, but not for you, that are a gentlewoman."—"Fancy is free," quoth Peg: "I'll take my own way, do you take yours. I do not care for your flaunting beaus, that gang with their breasts open and their sarks over their waistcoats; that accost me with set speeches out of Sidney's Arcadia, or the Academy of Compliments. Jack is a sober, grave, young man: though he has none of your studied harangues, his meaning is sincere: he has a great regard to his father's will; and he that shows himself a good son, will make a good husband; besides, I know he has the original deed of conveyance to the Fortunate Islands; the others are counterfeits." There is nothing so obstinate as a young lady in her amours; the more you cross her, the worse she is.

CHAPTER IV.

How the relations reconciled John and his sister Peg, and what return Peg made to John's message.[c]

John Bull, otherwise a good-natured man, was very hard-hearted to his sister Peg, chiefly from an aversion he had conceived in his infancy. While he flourished, kept a warm house, and drove a plentiful trade, poor Peg was forced to go hawking and peddling about the streets, selling knives, scissars, and shoe-buckles: now and then carried a basket of fish to the market; sewed, spun, and knit for a livelihood, till her finger-ends were sore; and when she could not get bread for her family, she was forced to hire them out at journey-work to her neighbours. Yet in these her poor circumstances she still preserved the air and mien of a gentlewoman, a certain decent pride, that extorted respect from the

[a] Character of the Presbyterians.
[b] The whore of Babylon, or the pope.

[a] Saving faith; a belief that one shall certainly be saved.
[b] The learning of the Presbyterians.
[c] The treaty of Union between England and Scotland.

haughtiest of her neighbours; when she came into any full assembly she would not yield the *pas* to the best of them. If one asked her, are you not related to John Bull? "Yes," says she, "he has the honour to be my brother." So Peg's affairs went, till all the relations cried out shame upon John for his barbarous usage of his own flesh and blood; that it was an easy matter for him to put her in a creditable way of living, not only without hurt, but with advantage to himself, being she was an industrious person, and might be serviceable to him in his way of business. "Hang her, jade," quoth John, "I can't endure her, as long as she keeps that rascal Jack's company." They told him, the way to reclaim her was to take her into his house; that by conversation the childish humours of their younger days might be worn out. These arguments were enforced by a certain incident. It happened that John was at that time about making his will and entailing his estate, the very same in which Nic. Frog is named executor. Now, his sister Peg's name being in the entail, he could not make a thorough settlement without her consent. There was, indeed, a malicious story went about, as if John's last wife had fallen in love with Jack, as he was eating custard on horseback:[a] that she persuaded John to take his sister into the house, the better to drive on the intrigue with Jack, concluding he would follow his mistress Peg. All I can infer from this story is, that when one has got a bad character in the world, people will report and believe anything of one, true or false. But to return to my story: when Peg received John's message, she huffed and stormed like the devil:[b] "My brother John," quoth she, "is grown wondrous kind-hearted all of a sudden, but I meikle doubt whether it be not mair for their own conveniency than for my good; he draws up his writs and his deeds, forsooth, and I must set my hand to them, unsight, unseen. I like the young man [George I.] he has settled upon well enough, but I think I ought to have a valuable consideration for my consent. He wants my poor little farm, because it makes a nook in his park wall; ye may e'en tell him, he has mair than he makes good use of; he gangs up and down drinking, roaring, and quarrelling through all the country markets, making foolish bargains in his cups, which he repents when he is sober; like a thriftless wretch, spending the goods and gear that his forefathers won with the sweat of their brows; light come, light go, he care's not a farthing. But why should I stand surety for his contracts? the little I have is free, and I can call it my awn; hame's hame, let it be never so hamely. I ken him weel enough, he could never abide me, and when he has his ends, he'll e'en use me as he did before. I am sure I shall be treated like a poor drudge; I shall be set to tend the bairns, dearn the hose, and mend the linen. Then there's no living with that old carline his mother; she rails at Jack, and Jack's an honester man than any of her kin: I shall be plagued with her spells and her *Pater-nosters*, and silly old-world ceremonies; I mun never pair my nails on a Friday, nor begin a journey on Childermas-day, and I mun stand becking and binging, as I gang out and in to the hall. Tell him he may e'en gang his gate; I'll have nothing to do with him; I'll stay, like the poor country mouse, in my ain habitation." So Peg talked; but for all that, by the interposition of good friends, and by many a bonny thing that was sent, and many more that were promised Peg, the matter was concluded, and Peg taken into the house upon certain articles; one of which was, that she might have the freedom of Jack's conversation [Act of Toleration]; and might take him for better and for worse if she pleased, provided always he did not come into the house at unseasonable hours, and disturb the rest of the old woman, John's mother.

[a] A Presbyterian lord Mayor of London, sir H. Edwin.

[b] The Scots expressed their fears for the Presbyterian government.

CHAPTER V.

Of some Quarrels that happened after Peg was taken into the family.

It is an old observation, that the quarrels of relations are harder to reconcile than any other; injuries from friends fret and gall more, and the memory of them is not so easily obliterated. This is cunningly represented by one of your old sages, called Æsop, in the story of the bird, that was grieved extremely at being wounded with an arrow feathered with his own wing; as also of the oak, that let many a heavy groan, when he was cleft with a wedge of his own timber.

There was no man in the world less subject to rancour than John Bull, considering how often his good-nature had been abused; yet I don't know how, but he was too apt to hearken to tattling people that carried tales between him and his sister Peg,[a] on purpose to sow jealousies, and set them together by the ears. They say that there were some hardships put upon Peg, which had been better let alone; but it was the business of good people to restrain the injuries on one side, and moderate the resentments on the other; a good friend acts both parts; the one without the other will not do.

The purchase-money of Peg's farm was ill paid;[b] then Peg loved a little good liquor, and the servants shut up the wine-cellar; for that Peg found a trick, for she made a false key. Peg's servants complained that they were debarred from all manner of business, and never suffered to touch the least thing within the house; if they offered to come into the warehouse, then straight went the yard over their noddle; if they ventured into the counting-room, a fellow would throw an inkbottle at their head; if they came into the best apartment, to set anything there in order, they were saluted with a broom; if they meddled with anything in the kitchen, it was odds but the cook laid them over the pate with a ladle; one that would have got into the stables, was met by two rascals, who fell to work with him with a brush and a currycomb, some, climbing up into the coach-box, were told that one of their companions had been there before that could not drive—then slap went the long whip about their ears.

On the other hand, it was complained, that Peg's servants were always asking for drink-money; that they had more than their share of the Christmas box; to say the truth, Peg's lads hustled pretty hard for that; for when they were endeavouring to lock it up, they got in their great fists, and pulled out handfuls of half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. Others, in the scramble, picked up guineas, and broad-pieces. But there happened a worse thing than all this; it was complained that Peg's servants had great stomachs, and brought so many of their friends and acquaintance to the table, that John's family was like to be eat out of house and home. Instead of regulating this matter as it ought to be, Peg's young men were thrust away from the table; then there was the devil and all to do; spoons, plates, and dishes, flew about the room like mad; and sir Roger, who was now *major domo*, had enough to do to quiet them. Peg said, this was contrary to agreement, whereby she was in all things to be treated like a child of the family; then she called upon those, that had made her such fair promises, and

[a] Quarrels about some of the articles of Union, particularly the peerage.

[b] By the Treaty of Union, it was agreed that Scotland should have an equivalent for several customs and excises, to which she would become liable.

undertook for her brother John's good behaviour; but, alas! to her cost, she found, that they were the first and readiest to do her the injury. John at last agreed to this regulation; that Peg's footmen might sit with his book-keeper, journeymen, and apprentices; and Peg's better sort of servants might sit with his footmen, if they pleased.[a]

Then they began to order plum-porridge, and mince-pies for Peg's dinner: Peg told them she had an aversion to that sort of food: that upon forcing down a mess of it some years ago,[b] it threw her into a fit, till she brought it up again. Some alleged it was nothing but humour, that the same mess should be served up again for supper, and breakfast next morning; others would have made use of a horn; but the wiser sort bid let her alone, and she might take to it of her own accord.

CHAPTER VI.

The Conversation between John Bull and his Wife.

Mrs. B. Though our affairs, honey, are in a bad condition, I have a better opinion of them, since you seemed to be convinced of the ill course you have been in, and are resolved to submit to proper remedies. But when I consider your immense debts, your foolish bargains, and the general disorder of your business, I have a curiosity to know what fate or chance has brought you into this condition.

John B. I wish you would talk of some other subject; the thoughts of it make me mad; our family must have their run.

Mrs. B. But such a strange thing as this never happened to any of your family before: they have had lawsuits, but though they spent the income, they never mortgaged the stock. Sore you must have some of the Norman or the Norfolk blood in you. Prithee give me some account of these matters.

John B. Who could help it? There lives not such a fellow by bread as that old Lewis Baboon: he is the most cheating contentious rogue upon the face of the earth. You must know, one day, as Nic. Frog and I were over a bottle, making up an old quarrel, the old fellow would needs have us drink a bottle of his champagne, and so one after another, till my friend Nic. and I, not being used to such heady stuff, got b——y drunk. Lewis, all the while, either by the strength of his brain, or flinching his glass, kept himself sober as a judge. "My worthy friends," quoth Lewis, "henceforth let us live neighbourly; I am as peaceable and quiet as a lamb, of my own temper, but it has been my misfortune to live among quarrelsome neighbours. There is but one thing can make us fall out, and that is the inheritance of lord Strutt's estate; I am content, for peace sake, to wave my right, and submit to any expedient to prevent a lawsuit; I think an equal division will be the fairest way."[c] "Well moved, old Lewis," quoth Frog; "and I hope my friend John here will not be refractory." At the same time, he clapped me on the back, and slabbered me all over from cheek to cheek, with his great tongue. "Do as you please, gentlemen," quoth I, "'tis all one to John Bull." We agreed to part that night, and next morning to meet at the corner of lord Strutt's park-wall with our surveying instruments, which accordingly we did. Old Lewis carried a chain and a semicircle; Nic. paper, rulers, and a lead pencil; and I followed at some distance with a long pole. We began first with surveying the meadow-grounds; afterwards we measured the corn-fields, close by alone; then we proceeded to the woodlands, the copper and tin mines. [The West Indies.] All this while, Nic. laid down everything exactly upon paper, calculated the acres and roods to a great nicety. When we had finished the land, we were going to break into the house and gardens, to take an inventory of his plate, pictures, and other furniture.

Mrs. B. What said lord Strutt to all this?

John B. As we had almost finished our concern, we were accosted by some of lord Strutt's servants: "Hey-day! What's here? What a devil's the meaning of all these trangrams and gimcracks, gentlemen? what, in the name of wonder, are you going about, jumping over my master's hedges, and running your lines across his grounds? If you are at any field pastime, you might have asked leave; my master is a civil, well-bred person as any is."

Mrs. B. What could you answer to this?

John B. Why, truly, my neighbour Frog and I were still hot-headed; we told him his master was an old doating puppy, that minded nothing of his own business; that we were surveying his estate, and settling it for him, since he would not do it himself. Upon this there happened a quarrel; but we, being stronger than they, sent them away with a flea in their ear. They went home and told their master:[a] "My lord," said they, "there are three odd sort of fellows going about your grounds with the strangest machines that ever we beheld in our life: I suppose they are going to rob your orchard, fell your trees, or drive away your cattle: they told us strange things of settling your estate: one is a lusty old fellow, in a black wig, with a black beard, without teeth: there's another thick, squat fellow, in trunk-hose: the third is a little, long-nosed, thin man. (I was then lean, being just come out of a fit of sickness.) I suppose it is fit to send after them lest they carry something away."

Mrs. B. I fancy this put the old fellow in a rare tweague.

John B. Weak as he was, he called for his long toledo, swore and bounced about the room, "'Sdeath! what am I come to, to be affronted so by my tradesmen? I know the rascals: my barber, clothier, and linen-draper, dispose of my estate! bring hither my blunderbuss. I'll warrant ye you shall see daylight through them. Scoundrels! dogs! the scum of the earth! Frog, that was my father's kitchen-boy! he pretend to meddle with my estate! with my will! Ah, poor Strutt! what art thou come to at last? Thou hast lived too long in the world, to see thy age and infirmity so despised: how will the ghosts of my noble ancestors receive these tidings? They cannot, they must not sleep quietly in their graves." In short, the old gentleman was carried off in a fainting fit; and, after bleeding in both arms, hardly recovered.

Mrs. B. Really this was a very extraordinary way of proceeding: I long to hear the rest of it.

John B. After we had come back to the tavern, and taken t'other bottle of champagne, we quarrelled a little about the division of the estate. Lewis hauled and pulled the map on one side, and Frog and I on the other, till we had like to have torn the parchment to pieces. At last Lewis pulled out a pair of great tailor's sheers, and clipped a corner for himself, which he said was a manor that lay convenient for him, and left Frog and me the rest to dispose of as we pleased. We were overjoyed to think Lewis was contented with so little, not smelling what was at the bottom of the plot. There happened, indeed, an incident that gave us some disturbance: a cunning fellow, one of my servants, two days after, peeping through the key-hole, observed that old Lewis had stole away our part of the map, and saw him fiddling and turning the map from one corner

a Articles of Union, whereby a Scots commoner might be made a peer.

b Introducing Episcopacy into Scotland.

c A Treaty for preserving the balance of power in Europe by a partition of the Spanish dominions.

a This partition of the king of Spain's dominions was made without his knowledge.

to the other, trying to join the two pieces together again: he was muttering something to himself, which we did not well hear, only these words, "'Tis great pity, 'tis great pity;" My servant added, that he believed this had some ill meaning. I told him he was a coxcomb, always pretending to be wiser than his companions: Lewis and I are good friends, he's an honest fellow, and I dare say will stand to his bargain. The sequel of the story proved this fellow's suspicion to be too well grounded; for Lewis revealed our whole secret to the deceased lord Strutt,[a] who, in reward to his treachery, and revenge to Frog and me, settled his whole estate upon the present Philip Baboon. Then we understood what he meant by piecing the map.

Mrs. B. And was you surprised at this? Had not lord Strutt reason to be angry? Would you have been contented to have been so used yourself?

John B. Why, truly, wife, it was not easily reconciled to the common methods; but then it was the fashion to do such things. I have read of your golden age, your silver age, &c.; one might justly call this the age of lawyers. There was hardly a man of substance in all the country, but had a counterfeit that pretended to his estate. As the philosophers say, that there is a duplicate of every terrestrial animal at sea, so it was in this age of the lawyers, there was at least two of everything; nay, on my conscience, I think there were three esquire Hacknms [Kings of Poland] at one time. In short, it was usual for a parcel of fellows to meet, and dispose of the whole estates in the country: "This lies convenient for me, Tom, thou wouldst do more good with that, Dick, than the old fellow that has it." So to law they went with the true owners; the lawyers got well by it; everybody else was undone. It was a common thing for an honest man, when he came home at night, to find another fellow domineering in his family, bectoring his servants, calling for supper, and pretending to go to bed to his wife. In every house you might observe two Sosias quarrelling who was master. For my own part, I am still afraid of the same treatment, and that I should find somebody behind my counter, selling my broad cloth.

Mrs. B. There is a sort of fellows they call banterers and bamboozlers that play such tricks; but it seems these fellows were in earnest.

John B. I begin to think, that justice is a better rule than conveniency, for all some people make so slight of it.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the hard shifts Mrs. Bull was put to to preserve the manor of Bullock's Hatch; with sir Roger's method to keep off importunate Duns.[b]

As John Bull and his wife were talking together, they were surprised with a sudden knocking at the door. "Those wicked scriveners and lawyers, no doubt," quoth John; and so it was: some asking for the money he owed, and others warning to prepare for the approaching term. "What a cursed life do I lead!" quoth John. "Debt is like deadly sin; for God's sake, sir Roger, get me rid of the fellows." "I'll warrant you," quoth sir Roger; "leave them to me." And, indeed, it was pleasant enough to observe sir Roger's method with these importunate duns; his sincere friendship for John Bull made him submit to many things for his service, which he would have scorned to have done for himself. Sometimes he would stand at the door with his long staff to keep off the duns till John got out at the back-door.[a] When the lawyers and tradesmen brought extravagant bills, sir Roger used to bargain beforehand for leave to cut off a quarter of a yard in any part of the bill he pleased: he wore a pair of scissors in his pocket for this purpose, and would snip it off so nicely as you cannot imagine. Like a true goldsmith, he kept all your holidays; there was not one wanting in his calendar: when ready money was scarce, he would set them a telling a thousand pounds in sixpences, groats, and threepenny pieces. It would have done your heart good to have seen him charge through an army of lawyers, attorneys, clerks, and tradesmen; sometimes with sword in hand, at other times nuzzling like an eel in the mud. When a fellow stuck like a bur, that there was no shaking him off, he used to be mighty inquisitive about the health of his uncles and aunts in the country; he could call them all by their names, for he knew everybody, and could talk to them in their own way. The extremely impertinent he would send away to see some strange sight, as the dragon of Hockley in the Hole; or bid him call the thirtieth of next February. Now and then you would see him in the kitchen, weighing the beef and butter;[b] paying ready money, that the maids might not run a tick at the market; and the butchers, by bribing them, sell damaged and light meat. Another time he would slip into the cellar and gauge the casks. In his leisure minutes, he was posting his books, and gathering in his debts. Such frugal methods were necessary where money was so scarce, and duns so numerous. All this while, John kept his credit, could show his head both at Change and Westminster-hall; no man protested his bill, nor refused his bond; only the sharpers and the scriveners, the lawyers, and their clerks, pelted sir Roger as he went along. The squirters were at it with their kennel-water, for they were mad for the loss of their bubble, and that they could not get him to mortgage the manor of Bullock's Hatch. Sir Roger shook his ears, and nuzzled along, well satisfied within himself that he was doing a charitable work in rescuing an honest man from the claws of harpies and bloodsuckers. Mrs. Bull did all that an affectionate wife and a good housewife could do; yet the boundaries of virtues are indivisible lines: it is impossible to march up close to the frontiers of frugality without entering the territories of parsimony. Your good housewives are apt to look into the minutest things; therefore some blamed Mrs. Bull for new heel-piecing of her shoes, grudging a quarter of a pound of soap and sand to scour the rooms;[c] but, especially, that she would not allow her maids and apprentices the benefit of "John Bunyan," the "London Apprentice," or the "Seven Champions" in the black letter.[d]

CHAPTER VIII.

A continuation of the Conversation between John Bull and his Wife.

Mrs. B. It is a most sad life we lead, my dear, to be so teazed, paying interest for old debts, and still contracting new ones. However, I don't blame you for vindicating your honour, and chastising old Lewis: to curb the insolent, protect the oppressed, recover one's own, and defend what one has, are good effects of the law; the only thing I want to know is, how you came to make an end of your money before you finished your suit.

John B. I was told by the learned in the law, that my suit stood upon three firm pillars: more money for

a It is suspected that the French king intended to take the whole, and that he revealed the secret to the court of Spain, upon which the will was made in favour of his grandson.

b After the dissolution of the parliament, the sinking ministry endeavoured to support themselves by propagating a notion, that the public credit would suffer if the lord treasurer Godolphin was removed. The dread of this event produced it: the monied men began to sell their shares in the Bank; the governor, deputy governor, and two directors, applied to the queen to prevent the change: the alarm became general, and all the public funds gradually sunk. Perhaps, by Bullock's Hatch, the author meant the crown lands.

a Manners of the earl of Oxford.

b Some regulations as to the purveyance in the queen's family.

c Too great savings in the house of commons.

d Restraining the liberty of the press by act of parliament.

more law; more law for more money; and no composition. More money for more law was plain to a demonstration; for who can go to law without money? and it was plain that any man that has money may have law for it. The third was as evident as the other two; for what composition could be made with a rogue that never kept a word he said?

Mrs. B. I think you are most likely to get out of this labyrinth by the second door, by want of ready money to purchase this precious commodity: but you seem not only to have bought too much of it, but have paid too dear for what you bought; else, how was it possible to run so much in debt, when at this very time the yearly income of what is mortgaged to those usurers would discharge Hocus's bills, and give you your bellyful of law for all your life, without running one sixpence in debt? You have been bred up to business; I suppose you can cipher: I wonder you never used your pen and ink.

John B. Now you urge me too far; prithee, dear wife, hold thy tongue. Suppose a young heir, heedless, raw, and unexperienced, full of spirit and vigour, with a favourite passion, in the hands of money-scriveners: such fellows are like your wiredrawing mills, if they get hold of a man's finger, they will pull in his whole body at last, till they squeeze the heart, blood, and guts out of him.[a] When I wanted money, half-a-dozen of these fellows were always waiting in my antechamber with their securities ready drawn. I was tempted with the ready; some farm or other went to pot. I received with one hand, and paid it away with the other to lawyers, that, like so many hell-hounds, were ready to devour me. Then the rogues would plead poverty, and scarcity of money, which always ended in receiving ninety for the hundred. After they had got possession of my best rents, they were able to supply me with my own money. But what was worse, when I looked into the securities, there was no clause of redemption.

Mrs. B. No clause of redemption, say you? that's hard.

John B. No great matter, for I cannot pay them. They had got a worse trick than that: the same man bought and sold to himself, paid the money, and gave the acquittance; the same man was butcher and grazier, brewer and butler, cook and poulterer. There is something still worse than all this; there came twenty bills upon me at once, which I had given money to discharge; I was like to be pulled to pieces by brewer, butcher, and baker; even my herb-woman dunned me as I went along the streets. (Thanks to my friend sir Roger, else I must have gone to gaol.) When I asked the meaning of this, I was told the money went to the lawyers; counsel won't tick, sir; Hocus was urging; my bookkeeper sat sotting all day, playing at put and all-fours: in short, by griping usurers, devouring lawyers, and negligent servants, I am brought to this pass.

Mrs. B. This was hard usage! but, methinks, the least reflection might have retrieved you.

John B. It is true: yet consider my circumstances; my honour was engaged, and I did not know how to get out; besides, I was for five years often drunk, always muddled; they carried me from tavern to tavern, to alehouses and brandy-shops, and brought me acquainted with such strange dogs [foreign troops]. "There goes the prettiest fellow in the world," says one, "for managing a jury; make him yours. There's another can pick you up witnesses; serjeant such-a-one has a silver tongue at the bar." I believe, in time, I should have retained every single person within the inns of court. The night after a trial I treated the lawyers, their wives, and daughters, with fiddles, hautboys, drums, and trumpets. I was always hot-headed; then they placed me in the middle, the attorneys and their clerks dancing about me, whooping and hallooing, "Long live John Bull, the glory and support of the law!"

Mrs. B. Really, husband, you went through a very notable course.

John B. One of the things that first alarmed me was, that they showed a spite against my poor old mother.[a] "Lord," quoth I, "what makes you so jealous of a poor, old, innocent gentlewoman, that minds only her prayers and her Practice of Piety; she never meddles in any of your concerns?"—"Foh," say they, "to see a handsome, brisk, genteel young fellow so much governed by a doating old woman! why don't you go and suck the hubby? Do you consider she keeps you out of a good jointure? She has the best of your estate settled upon her for a rent-charge: hang her, old thief, turn her out of doors, seize her land, and let her go to law if she dares!"—"Soft and fair, gentlemen," quoth I, "my mother's my mother; our family are not of an unnatural temper. Though I don't take all her advice, I won't seize her jointure; long may she enjoy it, good woman; I don't grudge it her; she allows me now and then a brace of hundreds for my lawsuit; that's pretty fair." About this time the old gentlewoman fell ill of an odd sort of a distemper;[b] it began with a coldness and numbness in her limbs, which by degrees affected the nerves, (I think the physicians called them,) seized the brain, and at last ended in a lethargy. It betrayed itself at first in a sort of indifference and carelessness in all her actions, coldness to her best friends, and an aversion to stir or go about the common offices of life. She, that was the cleanliest creature in the world, never shrunk now if you set a close-stool under her nose. She, that would sometimes rattle off her servants pretty sharply, now, if she saw them drink, or heard them talk profanely, never took any notice of it. Instead of her usual charities to deserving persons, she threw away her money upon roaring, swearing hullies and beggars, that went about the streets.[c] "What is the matter with the old gentlewoman," said everybody, "she never used to do in this manner?" At last the distemper grew more violent, and threw her downright into raving fits;[d] in which she shrieked out so loud, that she disturbed the whole neighbourhood. In her fits she called upon one sir William:[e] "O! sir William, thou hast betrayed me! killed me! stabbed me! sold me to the cuckold of Dover-street! See, see Clum with his bloody knife! Seize him, seize him, stop him! Behold the fury with her hissing snakes! Where's my son John? Is he well, is he well? poor mao! I pity him;"—and abundance more of such strange stuff, that nobody could make anything of. I knew little of the matter; fos when I inquired about her health, the answer was, "that she was in a good moderate way." Physicians were sent for in haste: sir Roger, with great difficulty, brought Ratcliff; Garth came upon the first message. There were several others called in; but, as usual upon such occasions, they differed strangely at the consultation. At last they divided into two parties, one sided with Garth, the other with Ratcliff.[f] Dr. Garth: "This case seems to me to be plainly hysterical; the old woman is whimsical; it is a common thing for your old women to be so; I'll pawn my life, blisters, with the steel diet, will recover her." Others suggested strong purging, and letting of blood, because she was plethoric. Some went so far as to say the old woman

[a] Methods of preying upon the necessities of the government.

[a] Railing against the church.
[b] Carelessness in forms and discipline.
[c] Disposing of some preferments to unprincipled persons.
[d] The violent clamour about the church.
[e] Sir William, a cant name of sir Humphry's for lord-treasurer Godolphin.
[f] Garth, the low-church party; Ratcliff, the high-church party.

was mad, and nothing would be better than a little corporal correction. RATCLIFF: "Gentlemen, you are mistaken in this case; it is plainly an acute distemper, and she cannot hold out three days unless she is supported with strong cordials." I came into the room with a good deal of concern, and asked them what they thought of my mother? "In no manner of danger, I vow to Gad," quoth Garth; "the old woman is hysterical, fanritul, sir, I vow to Gad."—"I tell you, sir," says Ratcliff, "she cannot live three days to an end, unless there is some very effectual course taken with her; she has a malignant fever." Then fool, puppy, and blockhead were the best words they gave. I could hardly restrain them from throwing the ink-bottles at one another's heads. I forgot to tell you that one party of the physicians desired I would take my sister Peg into the house to nurse her, but the old gentlewoman would not hear of that. At last, one physician asked, if the lady had ever been used to take landanum? Her maid answered, not that she knew; but indeed there was a High-German liveryman of hers, one Yan Ptschirnsooker,* that gave her a sort of quack powder. The physician desired to see it: "Nay," says he, "there is opium in this, I am sure."

Mrs. B. I hope you examined a little into this matter.

John B. I did, indeed, and discovered a great mystery of iniquity. The witnesses made oath that they had heard some of the liverymen [clergy] frequently railing at their mistress. They said, "she was a troublesome, fiddlefaddle old woman, and so ceremonious that there was no bearing of her. They were so plagued with bowing and cringing as they went in and out of the room that their backs ached. She used to scold at one for his dirty shoes, at another for his greasy hair, and not combing his head: that she was so passionate and fiery in her temper that there was no living with her; she wanted something to sweeten her blood: that they never had a quiet night's rest, for getting up in the morning to early sacraments; they wished they could find some way or another to keep the old woman quiet in her bed." Such discourses were often overheard among the liverymen, while the said Yan Ptschirnsooker had undertaken this matter. A maid made affidavit, "That she had seen the said Yan Ptschirnsooker, one of the liverymen, frequently making up of medicines, and administering them to all the neighbours; that she saw him one morning make up the powder which her mistress took; that she had the curiosity to ask him whence he had the ingredients? 'They come,' says he, 'from several parts of de world; dis I have from Geneva, dat from Rome, dis white powder from Amsterdam, and de red from Edinburgh; but de chief ingredient of all come from Turkey.' It was likewise proved that the same Yan Ptschirnsooker had been frequently seen at the Rose with Jack, who was known to bear an inveterate spite to his mistress: that he brought a certain powder to his mistress, which the examinant believes to be the same, and spoke the following words: 'Madam, here is grand secret van de world, my sweetning powder, it does temperate de humour, despel de wint, and cure de vapour; it lullet and quietet de animal spirits, procuring rest and pleasant dreams: it is de infallible receipt for de scurvy, all heats in de bloot, and breaking out upon de skin: it is de true bloot-stancher, stopping all fluxes of de bloot; if you do take dis, you will never ail any ding; it will cure you of all diseases;' and abundance more to this purpose, which the examinant does not remember."

John Bull was interrupted in his story by a porter, that brought him a letter from Nicholas Frog, which is as follows:—

* A bishop, and great dealer in politics and physic.

CHAPTER IX.

A Copy of Nic. Frog's Letter [from the States general] to John Bull.

[John Bull reads.]

FRIEND JOHN,—"What Schellum is this that makes thee jealous of thy old friend Nicholas? Hast thou forgot how some years ago he took thee out of the spunging-house?" [Alluding to the Revolution.] ['Tis true my friend Nic. did so, and I thank him; but he made me pay a swinging reckoning.] "Thou begin'st now to repent thy bargain that thou wast so fond of; and if thou durst, would'st forswear thy own hand and seal. Thou say'st that thou hast purchased me too great an estate already: when at the same time thou know'st I have only a mortgage; 'tis true I have possession, and the tenants own me for master; but has not esquire South the equity of redemption?" [No doubt, and will redeem it very speedily; poor Nic. has only possession, eleven points of the law.] "As for the turnpikes* I have set up, they are for other people, not for my friend John; I have ordered my servant constantly to attend, to let thy carriages through without paying anything; only I hope thou wilt not come too heavy laden to spoil my ways. Certainly I have just cause of offence against thee, my friend, for supposing it possible that thou and I should ever quarrel: what hounsfoot is it that puts these whims in thy head? Ten thousand last of devils haul me, if I don't love thee as I love my life." [No question, as the devil loves holy water!] "Does not thy own hand and seal oblige thee to purchase for me, till I say it is enough? Are not these words plain? I say, it is not enough. Dost thou think thy friend Nicholas Frog made a child's bargain? Mark the words of thy contract, *tota pecunia*, with all thy money." [Very well! I have purchased with my own money, my children's, and my grandchildren's money, is not that enough? Well, *tota pecunia* let it be, for at present I have none at all; he would not have me purchase with other people's money, sure? Since *tota pecunia* is the bargain, I think it is plain, no more money, no more purchase.] "And whatever the world may say, Nicholas Frog is but a poor man in comparison of the rich, the opulent John Bull, great clothier of the world. I have had many losses, six of my best sheep were drowned, and the water has come into my cellar, and spoiled a pipe of my best brandy; it would be a more friendly act in thee to carry a brief about the country to repair the losses of thy poor friend. Is it not evident to all the world that I am still hemmed in by Lewis Baboon? Is he not just upon my borders?" [And so he will be, if I purchase a thousand acres more, unless he gets somebody between them.] "I tell thee, friend John, thou hast flatterers that persuade thee that thou art a man of business; do not believe them; if thou would'st still leave thy affairs in my hands, thou should'st see how handsomely I would deal by thee. That ever thou should'st be dazzled with the enchanted islands, and mountains of gold, that old Lewis promises thee! 'Dswounds! why dost thou not lay out thy money to purchase a place at court, of honest Israel? I tell thee thou must not so much as think of a composition." [Not think of a composition, that's hard indeed; I can't help thinking of it, if I would.] "Thou complain'st of want of money; let thy wife and daughters burn the gold lace off their petticoats; sell thy fat cattle; retrench but a sirloin of beef and peck-loaf in a week from thy gormandizing guts." [Retrench my beef, a dog! Retrench my beef! then it is plain the rascal has an ill design upon me, he would starve me.] "Mortgage thy manor of Bullock's Hatch, or pawn thy crop for ten years." [A

* The Dutch prohibition of trade.

rogue! part with my country-seat, my patrimony, all that I have left in the world; I'll see him hanged first.] "Why hast thou changed thy attorney? Can any man manage thy cause better for thee?" [Very pleasant! because a man has a good attorney, he must never make an end of his lawsuit.] "Ah John! John! I wish thou knew'st thy own mind; thou art as fickle as the wind. I tell thee, thou hadst better let this composition alone, or leave it to thy loving friend,

"Nic. Frog."

CHAPTER X.

Of some extraordinary things* that passed at the Salutation Tavern, in the conference between Bull, Frog, esquire South, and Lewis Baboon.

Frog had given his word that he would meet the above-mentioned company at the Salutation to talk of this agreement. Though he durst not directly break his appointment, he made many a shuffling excuse; one time he pretended to be seized with the gout in his right knee; then he got a great cold, that had struck him deaf of one ear; afterward two of his coach-horses fell sick, and he durst not go by water for fear of catching an ague. John would take no excuse, but hurried him away: "Come, Nic," says he, "let's go and hear at least what this old fellow has to propose. I hope there's no hurt in that."—"Be it so," quoth Nic.; "but if I catch any harm, woe be to you; my wife and children will curse you as long as they live." When they were come to the Salutation, John concluded all was sure then, and that he should be troubled no more with law affairs; he thought everybody as plain and sincere as he was. "Well, neighbours," quoth he, "let's now make an end of all matters, and live peaceably together for the time to come; if everybody is as well inclined as I, we shall quickly come to the upshot of our affair." And so pointing to Frog to say something, to the great surprise of all the company, Frog was seized with the dead palsy in the tongue. John began to ask him some plain questions, and whooped and hallooed in his ear. "Let's come to the point, Nic.! Who wouldest thou have to be lord Strutt? Wouldest thou have Philip Baboon?" Nic. shook his head, and said nothing. "Wilt thou then have esquire South to be lord Strutt?" Nic. shook his head a second time. "Then who the devil wilt thou have? Say something or another." Nic. opened his mouth, and pointed to his tongue, and cried, "A, a, a, a!" which was as much as to say, he could not speak. John Bull.—"Shall I serve Philip Baboon with broad-cloth, and accept of the composition that he offers, with the liberty of his parks and fish-ponds?" Then Nic. roared like a bull, "O, o, o, o!" John Bull.—"If thou wilt not let me have them, wilt thou take them thyself?" Then Nic. grinned, cackled, and laughed till he was like to kill himself, and seemed to be so pleased, that he fell a frisking and dancing about the room. John Bull.—"Shall I leave all this matter to thy management, Nic., and go about my business?" Then Nic. got up a glass and drank to John, shaking him by the hand, till he had like to have shook his shoulder out of joint. John Bull.—"I understand thee, Nic., but I shall make thee speak before I go." Then Nic. put his finger in his cheek, and made it cry huck; which was as much as to say, I care not a farthing for thee. John Bull.—"I have done, Nic., if thou wilt not speak, I will make my own terms with old Lewis here." Then Nic. lolled out his tongue, and turned up his bum to him; which was as much as to say, kiss—

John, perceiving that Frog would not speak, turns to old Lewis: Since we cannot make this obstinate fellow speak, Lewis, pray condescend a little to his humour, and set down thy meaning upon paper, that he may answer it in another scrap."

"I am infinitely sorry," quoth Lewis, "that it happens so unfortunately; for playing a little at cudgels t'other day, a fellow has given me such a rap over the right arm, that I am quite lame: I have lost the use of my forefinger and my thumb, so that I cannot hold my pen."

John B. "That's all one, let me write for you."

Lewis. "But I have a misfortune, that I cannot read anybody's hand but my own."

John B. Try what you can do with your left hand.

Lewis. "That's impossible; it will make such a scrawl, that it will not be legible."

As they were talking of this matter, in came esquire South, all dressed up in feathers and ribbons, stark staring mad, brandishing his sword, as if he would have cut off their heads; crying, "Room, room, boys, for the grand esquire of the world! the flower of esquires! What! covered in my presence? I'll crush your souls, and crack you like lice!" With that he had like to have struck John Bull's hat into the fire; but John, who was pretty strong-fisted, gave him such a squeeze as made his eyes water. He went on still in his mad pranks; "When I am lord of the universe, the sun shall prostrate and adore me! Thou, Frog, shalt be my bailiff; Lewis my tailor; and thou, John Bull, shalt be my fool!"

All this while Frog laughed in his sleeve, gave the esquire t'other noggin of brandy; and clapped him on the back, which made him ten times madder.

Poor John stood in amaze, talking thus to himself: "Well, John, thou art got into rare company! One has a dumb devil, t'other a mad devil, and the third a spirit of infirmity. An honest man has a fine time on't among such rogues. What art thou asking of them, after all? Some mighty boon one would think! only to sit quietly at thy own fireside. 'Sdeath, what have I to do with such fellows! John Bull, after all his losses and crosses, can live better without them than they can without him. Would to God I lived a thousand leagues off them! but the devil's in't, John Bull is in, and John Bull must get out as well as he can."

As he was talking to himself, he observed Frog and old Lewis edging toward one another to whisper; so that John was forced to sit with his arms a kimbo to keep them asunder.

Some people advised John to blood Frog under the tongue, or take away his bread and butter, which would certainly make him speak; to give esquire South hellebore; as for Lewis, some were for emollient poultices, others for opening his arm with an incision-knife.

CHAPTER XI.

The Apprehending, Examination, and Imprisonment of Jack for suspicion of Poisoning.

The attentive reader cannot have forgot that the story of Yan Ptschirnsooker's powder was interrupted by a message from Frog. I have a natural compassion for curiosity, being much troubled with the distemper myself; therefore, to gratify that uneasy itching sensation in my reader, I have procured the following account of that matter.

Yan Ptschirnsooker came off (as rogues usually do upon such occasions) by peaching his partner; and being extremely forward to bring him to the gallows, Jack was accused as the contriver of all the roguery.

* The treaty of Utrecht: the difficulty to get them to meet.

* Some attempts of secret negotiation between the French and the Dutch.

b The archduke, now become emperor of Germany, being unanimously elected upon the death of Joseph I.

And indeed it happened unfortunately for the poor fellow, that he was known to bear a most inveterate spite against the old gentlewoman; and, consequently, that never any ill accident happened to her but he was suspected to be at the bottom of it. If she pricked her finger, Jack, to be sure, laid the pin in the way; if some noise in the street disturbed her rest, who could it be but Jack in some of his nocturnal rambles? If a servant ran away, Jack had debauched him: every idle tittle-tattle that went about, Jack was always suspected for the author of it: however, all was nothing to this last affair of the temperating, moderating powder.

The hue and cry went after Jack to apprehend him, dead or alive, wherever he could be found. The constables looked out for him in all his usual haunts; but to no purpose. Where d'ye think they found him at last? Even smoking his pipe very quietly at his brother Martin's! from whence he was carried with a vast mob at his heels before the worshipful Mr. Justice Overdo. Several of his neighbours made oath, that of late the prisoner had been observed to lead a very dissolute life, renouncing even his usual hypocrisy, and pretences to sobriety: that he frequented taverns and eating-houses, and had been often guilty of drunkenness and gluttony at my lord mayor's table: that he had been seen in the company of lewd women: that he had transferred his usual care of the engrossed copy of his father's will to bank-bills, orders for tallies, and debentures: these he now affirmed, with more literal truth, to be meat, drink, and cloth, the philosopher's stone, and the universal medicine: that he was so far from allowing his customary reverence to the will, that he kept company with those that called his father a cheating rogue, and his will a forgery: that he not only sat quietly and heard his father railed at, but often chimed in with the discourse, and hugged the authors as his bosom friends: that instead of asking for blows at the corners of the streets, he now bestowed them as plentifully as he begged them before. In short that he was grown a mere rake; and had nothing left in him of old Jack, except his spite to John Bull's mother.

Another witness made oath, that Jack had been overheard bragging of a trick[a] he had found out to manage the old formal jade, as he used to call her. "Damn this numskull of mine," quoth he, "that I could not light on it sooner. As long as I go in this ragged tattered coat, I am so well known that I am hunted away from the old woman's door by every barking cur about the house; they bid me defiance. There's no doing mischief as an open enemy; I must find some way or other of getting within doors, and then I shall have better opportunities of playing my pranks, beside the benefit of good keeping."

Two witnesses swore[b] that several years ago, there came to their mistress's door a young fellow in a tattered coat, that went by the name of Timothy Trim, whom they did in their conscience believe to be the very prisoner, resembling him in shape, stature, and the features of his countenance; that the said Timothy Trim being taken into the family, clapped their mistress's livery over his own tattered coat: that the said Timothy was extremely officious about their mistress's person, endeavouring by flattery and tale-bearing to set her against the rest of her servants; nobody was so ready to fetch anything that was wanted, to reach what was dropped; that he used to shove and elbow his fellow-servants to get near his mistress, especially when money was a paying or receiving; then he was never out of the way; that he was extremely diligent about everybody's business but his own: that the said Timothy, while he was in the family, used to be playing roguish tricks; when his mistress's back was turned, he would loll out his tongue, make mouths, and laugh at her, walking behind her like harlequin, ridiculing her motions and gestures; but if his mistress looked about, he put on a grave demure countenance, as if he had been in a fit of devotion: that he used often to trip up stairs so smoothly that you could not hear him tread, and put all things out of order: that he would pinch the children and servants, when he met them in the dark, so hard that he left the print of his forefinger and his thumb in black and blue, and then slink into a corner as if nobody had done it: out of the same malicious design he used to lay chairs and joint-stools in their way, that they might break their noses, by falling over them: the more young and unexperienced he used to teach to talk saucily, and call names: during his stay in the family, there was much plate missing; being caught with a couple of silver spoons in his pocket, with their handles wrenched off, he said he was only going to carry them to the goldsmith's to be mended: that the said Timothy was hated by all the honest servants for his ill-conditioned, splenetic tricks, but especially for his slanderous tongue; traducing them to their mistress, as drunkards, thieves, and whoremasters; that the said Timothy, by lying stories, used to set all the family together by the ears, taking delight to make them fight and quarrel; particularly one day sitting at table, he spoke words to this effect: "I am of opinion," quoth he, "that little short fellows, such as we are, have better hearts, and could beat the tall fellows: I wish it came to a fair trial; I believe these long follows, as sightly as they are, should find their jackets well thwacked."[a]

A parcel of tall fellows, who thought themselves affronted by the discourse, took up the quarrel, and to't they went, the tall men and the low men, which continues still a faction in the family to the great disorder of our mistress's affairs: the said Timothy carried this frolic so far, that he proposed to his mistress, that she should entertain no servant that was above four foot seven inches high; and for that purpose had prepared a gauge, by which they were to be measured. The good old gentlewoman was not so simple as to go into his project; she began to smell a rat. "This Trim," quoth she, "is an odd sort of a fellow; methinks he makes a strange figure with that ragged, tattered coat, appearing under his livery; can't he go spruce and clean like the rest of the servants? the fellow has a roguish leer with him, which I don't like by any means; besides, he has such a twang in his discourse, and an ungraceful way of speaking through his nose, that one can hardly understand him; I wish the fellow be not tainted with some bad disease." The witnesses further made oath, that the said Timothy lay out a-nights, and went abroad often at unseasonable hours; and it was credibly reported he did business in another family; that he pretended to have a squeamish stomach, and could not eat at table with the rest of the servants, though this was but a pretence to provide some nice bit for himself; that he refused to dine upon salt fish, only to have an opportunity to eat a calf's head (his favourite dish) in private; that for all his tender stomach, when he was got by himself, he could devour capons, turkeys, and sirloins of beef like a cormorant.

Two other witnesses gave the following evidence: That in his officious attendance upon his mistress, he had tried to slip a powder into her drink; and that he was once caught endeavouring to stifle her with a pillow as she was asleep: that he and Ptschirnsooker were often in close conference, and that they used to

[a] Getting into church preferments by occasional conformity.
[b] Betraying the interests of the church when in preferments.

[a] The distinction in the names of Low-church and High-churchmen.

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drink together at the Rose, where it seems he was well enough known by his true name of Jack.

The prisoner had little to say in his defence; he endeavoured to prove himself *alibi*; so that the trial turned upon this single question, whether the said Timothy Trim and Jack were the same person? which was proved by such plain tokens, and particularly by a mole under the left pap, that there was no withstanding the evidence; therefore the worshipful Mr. Justice committed him, in order to his trial.

CHAPTER XII.

How Jack's Friends came to visit him in Prison, and what Advice they gave him.

Jack hitherto had passed in the world for a poor, simple, well-meaning, half-witted, crack-brained fellow. People were strangely surprised to find him in such a roguery; that he should disguise himself under a fale name, hire himself out for a servant to an old gentlewoman only for an opportunity to poison her. They said that it was more generous to profess open enmity than, under a profound dissimulation, to be guilty of such a scandalous breach of trust, and of the sacred rites of hospitality. In short, the action was universally condemned by his best friends; they told him, in plain terms, that this was come as a judgment upon him for his loose life, his gluttony, drunkenness, and avarice; for laying aside his father's will in an old mouldy trunk, and turning stockjobber, newsmonger, and busybody, meddling with other people's affairs, shaking off his old serious friends, and keeping company with buffoons and pickpockets, his father's sworn enemies: that he had best throw himself upon the mercy of the court; repent, and change his manners. To say truth, Jack heard these discourses with some compunction; however, he resolved to try what his new acquaintance would do for him: they sent Habakkuk Slyboots,[a] who delivered him the following message, at the peremptory commands of his trusty companions.

Habakkuk. Dear Jack, I am sorry for thy misfortune: matters have not been carried on with due secrecy; however, we must make the best of a bad bargain: thou art in the utmost jeopardy, that's certain; hang, draw, and quarter are the gentlest things they talk of. However, thy faithful friends, ever watchful for thy security, bid me tell thee, that they have one infallible expedient left to save thy life: thou must know, we have got into some understanding with the enemy, by the means of Don Diego; he assures us there is no mercy for thee, and that there is only one way left to escape; it is indeed somewhat out of the common road; however, be assured it is the result of most mature deliberation.

Jock. Prithee tell me quickly, for my heart is sunk down into the very bottom of my belly.

Hab. It is the unanimous opinion of your friends, that you make as if you hanged yourself;[b] they will give it out that you are quite dead, and convey your body out of prison in a bier; and John Bull, being busied with his lawsuit, will not inquire further into the matter.

Jock. How d'ye mean, make as if I hanged myself?

Hab. Nay, you must really hang yourself up, in a true genuine rope, that there may appear no trick in it, and leave the rest to your friends.

Jack. Truly this is a matter of some concern; and my friends, I hope, won't take it ill if I inquire a little into the means by which they intend to deliver me: a rope and a noose are no jesting matters!

Hab. Why so mistrustful? hast thou ever found us false to thee? I tell thee, there is one ready to cut thee down.

Jack. May I presume to ask who it is that is intrusted with so important an office?

Hab. Is there no end of thy hows and thy whys? That's a secret.

Jack. A secret, perhaps, that I may be safely trusted with, for I am not likely to tell it again. I tell you plainly, it is no strange thing for a man, before he hangs himself up, to inquire who is to cut him down.

Hob. Thou suspicious creature! if thou must needs know it, I tell thee it is sir Roger:[a] he has been in tears ever since thy misfortune. Don Diego and we have laid it so, that he is to be in the next room; and before the rope is well about thy neck, rest satisfied, he will break in and cut thee down: fear not, old boy; we'll do it, I'll warrant thee.

Jock. So I must hang myself up upon hopes that sir Roger will cut me down, and all this upon the credit of Don Diego? a fine stratagem indeed to save my life, that depends upon hanging, Don Diego and sir Roger!

Hab. I tell thee there is a mystery in all this, my friend, a piece of profound policy; if thou knewest what good this will do to the common cause, thy heart would leap for joy: I am sure thou wouldst not delay the experiment one moment.

Jack. That is to the tune of, All for the better. What's your cause to me when I am hanged?

Hab. Refractory mortal! if thou wilt not trust thy friends, take what follows: know assuredly, before next full moon, that thou wilt be hung up in chains, or thy quarters perching upon the most conspicuous places in the kingdom. Nay I don't believe they will be contented with hanging; they talk of impaling, or breaking on the wheel; and thou choosest that before a gentle suspending of thyself for one minute. Hanging is not so painful a thing as thou imaginest. I have spoke with several that have undergone it; they all agree it is no manner of uneasiness; be sure thou take good notice of the symptoms, the relation will be curious. It is but a kick or two with thy heels and a wry mouth or so: sir Roger will be with thee in the twinkling of an eye.

Jock. But what if sir Roger should not come, will my friends be there to succour me?

Hab. Doubt it not; I will provide everything against to-morrow morning; do thou keep thy own secret; say nothing: I tell thee it is absolutely necessary for the common good that thou should'st go through this operation.

[a] Habakkuk Slyboots, a great man who persuades the dissenters to consent to the bill against conformity.

[b] Consent to the bill against occasional conformity.

CHAPTER XIII.

How Jack hanged himself up by the persuasion of his Friends, who broke their Words, and left his Neck in the Noose.

Jack was a professed enemy to implicit faith, and yet, I dare say, it was never more strongly exerted, nor more basely abused, than upon this occasion. He was now with his old friends, in the state of a poor disbanded officer after a peace, or rather a wounded soldier after a battle; like an old favourite of a cunning minister after the job is over: or a decayed beauty to a cloyed lover in quest of new game; or like a hundred such things that one sees every day. There were new intrigues, new views, new projects on foot; Jack's life was the purchase of Diego's friendship,[b] much good may it do them. The interest of Hocus and sir Wil-

[a] It was given out that the earl of Oxford would oppose the bill, and lose his credit with the Tories.

[b] The earl of Nottingham.

liam Crawley, which was now more at heart, made this operation upon poor Jack absolutely necessary. You may easily guess, that his rest that night was but small and much disturbed; however, the remaining part of his time he did not employ (as his custom was formerly) in prayer, meditation, or singing a double verse of a psalm; but amused himself with disposing of his bank-stock. Many a doubt, many a qualm, overspread his clouded imagination: "Must I then," quoth he, "hang up my own personal, natural, individual self, with these two hands? *Durus sermo!* What if I should be cut down, as my friends tell me? There is something infamous in the very attempt; the world will conclude I had a guilty conscience. Is it possible that good man, sir Roger, can have so much pity upon an unfortunate scoundrel that has persecuted him so many years? No, it cannot be; I don't love favours that pass through Don Diego's hands. On the other side, my blood chills about my heart at the thought of these rogues, with their bloody hands grabbing in my guts, and pulling out my very entrails: hang it, for once I'll trust my friends." So Jack resolved; but he had done more wisely to have put himself upon the trial of his country, and made his defence in form; many things happen between the cup and the lip; witnesses might have been bribed, juries managed, or prosecution stopped. But so it was, Jack for this time had a sufficient stock of implicit faith, which led him to his ruin, as the sequel of the story shows.

And now the fatal day was come, in which he was to try this hanging experiment. His friends did not fail him at the appointed hour, to see it put in practice. Habakkuk brought him a smooth, strong, tough rope, made of many a ply of wholesome Scandinavian hemp, compactly twisted together, with a noose that slipt as glib as a birdcatcher's gin. Jack shrunk and grew pale at first sight of it; he handled it, measured it, stretched it, fixed it against the iron bar of the window to try its strength; but no familiarity could reconcile him to it. He found fault with the length, the thickness, and the twist; nay, the very colour did not please him. "Will nothing less than hanging serve?" quoth Jack. "Won't my enemies take bail for my good behaviour? Will they accept of a fine, or be satisfied with the pillory and imprisonment, a good round whipping, or burning in the cheek?"

Hab. Nothing but your blood will appease their rage; make haste, else we shall be discovered. There's nothing like surprising the rogues; how they will be disappointed when they hear that thou hast prevented their revenge, and hanged thine own self!

Jack. That's true; but what if I should do it in effigies? Is there never an old pope or pretender to hang up in my stead? we are not so unlike, but it may pass.

Hab. That can never be put upon sir Roger.

Jack. Are you sure he is in the next room? Have you provided a very sharp knife, in case of the worst?

Hab. Dost take me for a common liar? be satisfied, no damage can happen to your person; your friends will take care of that.

Jack. Mayn't I quilt my rope? it galls my neck strangely: besides, I don't like this running knot, it holds too tight, I may be stifled all of a sudden.

Hab. Thou hast so many ifs and ands; prithee despatch; it might have been over before this time.

Jack. But now I think on't, I would fain settle some affairs, for fear of the worst; have a little patience.

Hab. There's no having patience, thou art such a faintling, silly creature.

Jack. O thou most detestable, abominable passive obedience! did I ever imagine I should become thy votary in so pregnant an instance? How will my brother Martin laugh at this story, to see himself outdone in his own calling? He has taken the doctrine, and left me the practice.

No sooner had he uttered these words, but, like a man of true courage, he tied the fatal cord to the beam, fitted the noose, and mounted upon the bottom of a tub, the inside of which he had often graced in his prosperous days. This footstool Habakkuk kicked away, and left poor Jack swinging, like the pendulum of Paul's clock. The fatal noose performed its office, and with most strict ligature squeezed the blood into his face, till it assumed a purple dye. While the poor man heaved from the very bottom of his belly for breath, Habakkuk walked with great deliberation into both the upper and lower room to acquaint his friends, who received the news with great temper, and with jeers and scoffs, instead of pity. "Jack has hanged himself!" quoth they; "let us go and see how the poor rogue swings." Then they called sir Roger. "Sir Roger," quoth Habakkuk, "Jack has hanged himself; make haste and cut him down." Sir Roger turned first one ear, and then t'other, not understanding what he said.

Hab. I tell you, Jack has hanged himself up.

Sir R. Who's hanged?

Hab. Jack.

Sir R. I thought this had not been hanging day.

Hab. But the poor fellow has hanged himself.

Sir R. Then let him hang; I don't wonder at it, the fellow has been mad these twenty years. With this he sunk away.

Then Jack's friends began to hunch and push one another. "Why don't you go and cut the poor fellow down? Why don't you? And why don't you?" "Not I," quoth one; "Not I," quoth another; "Not I," quoth a third; "he may hang 'till doomsday before I relieve him."—Nay, it is credibly reported, that they were so far from succouring their poor friend in this his dismal circumstance, that Ptschirnsooker and several of his companions went in and pulled him by the legs, and thumped him on the breast.—Then they began to rail at him for the very thing which they had advised and justified before, viz., his getting into the old gentlewoman's family, and putting on her livery. The keeper, who performed the last office, coming up, found Jack swinging, with no life in him; he took down the body gently, and laid it on a bulk, and brought out the rope to the company. "This, gentlemen, is the rope that hanged Jack; what must be done with it?" Upon which they ordered it to be laid among the curiosities of Gresham College, and it is called Jack's rope to this very day. However, Jack, after all, had some small tokens of life in him, but lies at this time past hope of a total recovery, with his head hanging on one shoulder, without speech or motion. The coroner's inquest, supposing him to be dead, brought him in *Non Compos.*

CHAPTER XIV.

The Conference between Don Diego and John Bull.

During the time of the foregoing transactions, Don Diego was entertaining John Bull.

Diego. I hope, sir, this day's proceeding will convince you of the sincerity of your old friend Diego, and the treachery of sir Roger.

Bull. What's the matter now?

Diego. You have been endeavouring, for several years, to have justice done upon that rogue Jack; but what through the remissness of constables, justices, and packed juries, he has always found the means to escape.

Bull. What then?

Diego. Consider, then, who is your best friend; he that would have brought him to condign punishment, or he that has saved him. By my persuasion Jack had hanged himself if sir Roger had not cut him down.

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Bull. Who told you that sir Roger has done so?

Diego. You seem to receive me coldly; methinks my services deserve a better return.

Bull. Since you value yourself upon hanging this poor scoundrel, I tell you, when I have any more hanging work, I'll send for thee; I have some better employment for sir Roger; in the mean time, I desire the poor fellow may be looked after. When he first came out of the north country into my family, under the pretended name of Timothy Trim, the fellow seemed to mind his loom and his spinning wheel, till somebody turned his head; then he grew so pragmatical, that he took upon him the government of my whole family. I could never order anything within or without doors, but he must be always giving his counsel, forsooth; nevertheless, tell him I will forgive what is past; and if he would mind his business for the future, and not meddle out of his own sphere, he will find that John Bull is not of a cruel disposition.

Diego. Yet all your skilful physicians say that nothing can recover your mother, but a piece of Jack's liver boiled in her soup.

Bull. Those are quacks; my mother abhors such cannibal's food; she is in perfect health at present; I would have given many a good pound to have had her so well some time ago. There are, indeed, two or three old troublesome nurses,[a] that, because they believe I am tender-hearted, will never let me have a quiet night's rest with knocking me up: "Oh, sir, your mother is taken extremely ill! she is falling into a fainting fit! she has a great emptiness, wants sustenance!"—This is only to recommend themselves for their great care; John Bull, as simple as he is, understands a little of a pulse.

CHAPTER XV.

The Sequel of the Meeting at the Salutation.[b]

Where, I think, I left John Bull, sitting between Nic. Frog and Lewis Baboon, with his arms a-kimbo, in great concern to keep Lewis and Nic. asunder. As watchful as he was, Nic. found the means now and then to steal a whisper, and by a cleanly conveyance under the table, to slip a short note into Lewis's hand; which Lewis as slyly put into John's pocket, with a pinch or a jog, to warn him what he was about. John had the curiosity to retire into a corner to peruse these billets doux[c] of Nic.'s; wherein he found, that Nic had used great freedoms both with his interest and reputation. One contained these words: "Dear Lewis, thou see'st clearly that this blockhead can never bring his matters to bear: let thee and me talk to-night by ourselves at the Rose, and I'll give thee satisfaction." Another was thus expressed: "Friend Lewis, has thy sense quite forsaken thee, to make Bull such offers? Hold fast, part with nothing, and I will give thee a better bargain, I'll warrant thee."

In some of his billets he told Lewis, "That John Bull was under his guardianship; that the best part of his servants were at his command; that he could have John gagged and bound whenever he pleased by the people of his own family." In all these epistles, blockhead, dunce, ass, coxcomb, were the best epithets he gave poor John. In others he threatened,[d] "That he, squire South, and the rest of the tradesmen, would lay Lewis down upon his back, and beat out his teeth, if he did not retire immediately and break up the meeting."

I fancy I need not tell my reader, that John often changed colour as he read, and that his fingers itched to give Nic. a good slap on the chops; but he wisely moderated his choleric temper. "I saved this fellow," quoth he, "from the gallows, when he ran away from his last master,[a] because I thought he was harshly treated; but the rogue was no sooner safe, under my protection, than he began to lie, pilfer, and steal, like the devil.[b] When I first set him up in a warm house he had hardly put up his sign, when he began to debauch my best customers from me: then it was his constant practice to rob my fish-ponds, not only to feed his family, but to trade with the fishmongers; I connived at the fellow, till he began to tell me that they were his as much as mine. In my manor of Eastcheap, because it lay at some distance from my constant inspection, he broke down my fences, robbed my orchards, and beat my servants. When I used to reprimand him for his tricks, he would talk saucily, lie, and brazen it out as if he had done nothing amiss. Will nothing cure thee of thy pranks, Nic.? quoth I. I shall be forced some time or other to chastise thee. The rogue got up his cane, and threatened me, and was well thwacked for his pains. But I think his behaviour at this time worst of all; after I have almost drowned myself to keep his head above water, he would leave me sticking in the mud, trusting to his goodness to help me out. After I have beggared myself with his troublesome lawsuit, with a pox to him, he takes it in mighty dudgeon because I have brought him here to end matters amicably, and because I won't let him make me over by deed and indenture as his lawful cully; which, to my certain knowledge, he has attempted several times. But, after all, canst thou gather grapes from thorns? Nic. does not pretend to be a gentleman; he is a tradesman, a self-seeking wretch; but how camest thou to bear all this, John? The reason is plain; thou conferrest the benefits, and he receives them; the first produces love, and the last ingratitude. Ah! Nic., Nic., thou art a damned dog, that's certain; thou knowest too well that I will take care of thee, else thou wouldst not use me thus. I won't give thee up, it is true; but as true as it is, thou shalt not sell me, according to thy laudable custom." While John was deep in this soliloquy, Nic. broke out into the following protestation:—

"Gentlemen, I believe everybody here present will allow me to be a very just and disinterested person. My friend, John Bull here, is very angry with me, forsooth, because I won't agree to his foolish bargains. Now I declare to all mankind, I should be ready to sacrifice my own concerns to his quiet: but the care of his interest, and that of the honest tradesmen [the allies] that are embarked with us, keeps me from entering into this composition. What shall become of those poor creatures? The thought of their impending ruin disturbs my night's rest, therefore I desire they may speak for themselves. If they are willing to give up this affair, I shan't make two words of it."

John Bull begged him to lay aside that immoderate concern for him; and withal put him in mind, that the interest of those tradesmen had not sat quite so heavy upon him some years ago, on a like occasion. Nic. answered little to that, but immediately pulled out a boatswain's whistle. Upon the first whiff, the tradesmen came jumping into the room, and began to surround Lewis, like so many yelping curs about a great boar; or, to use a modester simile, like duns at a great lord's levee the morning he goes into the country. One pulled him by his sleeve, another by the skirt, a third hallooed in his ear; they began to ask him for all that had been taken from their forefathers

a New clamours about the danger of the Church.
b At the Congress of Utrecht.
c Some offers of the Dutch at that time, in order to get the negotiation into their hands.
d Threatening that the allies would carry on the war.

a The king of Spain, whose yoke the Dutch threw off.
b Complaints against the Dutch for encroachment in trade, fishery, East Indies, &c.

esquire South speak his mind, whether my accompts are not right, and whether we ought not to go on with our lawsuit.

Bull. Consult the butchers about keeping of Lent. Dost think that John Bull will be tried by Piepowders?[a] I tell you once for all, John Bull knows where his shoe pinches: none of your esquires shall give him the law, as long as he wears his trusty weapon by his side, or has an inch of broad cloth in his shop.

Frog. Why there it is; you will be both judge and party; I am sorry thou discoverest so much of thy headstrong humour before these strange gentlemen; I have often told thee it would prove thy ruin some time or other; let it never be said that the famous John Bull has departed in despite of court.

Bull. And will it not reflect as much on thy character, Nic., to turn barrator in thy old days; a stirrer up of quarrels among thy neighbours? I tell thee, Nic., some time or other thou wilt repent this.

[But John saw clearly he should have nothing but wrangling, and that he should have as little success in settling his accompts as ending the composition. "Since they will needs overload my shoulders," quoth John, "I shall throw down the burden with a squash among them, take it up who dares; a man has a fine time of it, among a combination of sharpers, that vouch for one another's honesty! John, look to thyself; old Lewis makes reasonable offers; when thou hast spent the small pittance that is left, thou wilt make a glorious figure, when thou art brought to live upon Nic. Frog's and esquire South's generosity and gratitude; if they use thee thus when they want thee, what will they do when thou wantest them? I say again, John, look to thyself."

John wisely stifled his resentment, and told the company, that in a little time he should give them law, or something better.]

All. Law! law! sir, by all means. What is twenty-two poor years towards the finishing a lawsuit? For the love of God, more law, sir.[b]

Bull. Prepare your demands; how many years more of law do you want, that I may order my affairs accordingly? In the mean while, farewell.

CHAPTER XVII.

How John Bull found all his Family in an uproar at Home.[c]

Nic. Froo, who thought of nothing but carrying John to the market, and there disposing of him as his own proper goods, was mad to find that John thought himself now of age to look after his own affairs. He resolved to traverse this new project, and make him uneasy in his own family. He had corrupted or deluded most of his servants into the most extravagant conceits in the world; that their master was run mad, and wore a dagger in one pocket and poison in the other; that he had sold his wife and children to Lewis, disinherited his heir, and was going to settle his estate upon a parish-boy; that if they did not look after their master, he would do some very mischievous thing. When John came home, he found a more surprising scene than any he had yet met with, and that you will say was somewhat extraordinary.

He called his cook-maid Betty to bespeak his dinner: Betty told him, "That she begged his pardon, she could not dress dinner till she knew what he intended to do with his will."—"Why, Betty," quoth John, "thou art not run mad, art thou? My will at present is to have dinner."—"That may be," quoth Betty, "but my conscience won't allow me to dress it till I know whether you intend to do righteous things by your heir?"—"I am sorry for that, Betty," quoth John, "I must find somebody else, then." Then he called John the barber. "Before I begin," quoth John, "I hope your honour won't be offended, if I ask you whether you intend to alter your will? If you won't give me a positive answer, your beard may grow down to your middle for me."—"'Igad so it shall," quoth Bull, "for I will never trust my throat in such a mad fellow's hands. Where's Dick the butler?"—"Look ye," quoth Dick, "I am very willing to serve you in my calling, d'ye see: but there are strange reports, and plain dealing is best, d'ye see; I must be satisfied if you intend to leave all to your nephew, and if Nic. Frog is still your executor, d'ye see; if you will not satisfy me as to these points, you may drink with the ducks."—"And so I will," quoth John, "rather than keep a butler that loves my heir better than myself." Hob the shoemaker, and Pricket the tailor, told him. "They would most willingly serve him in their several stations, if he would promise them never to talk with Lewis Baboon, and let Nicholas Frog, linen-draper, manage his concerns: that they could neither make shoes nor clothes to any that were not in good correspondence with their worthy friend Nicholas."

Bull. Call Andrew, my journeyman.—How go affairs, Andrew? I hope the devil has not taken possession of thy body too.

Andrew. No, sir; I only desire to know what you would do if you were dead?

Bull. Just as other dead folks do, Andrew.—This is amazing! [*Aside.*

Andrew. I mean if your nephew shall inherit your estate?

Bull. That depends upon himself. I shall do nothing to hinder him.

Andrew. But will you make it sure?

Bull. Thou meanest that I should put him in possession, for I can make it no surer without that; he has all the law can give him.

Andrew. Indeed possession, as you say, would make it much surer; they say, it is eleven points of the law.

[John began now to think that they were all enchanted; he inquired about the age of the moon; if Nic. had not given them some intoxicating potion, or if old mother Jenisa was still alive? "No, o' my faith," quoth Harry, "I believe there is no potion in the case, but a little *aurum potabile*. You will have more of this by and by." He had scarce spoke the word, when another friend of John's accosted him after the following manner:—

"Since those worthy persons, who are as much concerned for your safety as I am, have employed me as their orator, I desire to know whether you will have it by way of syllogism, enthymem, dilemma, or sorites."

John now began to be diverted with their extravagance.]

Bull. Let's have a sorites by all means; though they are all new to me.

Friend. It is evident to all, who are versed in history, that there were two sisters that played the whore two thousand years ago: therefore, it plainly follows, that it is not lawful for John Bull to have any manner of intercourse with Lewis Baboon: if it is not lawful for John Bull to have any manner of intercourse, (correspondence if you will, that is much the same thing,) then, *à fortiori*, it is much more unlawful for the said John to make over his wife and children to the said Lewis: if his wife and children are not to be made over, he is not to wear a dagger and ratsbane in his

[a] Court of Piepowder (*Curia pedis pulverizati*) is a court of record incident to every fair; whereof the steward is judge, and the trial is by merchants and traders in the fair. It is so called, because it is most usual in the summer; and because of the expedition in hearing causes, for the matter is to be done, complained of, heard, and determined the same day, that is, before the dust goes off the feet of the plaintiffs and defendants.

[b] Clamours of the allied powers for continuing the war.

[c] Clamours about the danger of the succession.

pockets; if he wears a dagger and ratsbane, it must be to do mischief to himself or somebody else: if he intends to do mischief, he ought to be under guardians, and there is none so fit as myself, and some other worthy persons, who have a commission for that purpose from Nic. Frog, the executor of his will and testament.

Bull. And this is your sorites, you say?—With that he snatched a good tough oaken cudgel, and began to brandish it; then happy was the man that was first at the door; crowding to get out, they tumbled down stairs; and it is credibly reported some of them dropped very valuable things in the hurry, which were picked up by others of the family.

"That any of these rogues," quoth John, "should imagine I am not as much concerned as they about having my affairs in a settled condition, or that I would wrong my heir for I know not what! Well, Nic., I really cannot but applaud thy diligence; I must own this is really a pretty sort of a trick, but it shan't do thy business for all that."

CHAPTER XVIII.

How Lewis Baboon came to visit John Bull, and what passed between them.

(I think it is but ingenuous to acquaint the reader that this chapter was not written by sir Humphry himself, but by another very able pen of the university of Grub Street.)

JOHN had (by some good instructions given him by sir Roger) got the better of his choleric temper, and wrought himself up to a great steadiness of mind, to pursue his own interest through all impediments that were thrown in the way: he began to leave off some of his old acquaintance, his roaring and bullying about the streets; he put on a serious air, knit his brows, and, for the time, had made a very considerable progress in politics, considering that he had been kept a stranger to his own affairs. However, he could not help discovering some remains of his nature, when he happened to meet with a football, or a match at cricket; for which sir Roger was sure to take him to task. John was walking about his room with folded arms, and a most thoughtful countenance: his servant brought him word that one Lewis Baboon below wanted to speak with him. John had got an impression that Lewis was so deadly cunning a man, that he was afraid to venture himself alone with him: at last he took heart of grace: "Let him come up," quoth he; "it is but sticking to my point, and he can never overreach me."

Baboon. Monsieur Bull, I will frankly acknowledge that my behaviour to my neighbours has been somewhat uneivil, and I believe you will readily grant me that I have met with usage accordingly. I was fond of backsword and cudgel-play from my youth, and I now bear in my body many a black and blue gash and scar, God knows. I had as good a warehouse and as fair possessions as any of my neighbours, though I say it; but a contentious temper, flattering servants, and unfortunate stars have brought me into circumstances that are not unknown to you. These, my misfortunes, are heightened by domestic calamities. That I need not relate. I am a poor battered old fellow, and I would willingly end my days in peace: but, alas! I see but small hopes of that; for every new circumstance affords an argument to my enemies to pursue their revenge; formerly I was to be banged because I was too strong, and now because I am too weak to resist; I am to be brought down when too rich, and oppressed when too poor. Nic. Frog has used me like a scoundrel; you are a gentleman, and I freely put myself in your hands, to dispose of me as you think fit.

Bull. Look you, Master Baboon, as to your usage of your neighbours, you had best not dwell too much upon that chapter; let it suffice, at present, that you have been met with: you have been rolling a great stone up hill all your life, and at last it has come tumbling down till it is like to crush you to pieces: plain dealing is best. If you have any particular mark, Mr. Baboon, whereby one may know when you fib and when you speak truth, you had best tell it me, that one may proceed accordingly; but since at present I know of none such, it is better that you should trust me than that I shall trust you.

Baboon. I know of no particular mark of veracity among us tradesmen but interest; and it is manifestly mine not to deceive you at this time; you may safely trust me, I can assure you.

Bull. The trust I give is in short this; I must have something in hand before I make the bargain, and the rest before it is concluded.

Baboon. To show you I deal fairly, name your something.

Bull. I need not tell you, old boy; thou canst guess.

Baboon. Ecclesdown Castle, [Dunkirk,] I'll warrant you, because it has been formerly in your family! Say no more, you shall have it.

Bull. I shall have it to m'own self?

Baboon. To thy n'own self.

Bull. Every wall, gate, room, and inch of Ecclesdown Castle, you say?

Baboon. Just so.

Bull. Every single stone of Ecclesdown Castle to m'own self, speedily?

Baboon. When you please; what needs more words?

Bull. But tell me, old boy, hast thou laid aside all thy equivocals and mentals in this case?

Baboon. There's nothing like matter of fact; seeing is believing.

Bull. Now thou talkest to the purpose; let us shake hands, old boy. Let me ask thee one question more: What hast thou to do, to meddle with the affairs* of my family? to dispose of my estate, old boy?

Baboon. Just as much as you have to do with the affairs of lord Strutt.

Bull. Ay, but my trade, my very being, was concerned in that.

Baboon. And my interest was concerned in the other: but let us both drop our pretences; for I believe it is a moot point, whether I am more likely to make a master Bull, or you a lord Strutt.

Bull. Agreed, old boy; but then I must have security that I shall carry my broad-cloth to market, old boy.

Baboon. That you shall: Ecclesdown Castle! Ecclesdown! remember that: why would'st thou not take it, when it was offered thee some years ago?

Bull. I would not take it, because they told me thou would'st not give it me.

Baboon. How could Monsieur Bull be so grossly abused by downright nonsense? they that advised you to refuse must have believed I intended to give, else why would they not make the experiment? but I can tell you more of that matter than perhaps you know at present.

Bull. But what say'st thou as to the esquire, Nic. Frog, and the rest of the tradesmen? I must take care of them.

Baboon. Thou hast but small obligations to Nic., to my certain knowledge: he has not used thee like a gentleman.

Bull. Nic., indeed, is not very nice in your punctilios of ceremony; he is clownish, as a man may say: belching and calling of names have been allowed him, time out of mind, by prescription: but, however, we are engaged in one common cause, and I must look after him.

Baboon. All matters that relate to him, and the rest of the plaintiffs in this lawsuit, I will refer to your justice.

* Private negotiations about Dunkirk.

CHAPTER XIX.

Nic. Frog's letter to John Bull; wherein he endeavoured to vindicate all his conduct with relation to John Bull and the Lawsuit.

Nic. perceived now that his cully had eloped, that John intended henceforth to deal without a broker; but he was resolved to leave no stone unturned to recover his bubble: among other artifices, he wrote a most obliging letter, which he sent him printed in a fair character.

"Dear Friend.[a]—When I considered the late ill usage I have met with from you, I was reflecting what it was that could provoke you to it; but upon a narrow inspection into my conduct, I can find nothing to reproach myself with, but too partial a concern for your interest. You no sooner set this composition a-foot, but I was ready to comply, and prevented your very wishes; and the affair might have been ended before now, had it not been for the greater concerns of esquire South, and the other poor creatures embarked in the same common cause, whose safety touches me to the quick. You seemed a little jealous that I had dealt unfairly with you in money matters, till it appeared by your own accounts that there was something due to me upon the balance. Having nothing to answer to so plain a demonstration, you began to complain, as if I had been familiar with your reputation; when it is well known, not only I, but the meanest servants in my family, talk of you with the utmost respect. I have always, as far as in me lies, exhorted your servants and tenants to be dutiful: not that I anyway meddle in your domestic affairs, which were very unbecoming for me to do. If some of your servants express their great concern for you, in a manner that is not so very polite, you ought to impute it to their extraordinary zeal, which deserves a reward rather than a reproof. You cannot reproach me for want of success at the Salutation, since I am not master of the passions and interests of other folks. I have beggared myself with this lawsuit, undertaken merely in complaisance to you; and if you would have had but a little patience, I had still greater things in reserve, that I intended to have done for you.—I hope what I have said will prevail with you to lay aside your unreasonable jealousies, and that we may have no more meetings at the Salutation, spending our time and money to no purpose. My concern for your welfare and prosperity almost makes me mad. You may be assured I will continue to be your affectionate friend and servant,

"Nic. Frog."

John received this with a good deal of *sang froid*: "*Transeat*," quoth John, "*cum cæteris erroribus*." He was now at his ease; he saw he could now make a very good bargain for himself, and a very safe one for other folks. "My shirt," quoth he, "is near me, but my skin is nearer; while I take care of the welfare of other folks, no body can blame me to apply a little balsam to my own sores. It's a pretty thing, after all, for a man to do his own business; a man has such a tender concern for himself, there's nothing like it. This is something better, I trow, than for John Bull to be standing in the market, like a great dray-horse, with Frog's paws upon his head. What will you give me for this beast?—Serviteur, Nic. Frog, you may kiss my backside if you please. Though John Bull has not read your Aristotles, Platoes, and Machiavels, he can see as far into a mill-stone as another." With that John began to chuckle and laugh, till he was like to have burst his sides.

[a] Substance of the States' Letter.

CHAPTER XX.

The Discourse that passed between Nic. Frog and esquire South, which John Bull overheard.

John thought every minute a year till he got into Ecclesdown Castle; he repairs to the Salutation, with a design to break the matter gently to his partners; before he entered, he overheard Nic. and the esquire in a very pleasant conference.

South. O the ingratitude and injustice of mankind! that John Bull, whom I have honoured with my friendship and protection so long, should flinch at last, and pretend that he can disburse no more money for me! that the family of the Souths, by his sneaking temper, should be kept out of their own.

Frog. An't like your worship, I am in amaze at it; I think the rogue should be compelled to his duty.

South. That he should prefer his scandalous pelf, the dust and dregs of the earth, to the prosperity and grandeur of my family!

Frog. Nay, he is mistaken there too; for he would quickly lick himself whole again by his tails. It's strange he should prefer Philip Baboon's custom to esquire South's.

South. As you say that my clothier, that is to get so much by the purchase, should refuse to put me in possession; did you ever know any man's tradesmen serve him so before?

Frog. No, indeed, an't please your worship, it is a very unusual proceeding; and I would not have been guilty of it for the world. If your honour had not a great stock of moderation and patience, you would not bear it so well as you do.

South. It is most intolerable, that's certain, Nic., and I will be revenged.

Frog. Methinks it is strange, that Philip Baboon's tenants do not all take your honour's part, considering how good and gentle a master you are.

South. True, Nic., but few are sensible of merit in this world: it is a great comfort to have so faithful a friend as thyself in so critical a juncture.

Frog. If all the world should forsake you, he assured Nic. Frog never will; let us stick to our point, and we'll manage Bull, I'll warrant ye.

South. Let me kiss thee, dear Nic.; I have found one honest man among a thousand at last.

Frog. If it were possible, your honour has it in your power to wed me still closer to your interest.

South. Tell me quickly, dear Nic.

Frog. You know I am your tenant; the difference between my lease and an inheritance is such a trifle as I am sure you will not grudge your poor friend; that will be an encouragement to go on; besides, it will make Bull as mad as the devil; you and I shall be able to manage him then to some purpose.

South. Say no more, it shall be done, Nic., to thy heart's content.

John all this while was listening to this comical dialogue, and laughed heartily in his sleeve at the pride and simplicity of the esquire, and the sly roguery of his friend Nic. Then, of a sudden, bolting into the room, he began to tell them, that he believed he had brought Lewis to reasonable terms, if they would please to hear them.

Then they all bawled out aloud, "No composition! Long live esquire South and the law!" As John was going to proceed, some roared, some stamped with their feet, others stopped their ears with their fingers.

Nay, gentlemen, quoth John, if you will but stop proceeding for awhile, you shall judge yourselves whether Lewis's proposals are reasonable.[b]

[a] Negotiations between the emperor and the Dutch for continuing the war, and getting the property of Flanders.

[b] Proposals for cessation of arms and delivery of Dunkirk.

All. Very fine, indeed, stop proceeding, and so lose a term!

Bull. Not so, neither, we have something by way of advance; he will put us in possession of his manor and Castle of Ecclesdown.

Frog. What dost thou talk of us? thou meanest thyself.

Bull. When Frog took possession of any thing, it was always said to be for us, and why may not John Bull be us, as well as Nic. Frog was us? I hope John Bull is no more confined to singularity than Nic. Frog? Or, take it so, the constant doctrine that thou hast preached up for many years, was, that thou and I are one; and why must we be supposed two in this case, that were always one before? It's impossible that thou and I can fall out, Nic.; we must trust one another: I have trusted thee with a great many things, prithee trust me with this one trifle.

Frog. That principle is true in the main, but there is some specialty in this case that makes it highly inconvenient for us both.

Bull. Those are your jealousies, that the common enemies sow between us; how often hast thou warned me of those rogues, Nic., that would make us mistrustful of one another?

Frog. This Ecclesdown Castle is only a bone of contention.

Bull. It depends upon you to make it so, for my part I am as peaceable as a lamb.

Frog. But do you consider the unwholesomeness of the air and soil, the expenses of reparations and servants? I would scorn to accept of such a quagmire.

Bull. You are a great man, Nic., but, in my circumstances, I must be e'en content to take it as it is.

Frog. And you are really so silly as to believe the old cheating rogue will give it you?

Bull. I believe nothing but matter of fact, I stand and fall by that; I am resolved to put him to it.

Frog. And so relinquish the hopefulest cause in the world, a claim that will certainly in the end make thy fortune for ever!

Bull. Wilt thou purchase it, Nic.? Thou shalt have a lumping pennyworth; nay, rather than we should differ, I'll give thee something to take it off my hands.

Frog. If thou would'st but moderate that hasty, impatient temper of thine, thou should'st quickly see a better thing than all that. What should'st thou think to find old Lewis turned out of his paternal estates, and the mansion-house of Claypool? a Would not that do thy heart good to see thy old friend Nic. Frog lord of Claypool? that thou and thy wife and children should walk in my gardens, buy toys, drink lemonade, and now and then we should have a country-dance.

Bull. I love to be plain: I'd as lieve see myself in Ecclesdown Castle, as thee in Claypool. I tell you again, Lewis gives this as a pledge of his sincerity; if you won't stop proceeding to hear him, I will.

CHAPTER XXI.

The rest of Nic.'s Fetches to keep John out of Ecclesdown Castle.[b]

When Nic. could not dissuade John by argument, he tried to move his pity; he pretended to be sick and like to die, that he should leave his wife and children in a starving condition if John did abandon him; that he was hardly able to crawl about the room, far less capable to look after such a troublesome business as this lawsuit, and therefore begged that his good friend would not leave him. When he saw that John was still inexorable, he pulled out a case-knife, with which he used to snick and snee, and threatened to cut his own throat. Thrice he aimed the knife to his windpipe, with a most determined threatening air. "What signifies life," quoth he, "in this languishing condition? It will be some pleasure that my friends will revenge my death upon this barbarous man, that has been the cause of it." All this while John looked sedate and calm, neither offering in the least to snatch the knife nor stop his blow, trusting to the tenderness Nic. had for his own person; when he perceived that John was immovable in his purpose, he applied himself to Lewis.

"Art thou," quoth he, "turned bubble in thy old age, from being a sharper in thy youth? What occasion hast thou to give up Ecclesdown Castle to John Bull? his friendship is not worth a rush; give it me, and I'll make it worth thy while. If thou dislikest that proposition, keep it thyself; I'd rather thou should'st have it than he. If thou hearkenest not to my advice, take what follows; esquire South and I will go on with our lawsuit in spite of John Bull's teeth."

Baboon. Monsieur Bull has used me like a gentleman, and I am resolved to make good my promise, and trust him for the consequences.

Frog. Then I tell thee, thou art an old doting fool.—With that, Nic. bounced up with a spring equal to that of one of your nimblest tumblers or rope-dancers, and fell foul upon John Bull, to snatch the cudgel [the allied army] he had in his hand, that he might thwack Lewis with it; John held it fast, so that there was no wrenching it from him. At last 'squire South buckled to, to assist his friend Nic.; John hauled on one side, and they two on the other; sometimes they were like to pull John over; then it went all of a sudden again on John's side; so they went see-sawing up and down, from one end of the room to the other. Down tumbled the tables, bottles, glasses, and tobacco-pipes; the wine and the tobacco were all spilt about the room, and the little fellows were almost trod under foot, till more of the tradesmen, joining with Nic. and the 'squire, John was hardly able to pull against them all, yet would he never quit hold of his trusty cudgel; which, by the contrary force of two so great powers, broke short in his hands.[a] Nic. seized the longer end, and with it began to bastinado old Lewis, who had slunk into a corner, waiting the event of this squabble. Nic. came up to him with an insolent menacing air, so that the old fellow was forced to scuttle out of the room, and retire behind a dung-cart. He called to Nic.: "Thou insolent jackanapes! Time was when thou durst not have used me so; thou now takest me unprovided; but, old and infirm as I am, I shall find a weapon by and by to chastise thy impudence."

When John Bull had recovered his breath, he began to parley with Nic.: "Friend Nic., I am glad to find thee so strong after thy great complaints: really thy motions, Nic., are pretty vigorous for a consumptive man. As for thy worldly affairs, Nic., if it can do thee any service, I freely make over to thee this profitable lawsuit, and I desire all these gentlemen to bear witness to this my act and deed. Yours be all the gain, as mine has been the charges; I have brought it to bear finely: however, all I have laid out upon it goes for nothing; thou shalt have it with all its appurtenances; I ask nothing but leave to go home."

Frog. The counsel are feed, and all things prepared for a trial; thou shalt be forced to stand the issue; it shall be pleaded in thy name as well as mine; go home if thou canst; the gates are shut, the turnpikes locked, and the roads barricadoed.[b]

Bull. Even these very ways, Nic., that thou toldest me were as open to me as t'yself? If I can't pass with my own equipage, what can I expect for my goods and wagons? I am denied passage through those very

[a] Claypool.—Paris.—Lutetia.

[b] Attempts to hinder the cessation, and taking possession of Dunkirk.

[a] The separation of the army.

[b] Difficulty of the march of part of the army to Dunkirk.

grounds that I have purchased with my own money; however, I am glad I have made the experiment, it may serve me in some stead.

[John Bull was so overjoyed that he was going to take possesson of Ecclesdown that nothing could vex him. "Nic.," quoth he, "I am just a-going to leave thee; cast a kind look upon me at parting."

Nic. looked sour and grum, and would not open his mouth.]

Bull. I wish thee all the success that thy heart can desire, and that these honest gentlemen of the long robe may have their bellyful of law.

[Nic. could stand it no longer; but flung out of the room with disdain, and beckoned the lawyers to follow him.]

Bull. B'uy, b'uy, Nic.; not one poor smile at parting? won't you shake your day-day, Nic.? b'uy, Nic.—With that, John marched out of the common road, 'cross the country, to take possession of Ecclesdown.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the great Joy that John expressed when he got Possession of Ecclesdown. [Dunkirk.]

When John had got into his castle, he seemed like Ulysses upon his plank, after he had been well soused in salt water; who (as Homer says) was as glad as a judge going to sit down to dinner, after hearing a long cause upon the bench. I dare say John Bull's joy was equal to that of either of the two; he skipped from room to room; ran up stairs and down stairs, from the kitchen to the garrets, and from the garrets to the kitchen; he peeped into every cranny; sometimes he admired the beauty of the architecture, and the vast solidity of the mason's work; at other times he commended the symmetry and proportion of the rooms. He walked about the gardens; he bathed himself in the canal, swimming, diving, and beating the liquid element, like a milk-white swan. The hall resounded with the sprightly violin, and the martial hautboy. The family tripped it about and capered, like hailstones bounding from a marble floor. Wine, ale, and October flew about as plentifully as kennel-water: then a frolic took John in the head to call up some of Nic. Frog's pensioners that had been so mutinous in his family.

Bull. Are you glad to see your master in Ecclesdown Castle?

All. Yes, indeed, sir.

Bull. Extremely glad?

All. Extremely glad, sir.

Bull. Swear to me that you are so.

Then they began to damn and sink their souls to the lowest pit of hell if any person in the world rejoiced more than they did.

Bull. Now hang me if I don't believe you are a parcel of perjured rascals; however, take this bumper of October to your master's health.

Then John got upon the battlements, and, looking over, he called to Nic. Frog:

"How d'ye do, Nic.? D'ye see where I am, Nic.? I hope the cause goes on swimmingly, Nic. When dost thou intend to go to Claypool, Nic.? Wilt thou buy there some high heads of the newest cut for my daughters? How comest thou to go with thy arm tied up? Has old Lewis given thee a rap over the finger-ends? Thy weapon was a good one when I wielded it, but the butt-end remains in my hands. I am so busy in packing up my goods that I have no time to talk with thee any longer. It would do thy heart good to see what waggon-loads I am preparing for market. If thou wantest any good office of mine, for all that has happened, I will use thee well, Nic. B'uy, Nic."

POSTSCRIPT.

It has been disputed among the literati of Grub Street whether sir Humphry proceeded any further into the history of John Bull. By diligent inquiry we have found the titles of some chapters which appear to be a continuation of it; and are as follow:—

Chap. I. How John was made angry with the articles of agreement. How he kicked the parchment through the house, up stairs, and down stairs, and put himself in a great heat thereby.

Chap. II. How in his passion he was going to cut off sir Roger's head with a cleaver. Of the strange manner of sir Roger's escaping the blow, by laying his head upon the dresser.

Chap. III. How some of John's servants attempted to scale his house with rope-ladders; and how many unfortunately dangled in the same.

Chap. IV. Of the methods by which John endeavoured to preserve peace among his neighbours; how he kept a pair of steelyards to weigh them; and by diet, purging, vomiting, and bleeding, tried to bring them to equal bulk and strength.

Chap. V. Of false accounts of the weights given in by some of the journeymen; and of the Newmarket tricks that were practised at the steelyards.

Chap. VI. How John's new journeymen brought him other guise accounts of the steelyards.

Chap. VII. How sir Swain Northy [king of Sweden] was, by bleeding, purging, and a steel diet, brought into a consumption; and how John was forced afterwards to give him the gold cordial.

Chap. VIII. How Peter Bear [czar of Muscovy] was overfed, and afterwards refused to submit to the course of physic.

Chap. IX. How John pampered esquire South with tithits till he grew wanton: how he got drunk with Calabrian wine, and longed for Sicilian beef, and how John carried him thither in his barge.

Chap. X. How the esquire, from a foul feeder, grew dainty; how he longed for mangoes, spices, and Indian bird-nests, &c., and could not sleep but in a chintz bed.

Chap. XI. The esquire turned tradesman; how he set up a china-shop [the Ostend Company] over against Nic. Frog.

Chap. XII. How he procured Spanish flies to blister his neighbours, and as a provocative to himself. As likewise how he ravished Nic. Frog's favourite daughter.

Chap. XIII. How Nic. Frog, hearing the girl squeak, went to call John Bull as a constable; calling of a constable no preventive of a rape.

Chap. XIV. How John rose out of his bed in a cold morning to prevent a duel between esquire South and lord Strutt; how, to his great surprise, he found the combatants drinking Geneva in a brandy-shop, with Nic.'s favourite daughter between them. How they both fell upon John, so that he was forced to fight his way out.

Chap. XV. How John came with his constable's staff to rescue Nic.'s daughter, and break the esquire's chinaware.

Chap. XVI. Commentary upon the Spanish proverb, *Time and I against any two;* or advice to dogmatical politicians, exemplified in some new affairs between John Bull and Lewis Baboon.

Chap. XVII. A discourse of the delightful game of quadrille. How Lewis Baboon attempted to play a game *solo* in clubs, and was beasted; how John called Lewis for his king, and was afraid that his own partner should have too many tricks; and how the success and skill of quadrille depends upon calling a right king.

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THE PRESENT STATE OF WIT.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY.

This little tract, though published anonymously, has been ascribed to Gay from the initials J. G. having been placed at the conclusion.

From its singular impartiality, and as throwing light on the periodical papers during Oxford's administration, it has been inserted in former editions of Swift's works.

He himself mentions it in the *Journal to Stella*, 14th May, 1711:—

"Dr Friend was with me, and pulled out a twopenny pamphlet just published, called '*The State of Wit*,' giving a character of all the papers that have come out of late. The author seems to be a Whig; yet he speaks very highly of a paper called 'The Examiner,' and says he supposes the author of it is Dr Swift. But above all things he praises the Tatlers and Spectators; and I believe Steele and Addison were privy to the printing of it. Thus one is treated by those impudent dogs!"

Westminster, May 3, 1711.

Sir, You acquaint me, in your last, that you are still so busy building at —— that your friends must not hope to see you in town this year; at the same time you desire me, that you may not be quite at a loss in conversation among the *beau monde* next winter, to send you an account of the present state of wit in town; which, without further preface, I shall therefore endeavour to perform, and give you the histories and characters of all our periodical papers, whether monthly, weekly, or diurnal, with the same freedom I used to send you our other town news.

I shall only premise that, as you know I never cared one farthing either for Whig or Tory, so I shall consider our writers purely as they are such, without any respect to which party they may belong.

Dr. King[a] has for some time laid down his "Monthly Philosophical Transactions," which, the title-page informed us, at first, were only "to be continued as they sold;" and though that gentleman has a world of wit, yet, as it lies in one particular way of raillery, the town soon grew weary of his writings; though I cannot but think that their author deserves a much better fate than to languish out the small remainder of his life in the Fleet prison.

About the same time that the doctor left off writing, one Mr. Ozell[b] put out his "Monthly Amusement," which is still continued; and as it is generally some French novel or play indifferently translated, is more or less taken notice of as the original piece is more or less agreeable.

As to our weekly papers, the poor "Review"[c] is quite exhausted, and grown so very contemptible that, though he has provoked all his brothers of the quill round, none of them will enter into controversy with him. This fellow, who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, "will endure but one skimming."

The "Observator" was almost in the same condition; but, since our party struggles have run so high, he is much mended for the better; which is imputed to the charitable assistance of some outlying friends.[d] These two authors might, however, have flourished some time longer had not the controversy been taken up by much abler hands.

The "Examiner" is a paper which all men, who speak without prejudice, allow to be well written. Though his subject will admit of no greater variety, he is continually placing it in so many different lights, and endeavouring to inculcate the same thing by so many beautiful changes of expression, that men who are concerned in no party may read him with pleasure. His way of assuming the question in debate is extremely artful; and his letter to Crassus is, I think, a masterpiece. As these papers are supposed to have been written by several hands, the critics will tell you that they can discern a difference in their styles and beauties, and pretend to observe that the first Examiners abound chiefly in wit, the last in humour.

Soon after their first appearance, came out a paper from the other side, called the "Whig Examiner,"[a] written with so much fire, and in so excellent a style, as put the Tories in no small pain for their favourite hero. Every one cried Bickerstaff must be the author; and people were the more confirmed in this opinion upon its being so soon laid down, which seemed to show that it was only written to bind the Examiners to their good behaviour, and was never designed to be a weekly paper. The Examiners, therefore, have no one to combat with at present, but their friend the "Medley;" the author of which paper, though he seems to be a man of good sense, and expresses it luckily enough now and then, is, I think, for the most part, perfectly a stranger to fine writing.[b] I presume I need not tell you that the Examiner carries much the more sail, as it is supposed to be written by the direction, and under the eye, of some great persons who sit at the helm of affairs, and is consequently looked on as a sort of public notice which way they are steering us. The reputed author is Dr. Swift, with the assistance sometimes of Dr. Atterbury and Mr. Prior.

The "Medley" is said to be written by Mr. Oldmixon, and supervised by Mr. Maynwaring, who perhaps might entirely write those few papers which are so much better than the rest.

Before I proceed further in the account of our weekly papers, it will be necessary to inform you that, at the beginning of the winter, to the infinite surprise of all men, Mr. Steele flung up his "Tatler;" and, instead of Isaac Bickerstaff, esq., subscribed himself Richard Steele to the last of those papers, after a handsome compliment to the town, for their kind acceptance of his endeavours to divert them. The chief reason he thought fit to give for his leaving off writing was, that having been so long looked on in all public places and companies as the author of those papers, he found that his most intimate friends and acquaintance were in pain to act or speak before him. The town was very far from being satisfied with this reason; and most people judged the true cause to be, either that he was quite spent, and wanted matter to continue his undertaking any longer, or that he laid it down as a sort of submission to, or composition with the government for some past offences; or, lastly, he had a mind to vary his shape, and appear again in some new light.

However that were, his disappearing seemed to be bewailed as some general calamity. Every one wanted so agreeable an amusement; and the coffeehouses began to be sensible that the esquire's lucubrations alone had brought them more customers than all their other newspapers put together.

It must indeed be confessed that never man threw up his pen under stronger temptations to have employed it longer; his reputation was at a greater height than, I believe, ever any living author's was before him. It is reasonable to suppose that his gains were proportionably considerable; every one read him with pleasure and good-will; and the Tories, in respect to his other good qualities, had almost forgiven his unaccountable imprudence in declaring against them. Lastly, it was highly improbable, if he threw off a character, the ideas

[a] Dr. William King published, in 1709, three parts of a periodical work, entitled, "Useful Transactions in Philosophy and other sorts of Learning;" a burlesque satire of considerable merit.

[b] John Ozell, a voluminous translator.

[c] Conducted by the celebrated Daniel de Foe.

[d] The "Observator" was conducted by John Tutchin, from 1702 to 1707, and afterwards by George Redpath, a Scotchman.

[a] Written by Mr. Addison and Mr Mainwaring. Only five numbers appeared.

[b] The "Medley" was chiefly conducted by Oldmixon.

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of which were so strongly impressed in every one's mind, however finely he might write in any new form, that he should meet with the same reception. —

To give you my own thoughts of this gentleman's writings, I shall in the first place observe, that there is this noble difference between him and all the rest of our polite and gallant authors: the latter have endeavoured to please the age by falling in with them, and encouraging them in their fashionable vices, and false notions of things. It would have been a jest some time since for a man to have asserted that anything witty could be said in praise of a married state; or that devotion and virtue were any way necessary to the character of a fine gentleman. Bickerstaff ventured to tell the town that they were a parcel of fops, fools, and vain coquettes; but in such a manner as even pleased them, and made them more than half inclined to believe that he spoke truth.

Instead of complying with the false sentiments, or vicious tastes of the age, either in morality, criticism, or good-breeding, he has boldly assured them, that they were altogether in the wrong, and commanded them, with an authority which perfectly well became him, to surrender themselves to his arguments for virtue and good sense.

It is incredible to conceive the effect his writings have had on the town; how many thousand follies they have either quite banished, or given a very great check to: how much countenance they have added to virtue and religion; how many people they have rendered happy by showing them it was their own fault if they were not so; and, lastly, how entirely they have convinced our fops and young fellows of the value and advantages of learning.

He has, indeed, rescued it out of the hands of pedants and fools, and discovered the true method of making it amiable and lovely to all mankind. In the dress he gives it, it is a most welcome guest at tea-tables and assemblies, and it is relished and caressed by the merchants on the 'Change; accordingly, there is not a lady at court, nor a banker in Lombard-street, who is not verily persuaded that Captain Steele is the greatest scholar and best casuist of any man in England.

Lastly, his writings have set all our wits and men of letters upon a new way of thinking, of which they had little or no notion before; and though we cannot yet say that any of them have come up to the beauties of the original, I think we may venture to affirm, that every one of them writes and thinks much more justly than they did some time since.

The vast variety of subjects which he has treated of in so different a manner, and yet all so perfectly well, made the world believe that it was impossible they should all come from the same hand. This set every one upon guessing who was the squire's friend; and most people at first fancied it must be Dr. Swift; but it is now no longer a secret, that his only great and constant assistant was Mr. Addison.

This is that excellent friend to whom Mr. Steele owes so much, and who refuses to have his name set before those pieces which the greatest pens in England would be proud to own. Indeed, they would hardly add to this gentleman's reputation, whose works in Latin and English poetry, long since convinced the world that he was the greatest master in Europe of those two languages.

I am assured from good hands, that all the visions, and other tracts in that way of writing, with a very great number of the most exquisite pieces of wit and raillery throughout the "Lucubrations," are entirely of this gentleman's composing; which may, in some measure, account for that different genius which appears in the winter papers from those of the summer, at which time, as the "Examiner" often hinted, this friend of Mr. Steele was in Ireland.

Mr. Steele confesses, in his last volume of the "Tatler," that he is obliged to Dr. Swift for his "Town Shower," and his "Description of the Morning;" with some other hints received from him in private conversation.

I have also heard that several of those letters which came as from unknown hands were written by Mr. Henley;[a] which is an answer to your query, who those friends are whom Mr. Steele speaks of in his last "Tatler."

But to proceed with my account of our other papers. The expiration of Bickerstaff's "Lucubrations" was attended with much the same consequences as the death of Melibœus's ox in Virgil; as the latter engendered swarms of bees, the former immediately produced whole swarms of little satirical scribblers.

One of these authors called himself the "Growler;" and assured us that, to make amends for Mr. Steele's silence, he was resolved to growl at us weekly, as long as we should think fit to give him any encouragement. Another gentleman, with more modesty, called his paper the "Whisperer." And a third, to please the ladies, christened his the "Tell-tale."

At the same time came out several "Tatlers;" each of which, with equal truth and wit, assured us that he was the genuine Isaac Bickerstaff.[b]

It may be observed that, when the squire laid down his pen, though he could not but foresee that several scribblers would soon snatch it up, which he might, one would think, easily have prevented, he scorned to take any further care about it, but left the field fairly open to any worthy successor. Immediately some of our wits were for forming themselves into a club, headed by one Mr. Harrison, and trying how they could shoot in this bow of Ulysses: but soon found that this sort of writing requires so fine and particular a manner of thinking, with so exact a knowledge of the world, as must make them utterly despair of success.

They seemed, indeed, at first to think that, what was only the garnish of the former "Tatlers," was that which recommended them, and not those substantial entertainments which they everywhere abound in.

Accordingly they were continually talking of their maid, nightcap, spectacles, and Charles Lillie. However, there were now and then some faint endeavours at humour, and sparks of wit: which the town, for want of better entertainment, was content to hunt after through a heap of impertinences; but even those are nt present become wholly invisible, and quite swallowed up in the blaze of the "Spectator."

You may remember I told you before, that one cause assigned for the laying down the "Tatler" was want of matter; and, indeed, this was the prevailing opinion in town, when we were surprised all at once by a paper called the "Spectator," which was promised to be continued every day, and was written in so excellent a style, with so nice a judgment, and such a noble profusion of wit and humour, that it was not difficult to determine it could come from no other hands but those which had penned the "Lucubrations."

This immediately alarmed these gentlemen; who (as it is said Mr. Steele phrases it) had the "censorship in commission." They found the new "Spectator" come on like a torrent, and swept away all before him; they despaired ever to equal him in wit, humour, or learn-

[a] Anthony, son of sir Robert Henley, of the Grange, distinguished himself by an early taste for polite learning, and an intimate acquaintance with the ancient poets.

[b] "Upon Steele's leaving off, there were two or three "Tatlers" came out; and one of them holds on still, and to day it advertised against Harrison's; and so there must be disputes which are genuine, like the strops for razors."—*Journal to Stella January*, 13, 1710-11.

ing, (which had been their true and certain way of opposing him,) and therefore rather chose to fall on the author, and to call out for help to all good Christians, by assuring them, again and again, that they were the first, original, true, and undisputed Isaac Bickerstaff.

Meanwhile, the "Spectator," whom we regard as our shelter from that cloud of false wit and impertinence which was breaking in upon us, is in every one's hand, and a constant topic for our morning conversation at tea-tables and coffee-houses. We had at first, indeed, no manner of notion how a diurnal paper could be continued in the spirit and style of our present "Spectators;" but, to our no small surprise, we find them still rising upon us, and can only wonder from whence so prodigious a run of wit and learning can proceed; since some of our best judges seem to think that they have hitherto, in general, outshone even the squire's first "Tatlers." Most people fancy, from their frequency, that they must be composed by a society. I, with all, assign the first place to Mr. Steele and his friend.

I have often thought that the conjunction of those two great geniuses (who seem to stand in a class by themselves, so high above all our other wits) resembles that of two famous statesmen in a late reign, whose characters are very well expressed in their two mottos, PRODESSE QUAM CONSPICI, [Lord Somers,] and OTIUM CUM DIGNITATE, [Earl of Halifax.] Accordingly, the first was continually at work behind the curtain; drew up and prepared all those schemes and designs, which the latter still drove on; and stood out exposed to the world, to receive its praises or censures.

Meantime all our unbiassed well-wishers to learning are in hopes that the known temper and prudence of one of these gentlemen will hinder the other from ever launching out into party, and rendering that wit, which is at present a common good, odious and ungrateful to the better part of the nation.

If this piece of imprudence does not spoil so excellent a paper, I propose to myself the highest satisfaction in reading it with you over a dish of tea every morning next winter.

As we have yet had nothing new since the "Spectator," it only remains for me to assure you that I am yours, &c. J. G.

P.S.—Upon a review of my letter, I find I have quite forgotten the "British Apollo;"[a] which might possibly happen from its having of late retreated out of this end of the town into the city; where I am informed, however, that it still recommends itself by deciding wagers at cards, and giving good advice to the shopkeepers and their apprentices.

PROPOSALS FOR PRINTING A VERY CURIOUS DISCOURSE,

ENTITLED

ΨΕΥΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ;

OR,

THE ART OF POLITICAL LYING.

Thought stated to have been sent to him by Dr. Arbuthnot, it is probable that Swift had a considerable share in this humorous title piece, it having passed through his hands to the press. He thus speaks of it in his "Journal to Stella" of Oct. 9, and Dec. 18, 1712:—

"Arbuthnot has sent me, from Windsor, a pretty discourse upon lying; and I have ordered the printer to come for it. It is a proposal for publishing a curious piece, called, 'The Art of Political Lying,' in two volumes, &c., and then there is an abstract of the first volume, just like those pamphlets which they call 'The Works of the Learned.'"

[a] "The British Apollo, or Curious Amusements for the Ingenious; to which are added the most Material Occurrences, Foreign and Domestic. Performed by a Society of Gentlemen."

"The pamphlet of Political Lying is written by Dr. Arbuthnot, the author of 'John Bull.' It is very pretty, but not so obvious to be understood."

There is now in the press a curious piece, entitled Ψευδολογία Πολιτική; or, "The Art of Political Lying," consisting of two volumes in quarto.

THE PROPOSALS ARE,

I. That if the author meets with suitable encouragement, he intends to deliver the first volume to the subscribers by Hilary Term next.

II. The price of both volumes will be, to the subscribers, 11s., 7s. whereof are to be paid down, and the other 7s. at the delivery of the second volume.

III. Those that subscribe for six, shall have seventh gratis; which reduces the price to less than 6s. a volume.

IV. That the subscribers shall have their names and places of abode printed at length.

For the encouragement of so useful a work, it is thought fit the public should be informed of the contents of the first volume, by one who has with great care perused the manuscript.

"THE ART OF POLITICAL LYING."

The author, in his preface, makes some very judicious reflections upon the original of arts and sciences: that at first they consist of scattered theorems and practices, which are handed about among the masters, and only revealed to the *filii artis*, till such time as some great genius appears, who collects these disjointed propositions, and reduces them into a regular system. That this is the case of that noble and useful art of political lying, which in this last age having been enriched with several new discoveries, ought not to lie any longer in rubbish and confusion, but may justly claim a place in the "Encyclopædia," especially such as serves for a model of education for an able politician. That he proposes to himself no small stock of fame in future ages, in being the first who has undertaken this design; and for the same reason he hopes the imperfection of his work will be excused. He invites all persons who have any talents that way, or any new discovery, to communicate their thoughts, assuring them that honourable mention shall be made of them in his work.

THE FIRST VOLUME CONSISTS OF ELEVEN CHAPTERS.

In the first chapter of his excellent treatise he reasons philosophically concerning the nature of the soul of man, and those qualities which render it susceptible of lies. He supposes the soul to be of the nature of a plano-cylindrical speculum, or looking-glass; that the plain side was made by God Almighty, but that the devil afterwards wrought the other side into a cylindrical figure. The plain side represents objects just as they are; and the cylindrical side, by the rules of catoptrics, must needs represent true objects false, and false objects true; but the cylindrical side being much the larger surface, takes in a greater compass of visual rays. That upon the cylindrical side of the soul of man depends the whole art and success of political lying. The author, in this chapter, proceeds to reason upon the qualities of the mind: as its peculiar fondness of the malicious and the miraculous. The tendency of the soul toward the malicious, springs from self-love, or a pleasure to find mankind more wicked, base, or unfortunate than ourselves. The design of the miraculous proceeds from the inactivity of the soul, or its incapacity to be moved or delighted with anything that is vulgar or common. The author having established the qualities of the mind, upon which his art is founded, he proceeds,

In his second chapter, to treat of the nature of political lying; which he defines to be, the art of con-

vincing the people of salutary falsehoods for some good end." He calls it an art to distinguish it from that of telling truth, which does not seem to want art; but then he would have this understood only as to the invention, because there is indeed more art necessary to convince the people of a salutary truth than a salutary falsehood. Then he proceeds to prove that there are salutary falsehoods, of which he gives a great many instances, both before and after the Revolution; and demonstrates plainly, that we could not have carried on the war so long without several of those salutary falsehoods. He gives rules to calculate the value of a political lie, in pounds, shillings, and pence. By good, he does not mean that which is absolutely so, but what appears so to the artist, which is a sufficient ground for him to proceed upon; and he distinguishes the good, as it commonly is, into *bonum utile, dulce et honestum*. He shows you that there are political lies of a mixed nature, which include all the three in different respects; that the *utile* reigns generally about the exchange, the *dulce* and *honestum* at the Westminster end of the town. One man spreads a lie to sell or buy stock to greater advantage; a second, because it is honourable to serve his party; and a third, because it is sweet to gratify his revenge. Having explained the several terms of his definition, he proceeds,

In his third chapter, to treat of the lawfulness of political lying; which he deduces from its true and genuine principles, by inquiring into the several rights that mankind have to truth. He shows that people have a right to private truth from their neighbours, and economical truth from their own family; that they should not be abused by their wives, children, and servants; but that they have no right at all to political truth; that the people may as well all pretend to be lords of manors, and possess great estates, as to have truth told them in matters of government. The author, with great judgment, states the several shares of mankind in this matter of truth, according to their several capacities, dignities, and professions; and shows you that children have hardly any share at all; in consequence of which, they have very seldom any truth told them. It must be owned that the author, in this chapter, has some seeming difficulties to answer, and texts of scripture to explain.

The fourth chapter is wholly employed in this question, "Whether the right of coinage of political lies be wholly in the government?" The author, who is a true friend to English liberty, determines in the negative, and answers all the arguments of the opposite party with great acuteness: that, as the government of England has a mixture of democratical in it, so the right of inventing and spreading political lies is partly in the people; and their obstinate adherence to this just privilege has been most conspicuous, and shined with great lustre of late years: that it happens very often that there are no other means left to the good people of England to pull down a ministry and government they are weary of but by exercising this their undoubted right: that abundance of political lying is a sure sign of true English liberty: that as ministers do sometimes use tools to support their power, it is but reasonable that the people should employ the same weapon to defend themselves, and pull them down.

In his fifth chapter, he divides political lies into several species and classes, and gives precepts about the inventing, spreading, and propagating the several sorts of them: he begins with the *rumores* and *libelli famosi*, such as concern the reputation of men in power; where he finds fault with the common mistake, that takes notice only of one sort, viz., the detractory or defamatory; whereas in truth there are three sorts, the detractory, the additory, and the translatory. The additory gives to a great man a larger share of reputation than belongs to him, to enable him to serve some good end or purpose. The detractory, or defamatory, is a lie which takes from a great man the reputation that justly belongs to him, for fear he should use it to the detriment of the public. The translatory is a lie, that transfers the merit of a man's good action to another, who is in himself more deserving; or transfers the demerit of a bad action from the true author to a person who is in himself less deserving. He gives several instances of very great strokes in all the three kinds, especially in the last, when it was necessary, for the good of the public, to bestow the valour and conduct of one man upon another, and that of many to one man: nay even, upon a good occasion, a man may be robbed of his victory by a person that did not command in the action.[a] The restoring and destroying the public may be ascribed to persons who had no hand in either. The author exhorts all gentlemen practitioners to exercise themselves in the translatory, because the existence of the things themselves being visible, and not demanding any proof, there wants nothing to be put upon the public, but a false author, or a false cause; which is no great presumption upon the credulity of mankind, to whom the secret springs of things are for the most part unknown.

The author proceeds to give some precepts as to the additory; that when one ascribes anything to a person which does not belong to him, the lie ought to be calculated not quite contradictory to his known qualities; for example, one would not make the French king present at a Protestant conventicle; nor, like queen Elizabeth, restore the overplus of taxes to his subjects. One would not bring in the Emperor giving two months' pay in advance to his troops; nor the Dutch paying more than their quota. One would not make the same person zealous for a standing army, and public liberty; nor an atheist support the church; nor a lewd fellow a reformer of manners; not a hot-headed, crack-brained coxcomb forward for a scheme of moderation. But, if it is absolutely necessary that a person is to have some good adventitious quality given him, the author's precept is, that it should not be done at first *in extremis gradu*. For example, they should not make a covetous man give away all at once 5000*l.* in a charitable, generous way; 20*l.* or 30*l.* may suffice at first. They should not introduce a person of remarkable ingratitude to his benefactors, rewarding a poor man for some good office that was done him thirty years ago; but they may allow him to acknowledge a service to a person who is capable still to do him another. A man, whose personal courage is suspected, is not at first to drive whole squadrons before him; but he may be allowed the merit of some squabble, or throwing a bottle at his adversary's head.

It will not be allowed to make a great man that is a known despiser of religion spend whole days in his closet at his devotion; but you may with safety make him sit out public prayers with decency. A great

[a] Major-general Webb obtained a glorious victory over the French, near Wynedale, in the year 1708. He was sent with 6000 of the confederate troops to guard a great convoy to the allied army, besieging Lisle: Count de la Motte came out from Ghent, with nearly 24,000 men, to intercept them; but major-general Webb disposed his men with such admirable skill that, notwithstanding the vast superiority of numbers, by the pure force of order and disposition, the French were driven back in two or three successive attempts; and after having lost 6000 or 7000 men, could be brought to charge no more. This may justly be reckoned among the greatest actions of that war: but the duke of Marlborough's secretary, in his letter written to England, gave all the honour of it to general Cadogan, the duke's favourite, who did not come up till after the engagement. This was so resented by general Webb, that he left the army in disgust; and coming into England to do himself justice, received the unanimous thanks of the house of commons for his eminent services by that great action; which was also acknowledged in a distinguishing manner by the king of Prussia, who bestowed on him the Order of Generosity.

man, who has never been known willingly to pay a just debt, ought not all of a sudden to be introduced making restitution of thousands he has cheated; let it suffice at first to pay 20*l.* to a friend who has lost his note.

He lays down the same rules in the detractory or defamatory kind; that they should not be quite opposite to the qualities the persons are supposed to have. Thus it will not be found according to the sound rules of pseudology to report of a pious and religious prince that he neglects his devotion, and would introduce heresy; but you may report of a merciful prince, that he has pardoned a criminal who did not deserve it. You will be unsuccessful if you give out of a great man, who is remarkable for his frugality for the public, that he squanders away the nation's money; but you may safely relate that he hoards it: you must not affirm he took a bribe, but you may freely censure him for being tardy in his payments; because, though neither may be true, yet the last is credible, the first not. Of an open-hearted, generous minister, you are not to say that he was in an intrigue to betray his country; but you may affirm, with some probability, that he was in an intrigue with a lady. He warns all practitioners to take good heed to these precepts; for want of which many of their lies of late have proved abortive or short-lived.

In the sixth chapter, he treats of the miraculous; by which he understands anything that exceeds the common degrees of probability. In respect to the people, it is divided into two sorts, the τὸ φοβερὸν or the τὸ δυμαιδὲς, terrifying lies, and animating or encouraging lies; both being extremely useful on their proper occasions. Concerning the τὸ φοβερὸν he gives several rules; one of which is, that terrible objects should not be too frequently shown to the people lest they grow familiar. He says, it is absolutely necessary that the people of England should be frighted with the French king and the pretender once a-year; but that the bears should be chained up again till that time twelvemonth. The want of observing this so necessary a precept, in bringing out the raw head and bloody bones upon every trifling occasion, has produced great indifference in the vulgar of late years. As to the animating or encouraging lies, he gives the following rules: that they shall not far exceed the common degrees of probability; that there should be variety of them; and the same lie not obstinately insisted upon: that the promissory or prognosticating lies should not be upon short days, for fear the authors should have the shame and confusion to see themselves speedily contradicted. He examines, by these rules, that well-meant, but unfortunate lie of the conquest of France which continued near twenty years together;[a] but at last, by being too obstinately insisted upon, it was worn threadbare, and became unsuccessful.

As to the τὸ τερατώδες, or the prodigious, he has little to advise, but that their comets, whales, and dragons should be sizeable; their storms, tempests, and earthquakes, without the reach of a day's journey of a man and horse.

The seventh chapter is wholly taken up in an inquiry, which of the two parties are the greatest artists in political lying? He owns, that sometimes the one party, and sometimes the other, is better believed; but that they have both very good geniuses among them. He attributes the ill success of either party to their glutting the market, and retailing too much of a bad commodity at once: when there is too great a quantity of worms it is hard to catch gudgeons. He proposes a scheme for the recovery of the credit of any party, which indeed seems to be somewhat chimerical, and does not savour of that sound judgment the author has shown in the rest of the work. It amounts to this, that the party should agree to vent nothing but truth for three months together, which will give them credit for six months lying afterwards. He owns, that he believes it almost impossible to find fit persons to execute this scheme. Towards the end of the chapter he inveighs severely against the folly of parties, in retaining scoundrels and men of low genius to retail their lies; such as most of the present news-writers are; who, except a strong bent and inclination towards the profession, seem to be wholly ignorant in the rules of pseudology, and not at all qualified for so weighty a trust.

In his next chapter he treats of some extraordinary geniuses, who have appeared of late years, especially in their disposition towards the miraculous. He advises those hopeful young men to turn their invention to the service of their country; it being inglorious, at this time, to employ their talent in prodigious fox-chases, horse-courses, feats of activity in driving of coaches, jumping, running, swallowing of peaches, pulling out whole sets of teeth to clean, &c., when their country stands in so much need of their assistance.

The eighth chapter is a project for uniting the several smaller corporations of liars into one society. It is too tedious to give a full account of the whole scheme: what is most remarkable is, that this society ought to consist of the heads of each party; that no lie is to pass current without their approbation, they being the best judges of the present exigencies, and what sorts of lies are demanded; that in such a corporation there ought to be men of all professions, that τὸ πρέπον, and the τὸ εὐλόγον, that is, decency and probability, may be observed as much as possible; that, besides the persons above mentioned, this society ought to consist of the hopeful geniuses about the town (of which there are great plenty to be picked up in the several coffeehouses), travellers, virtuosoes, fox-hunters, jockeys, attorneys, old seamen and soldiers out of the hospitals of Greenwich and Chelsea; to this society, so constituted, ought to be committed the sole management of lying; that in their outer room there ought always to attend some persons endowed with a great stock of credulity, a generation that thrives mightily in this soil and climate: he thinks a sufficient number of them may be picked up anywhere about the Exchange: these are to circulate what the others coin; for no man spreads a lie with so good a grace as he that believes it: that the rule of the society be to invent a lie, and sometimes two, for every day; in the choice of which great regard ought to be had to the weather and the season of the year: your φοβερὰ, or terrifying lies, do mighty well in November and December, but not so well in May and June, unless the easterly winds reign: that it ought to be penal for anybody to talk of anything but the lie of the day: that the society is to maintain a sufficient number of spies at court, and other places, to furnish hints and topics for invention, and a general correspondence of all the market-towns for circulating their lies: that if any one of the society were observed to blush, or look out of countenance, or want a necessary circumstance in telling the lie, he ought to be expelled, and declared incapable: besides the roaring lies, there ought to be a private committee for whisperers, constituted of the ablest men of the society. Here the author makes a digression in praise of the Whig party, for the right understanding and use of proof-lies. A proof-lie is like a proof-charge for a piece of ordnance, to try a standard credulity. Of such a nature he takes transubstantiation to be in the Church of Rome, a proof-article, which if any one swallows, they are sure he will digest everything else; therefore the Whig party do wisely, to try the credulity of the people sometimes by swingers, that they may be able to judge to what height they may charge them

[a] During the reigns of king William and queen Anne.

afterwards. Towards the end of this chapter, he warns the heads of parties against believing their own lies, which has proved of pernicious consequences of late; both a wise party, and a wise nation, having regulated their affairs upon lies of their own invention. The causes of this he supposed to be, too great a zeal and intenseness in the practice of this art, and a vehement heat in mutual conversation, whereby they persuade one another, that what they wish, and report to be true, is really so: that all parties have been subject to this misfortune. The Jacobites have been constantly infested with it; but the Whigs of late seemed even to exceed them in this ill habit and weakness. To this chapter the author subjoins a calendar of lies, proper for the several months of the year.

The ninth chapter treats of the celerity and duration of lies. As to the celerity of their motion, the author says it is almost incredible: he gives several instances of lies that have gone faster than a man can ride post: your terrifying lies travel at a prodigious rate, above ten miles an hour: your whispers move in a narrow vortex, but very swiftly. The author says, it is impossible to explain several phænomena in relation to the celerity of lies, without the supposition of synchronism and combination. As to the duration of lies, he says there are of all sorts, from hours and days to ages; that there are some which, like insects, die and revive again in a different form; that good artists, like people who build upon a short lease, will calculate the duration of a lie surely to answer their purpose; to last just as long, and no longer, than the turn is served.

The tenth chapter treats of the characteristics of lies; how to know when, where, and by whom invented. Your Dutch, English and French ware are amply distinguished from one another; an Exchange lie from one coined at the other end of the town: great judgment is to be shown as to the place where the species is intended to circulate: very low and base coin will serve for Wapping: there are several coffeehouses that have their particular stamps, which a judicious practitioner may easily know. All your great men have their proper phantasticstics. The author says he has attained, by study and application, to so great skill in this matter that, bring him any lie, he can tell whose image it bears so truly, as the great man himself shall not have the face to deny it. The promissory lies of great men are known by shouldering, hugging, squeezing, smiling, bowing; and their lies in matter of fact, by immoderate swearing.

He spends the whole eleventh chapter on one simple question, whether a lie is best contradicted by truth, or by another lie? The author says that, considering the large extent of the cylindrical surface of the soul, and the great propensity to believe lies in the generality of mankind of late years, he thinks the properest contradiction to a lie is another lie. For example, if it should be reported that the pretender was in London, one would not contradict it by saying, he never was in England; but you must prove by eye-witnesses that he came no further than Greenwich, and then went back again. Thus if it be spread about that a great person were dying of some disease, you must not say the truth, that they are in health, and never had such a disease, but that they are slowly recovering of it. So there was not long ago a gentleman, who affirmed, that the treaty with France, for bringing popery and slavery into England, was signed the 15th of September; to which another answered very judiciously, not, by opposing truth to his lie, that there was no such treaty; but that, to his certain knowledge, there were many things in that treaty not yet adjusted.

[The account of the second volume of this excellent treatise is reserved for another time.]

THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS TO THE QUEEN. APRIL 9, 1713.

DRAWN UP BY DR. SWIFT, AT THE COMMAND OF THE LORD TREASURER; AND DELIVERED BY THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

"Lord Treasurer showed me some of the queen's speech which I corrected in several places; and penned the vote of address of thanks for the speech."—*Journal de Stella*, March 8, 1712-13.

"Lord Treasurer engaged me to dine with him to-day, and I had ready what he wanted."—*Ibid.* March 15.

"I dined again with lord treasurer; but, the parliament being prorogued, I must keep what I have till next week; for I believe he will not see it till the evening before the session."—*Ibid.* March 17.

"I dined again with the lord treasurer; and though the business I had with him is something against Thursday, when the parliament is to meet, and this is Tuesday, he put it off till to-morrow."—*Ibid.* April 7, 1713.

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, do, with the greatest joy and satisfaction, return our humble thanks to your majesty, for your most gracious speech from the throne; and for communicating to this house that peace is agreed on, so honourable to your majesty, and safe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the blessing of God, that your people will in a few years recover themselves, after so long and expensive a war. We likewise beg leave to congratulate with your majesty upon the success of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of Europe will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt that your majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector of the Protestant religion, would do everything for securing the Protestant succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your majesty and the house of Hanover. And we do humbly assure your majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence, (next under God,) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due from the most obedient subjects to the most indulgent sovereign.

A MODEST INQUIRY INTO THE REASONS OF THE JOY

EXPRESSED BY A CERTAIN SET OF PEOPLE, UPON THE SPREADING OF A REPORT OF HER MAJESTY'S DEATH.

The following account of the queen's illness, and its effect upon the state of parties, is from Swift's own pen:—"In the midst of these dispositions at court, the queen fell dangerously sick at Windsor, about 1713. It was confidently reported in town that she was dead, and the heads of the expecting party were said to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of Wharton's house. Whether this were true or not, yet this much is certain, that the expressions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding, men of form did not allow to be altogether decent." —"The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the discontented leaders during her illness. It was, indeed, an affair of such a nature as required no aggravation, which, however, would not have been wanting; the women of both parties,[a] who then attended her majesty, being well disposed to represent it in the strongest light. The result was, that the queen immediately laid aside all her schemes and visions of reconciling the two opposite interests, and entered upon a firm resolution of adhering to the old English principles, from an opinion that the adverse party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little consisting (as the language and opinion went then) with the safety of the Constitution, either in church or state."—*An Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's last Ministry.*

[a] Lady Masham and the duchess of Somerset.

That this inquiry is made by a private person, and not by her majesty's attorney-general; and that such notorious offenders have met only with an expostulation, instead of an indictment, will at once be an everlasting proof of the lenity of the government and of the unprovoked and groundless barbarity of such a proceeding. Amid the pious intercessions of her majesty's dutiful subjects at the throne of grace for her health and recovery, that others of them should receive the news of her death with joy, and spread it with industry, will hardly appear probable to any except to those who have been witnesses of such vile practices, not only in her majesty's capital city, but in several other places in the kingdom; not only near Charing-cross, but at some market-crosses: that their passion on such an occasion should prove too unruly even for the caution demanded in the belief of news still uncertain, for the severity of the laws, and for the common decency that is due to the fall even of the greatest enemy: that not only those who were sharers of the common blessings of her mild government, but such as had been warmed by its kinder influences; not only those who owed their honours, their riches, and other superfluities, but even the necessaries of life, to her bounty; such as ate her bread, wore her raiment, and were protected under the shelter of her roof, should not be able for a moment to stifle their eager and impatient ingratitude: that this behaviour should not only appear in those vile and detestable places which are dedicated to faction and disorder; but that it should infect her majesty's palaces and chapels (where the accustomed devotion for her health and prosperity was derided): these, I say, are facts that might demand a full proof, could I not appeal to their own consciences, and the uncontestable evidence of credible persons.

I will for once suppose some foreigner, unacquainted with our temper and affairs, to be disturbed in his walks by some of the revels at Charing-cross upon this occasion, or by chance to stumble into a neighbouring coffeehouse: would not his curiosity prompt him to address himself to the company after the following manner?

"Gentlemen, Though I am no Englishman, I rejoice as much at the fall of a tyrant as any of you. Surely this queen Anne exceeded both Nero and Caligula in acts of cruelty. May I beg you to relate to me some particulars? As for you, gentlemen, who express such unusual joy, no doubt but there are at this time multitudes of your relations and friends in prison who were to be executed the next day if this lucky accident had not prevented it."

Give me leave to imagine some poor disconsolate honest gentlemen, at the same time, accidentally among them, thus answering this foreigner: "Alas! sir, this good queen, whom they now report to be dead, during a reign of twelve years, never shed one drop of blood for any misdemeanours against herself."

For. Well, sir, allowing what you have said to be true, may not the late administration have been rendered merciful by the indulgence of those entrusted with the execution of the laws; and yet, the queen, of whom we are speaking, have been in her own nature a wicked and cruel person?

Gent. Alas! sir, quite the contrary; this excellent queen was the greatest pattern of all princely and Christian virtues that ever adorned a throne; just, patient, firm, devout, charitable, affable, compassionate, the sincerest friend, the kindest mistress, the best wife!

For. Perhaps she was of a different religion; inclined to popery, which has been for many years held in the utmost detestation in this country.

Gent. Sir, this pious princess, as she was early educated in the religion of her country, so, amid a court corrupted both in principles and manners, she gave constant proofs of her unshaken perseverance in it; and, by her unblemished life, proved as great an ornament to the church of which she was a member as she was a steady professor of its doctrine and constant frequenter of its devotions. To the protestant religion she sacrificed her most tender interests. Where is that boasted patriot, who acted a more generous part for the good of his country in the most perilous times? And, since Providence set the crown upon her head, in what single instance has she departed from those maxims?

For. I confess, then, I am at a loss to find out the cause of so great an exultation for the death of so excellent a princess: but it has sometimes happened, by the connivance of good monarchs, that their people have been oppressed; and that perhaps might be your case in the late reign.

Gent. So much otherwise, that no annals can produce a reign freer from oppression. Our gracious queen "never accepted the persons of the wicked, nor overthrew the righteous in judgment. Whose ox or whose ass did she take? She was always ready to relieve, but never to oppress, the poor, the fatherless, and the afflicted. Her heart was not lifted up above her brethren; nor did she turn aside from the commandment, to the right or to the left." Her compassionate mind pitied even those countries which suffered by the power of her victorious arms. Where are the least effects of the pride and cruelty of queen Anne to be discovered? So impossible is it to brand her government with any instance of severity, that perhaps it may be more justly censured for excess of clemency; a clemency the continuance whereof had once brought her into the utmost distress, till that tender regard which she had always shown for the liberties of her subjects taught them in return to struggle as hard for the liberty of their sovereign; even for that common right of all mankind, the choosing her own servants.

For. Give me leave to make another supposition. Princes sometimes turn liberality into profusion, squander their treasure, and impoverish their people. May nothing of this kind be laid to the charge of the deceased queen?

Gent. You cannot but have heard, that, when she came to the crown, she found a dangerous war prepared for her, in which it pleased God to bless her with an unexpected success. When the purposes seemed to be answered for which it was undertaken, she thought fit to stop the vital streams of the blood and treasure of her people, and to put a period to a war that now served only to gratify the covetousness or ambition of those she was confederated with, as well as the vast designs of a faction at home; and, with peace, to endeavour to settle such a commerce as might in some measure reimburse her subjects of the vast treasure they had expended. Alas! here is her crime; touching those points she "is now called in question" by those gentlemen. As for her own expenses, I wish they had reached as far as the necessaries and conveniences of life, which, some can testify, she has often denied herself, that she might have to give to those who were in want. If ever her liberality exceeded its just bounds, it was to a set of men who would now use the riches they enjoy by her bounty to insult her. Devotion and business were all the pleasures of her life: when she had any relaxation from the latter, it was only by some painful attack of the gout. The cares of government, in doubt, had prejudiced her constitution: but monsters sure are they that can rejoice for the loss of a life worn out in their own service. I hope you will have the goodness to believe there are but few of us who deserve this infamous character. The bulk of her subjects, and many good Christians besides, in

other parts of the world, are, no doubt, daily offering up their ardent prayers and vows for the preservation of so precious a life.

For. From what you have said, I readily condemn the unseasonable joy of those gentlemen; but mankind are governed by their interest. You Englishmen seldom disguise your passions. A monarch may have a thousand good qualities; but particular men, who do not feel the benign influence of them, may be tempted, perhaps, to wish for a change.

Gent. Give me leave to whisper you: That man of quality, whom you see in such an exstacy, enjoys, by her majesty's bounty, one of the most advantageous places of the kingdom.—That other gentleman's coach, that stands there at the door, was bought with her majesty's money.—The laced coat, the hat and feather, that officer wears, were purchased with her pay; and you see her arms on his gorget.—This noble person's relations have been brought from the lowest degree of gentlemen, and surfeited with riches and honours by her majesty: so that she may truly complain, "She has nourished and brought up children, but they have rebelled against her."

For. Truly, sir, I am amazed at what you say; and yet there appears so much candour and confidence in your assertions, that I can hardly suspect the truth of them. I have travelled through many a desolate country, and heard the groans of many an afflicted people, who would have thought themselves blessed if the united virtues of this lady had been parcelled out among all their governors. Those virtues of princes that most dazzle the eyes of mankind are often dearly paid for by their people, who are forced to purchase them a place in the annals of fame at the dear price of their blood and treasure: and I believe they would seldom find fault with them for being peaceably inclined. I am a stranger; and in such a disorderly night as this, may meet with some affront; so must bid you farewell, hoping you will find this melancholy news contradicted.

I may appeal to any impartial reader, whether there is anything forced or unnatural in this dialogue; and then desire him to pass his judgment upon the proceedings of those who rejoiced at her death. But to return to my inquiry:—

The circumstances of queen Elizabeth much resemble those of her present majesty, with this difference, that queen Elizabeth was forced upon many great and remarkable pieces of severity from which it has pleased God to free her present majesty—I hope as a particular blessing upon her reign, and indulgence to her merciful temper. Though there were many factions at that time, both of the papists and puritans, to neither of which she gave much quarter, so that her very life was often conspired against by many sets of villains among the papists; though she had no posterity to revenge her quarrels, but, on the contrary, her ministry had most reason to be afraid of the vengeance of the successor; yet she carried the respect and duty of her subjects with her even to the grave. By the wise and close management of her ministry, her being sick of the small-pox at Hampton Court was concealed from the people till she was almost well. Had they known it, it would have been the constant subject of their devotions, as every little disorder of hers was. Whether from the fear of punishment, a regard to decency, love to their country, or the sense of their duty and allegiance, which were not extinguished in those days; none of those multitudes, which had suffered great hardships, durst mutter, or ever dreamed of showing the least malice or insolence to her, even in her old age and the very last scene of her life; and yet she was a true friend to peace, it being her constant maxim, "That it was more glorious to prevent a war by wisdom, than to finish it by victories." When she had a mind to break off in the middle of a successful war, in which she was engaged against a more formidable power, and a more hopeful candidate for universal monarchy than any that has since appeared; a war that was managed without the help of destructive funds, and large issues of English treasures to foreign states; a war that was carried on with the proper force of the nation, viz., their fleets, and rather served to bring in great quantities of bullion than to carry it out: I say, when she had a mind to make peace, I do not hear that every little retailer of politics presumed to tell her that it was not yet time to lay down her arms; that Spain was not yet sufficiently reduced; that the balance of Europe was not perfectly settled. Indeed, her captain-general for that war seemed to reason at the council-board with too much warmth for the continuance of it; but I do not hear that her lord-treasurer was disgraced for advertising him at that time, "that the blood-thirsty man should not live half his days;" a prophecy but too truly verified. When she resolved to bring down the haughty spirit of that great man, I do not read that many people soothed him in his ambitious projects; except his flatterers, Bluot and Cuffe, to whom he spoke these remarkable words upon the scaffold: "Ask pardon of God and the queen, for you were the persons that chiefly provoked me to this disloyalty." And happy had it been for him had he hearkened to the lord-keeper, who advised him to submit to the queen his sovereign, and to remember that passage of Seneca: "If the law punish one who is guilty, he must submit to justice; if one who is innocent, he must submit to fortune."

I do not find one single address from either house of parliament, advising queen Elizabeth to vest her captain-general in the Low Countries with more power. On the contrary, it is recorded, to her lasting honour, that she wrote to him, "to allay his aspirings; that she admired how a man whom she had raised out of the dust should so contemptuously violate her commands;" desiring the States to divest him of that absolute authority to which she had set such bounds as he should not pass.

When this prudent queen had demanded and obtained from the Dutch the town of Flushing, castle of Ramekins, and the isle of Brill, to be surrendered to her as cautionary for repayment of the sums she might expend in their service, I do not find any Englishman at that time pleading the cause of the distressed provinces, (which then, indeed, was allowed to be a proper style,) complaining of the narrowness of their frontier, and remonstrating against this as a hard bargain: nor do I remember that her successor was thanked by the nation for giving up those cautionary towns, which she thought as safe in her own hands as in those of the best of her allies.

This excellent queen was sometimes, indeed, attacked with pamphlets: particularly by one, entitled, "The Gulf wherein England will be swallowed by the French Marriage:" for which Stubs* and Page (the one the author, the other the disperser) lost each their right hand. And to show that men in those days had both a sense of their duty and their guilt, when Stubs had his right hand cut off, he immediately uncovered his head with the other, and cried, "God save the Queen!" I never read that, during the time of the execution, they were protected by a mob of chimney-sweepers hired by their partisans.

* John Stubs of Lincoln's Inn, gent., a most rigid Puritan, author of "A Discovery of a Gaping Gulf for England, by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by letting her Majesty Queen Elizabeth see the Sin, &c. thereof;" printed 1579, 8vo. See Camden's "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," under the year 1581. Wood says that Thomas Cartwright the Coryphæus of the Puritans of his time, was supposed to have been concerned in writing this pamphlet.

What cause shall we then assign of this tumultuous and excessive joy of the party: their industry to spread, and their eagerness to believe, what they so much wished? Were all the glories and blessings of queen Anne's reign so soon to be forgotten? Were their protestations of loyalty and affection nothing else but petitions for preferment? or did they proceed only from the fear of Newgate and Tyburn? Might not all her cares and labours, that (in her circumstances) could have no other end but the welfare of her people, have deserved one pitying tear? Could not even (allowing their own supposition) her mistaken zeal for restoring the peace and commerce of her subjects, her tenderness to their exhausted purses, and her care to transmit their liberties safe to posterity, plead for one relenting thought? Might not some regard have been paid to her personal virtues, and to the rare example she has left behind her, of the constant practice of all Christian duties amid the grandeur and temptations of a court? No! All these things, it seems, were to be the subject of mirth, ridicule, and of the songs of drunkards; and the death of the noble, the pious, the fortunate queen Anne, our countrywoman, flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone,[a] was to be celebrated as a festival of joy!

And is the death, then, of this excellent princess become so absolutely necessary at this time for the welfare of her people? I should rather imagine, even allowing their fears and jealousies to be well founded, that some degrees of prudence, temper, and tenderness for their fellow-subjects, might induce them to reason after the following manner:—

"That it is good to put an evil day far off; that none can be more terrible than that which brings confusion, disorder, and perhaps a civil war; that Providence may find a way to disappoint our fears. It is possible the spirit of faction may abate, and that even these formidable enemies of the succession may vanish, or return to a sense of their duty and danger: that France may fall under the government of a minor, and have business enough at home; nay, it is possible that the pretender himself may die before her present majesty: and, considering the changeable condition of British affairs, it is not improbable that the Whigs may recover their credit, both at court and in the country; and then to be sure all things must go well. Nay, who can tell but that the successors may think it their interest to be kings of Britain rather than kings of the Whigs?" All or any one of those things are fully as probable as that the queen, lords, and commons, should agree to alter the present establishment; and much more so than that her present majesty should divest herself of her crown and dignity in favour of a popish successor. Let her live, then; and let us still hope that Providence, which has honoured her to be the instrument of great blessings as well to Europe as her own people, may continue to do so still. How short and obscure are the views of mankind when they look into futurity! We are at least as often obliged to Providence for denying as for granting what we most earnestly desire. Out of respect to my country, I would fain believe the number of such miscreants to be but few. What would all the rest of the world think of us else? Would not they look upon us as the most ungrateful, factious, fickle race of mortals under the sun? Histories are full of the dismal effects of the government of tyrannical princes, and of their fatal ends; and they are justly set up as beacons to warn others of the same rank from the rocks and shelves whereon they have split. But are there no memoirs of the undutifulness of subjects, and the fatal consequences of their factious and ungovernable tempers? I am afraid the general current of history will inform us that tyrannical princes have been more punctually obeyed than the good and the merciful. Princes read history, as well as subjects. They are quick-sighted enough to make inferences to justify, what they are but too much inclined to, the undue exercise of their power. "Is it not plain," say they, "that monarchs too often suffer by their indulgence? that the rigorous exercise of power is the only foundation of obedience? To what purpose, then, is it to court the fallacious breath of the changeable multitude?" I am afraid too many of them reason after this manner; and that the tyranny of bad princes is often founded upon the misbehaviour of subjects to good ones. Let such, therefore, consider what misery their factious and disobedient temper may bring upon their posterity, not only from the direct influence and tendency of it, but also by the appointment of Divine Providence.

For shame, then, let us not verify the description which the ambassador made of us; who, being desired by his master to give a character of the English nation, as a full answer to his demand, presented him with a medal; on the one side of which the English monarch was pictured as a lion, and all his people about him like lambs; and, on the reverse, the monarch like a lamb, and all the people like lions.

Let us now proceed to guess at the source of this unseasonable exultation. I begin with the common cant of the whole party, the fear of a popish successor and popery. The loss of the duke of Gloucester, and the want of hopes of posterity from her present majesty, are misfortunes never enough to be lamented; but is it not a very ungenerous way of proceeding, instead of comforting and supporting their prince under this calamity, to insult and despise her for it? to multiply their affronts and indignities, because she wants posterity who might possibly revenge them? May such ignoble and base sentiments be far from the thoughts of every true-hearted Briton! and may He who has commanded us "not to add affliction to the afflicted" never avenge such inhuman and unjust dealings! But still I am to seek how the fear of a popish successor should operate in joy for the death of a Protestant possessor: This appears no less unaccountable than other parts of their system of politics, a short view of which seems to be this:

That the Protestant succession is in the utmost danger.

That, in order to strengthen it, a bad understanding must be kept up between the successor and her present majesty, the ministry, and all who are vested with power and authority in the nation.

For this end, the successor must be persuaded that those are his mortal enemies; and the ministry, on the other hand, must be told that he is coming to hang them all up.

That they hope the ministry are firm friends to the pretender; that they ought to be so, having no other game to play; and that they should be sorry to find them otherwise inclined.

That at this moment the queen is expiring; and the guards gone down as far as Dover to meet the pretender. Now rejoice, all true-hearted Whigs, at the happy prospect of the glorious scene that discloses itself for Great Britain!

From these premises I think it will be very hard for the most sagacious man alive to infer, which of three things is most in favour with these gentlemen who are so transported; viz., whether the Protestant successor, the pretender, or confusion? I think, so far is plain, that either their suspicion of the danger of the Protestant succession is counterfeit, or that they are for one or the other. And indeed what can one gather from their mad and extravagant discourse, but that it is all grimace? "Popery is breaking in like a torrent. Mass will be quickly said in churches. Clergymen's wives are taking their last leave of their husbands," &c. Good God! that ever I should live to see the Protestant

[a] An allusion to the foreign race which was to succeed her.

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cause abandoned by a queen, (who has sacrificed for the sake of it what was perhaps dearer than her life,) by the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the nation; and the sole defence of it left to Redpath, Dick Steel, and their associates, with the apostles of Young Man's coffeehouse! Before I leave this head, I would desire these gentlemen, who are constantly making such malicious insinuations against men of honour and probity, to remember, the oath of abjuration (what they so often quote, and what every honest man will keep) contains faith and true allegiance to their present sovereign, in as strong terms as the renunciation of the pretender; and that he, who violates the first part of the oath, gives but a small security for his observation of the latter, unless they think that which was last swallowed must be always uppermost.

Another cause of their joy upon the spreading of this false news is, their discontent at the peace. And in this indeed the queen has reason to rejoice, that has no enemies but such as are enemies to peace. But is not the hopes of a new war an admirable subject for joy, a most endearing token of their love to the successor, and one of their new methods of keeping up his interest, to represent him to the people as bringing over war in his train! It is foreign to my present purpose to enter into a full discussion of this subject; but the quarrelling with the peace, because it is not exactly to our mind, seems as if one that had put out a great fire, should be sued by the neighbourhood for some lost goods, or damaged houses; which happened, say they, by his making too much haste. Let me advise them in general, not to disrelish blessings because they may want some ingredients which their extravagant and sickly appetites seem to demand; to leave some part of the government of the world to its Maker, and not to believe that he is confined to the narrow maxims of every whimsical politician; not to think it impossible that the same powers that have restored the balance of Europe, in opposition to so great a force, are able to preserve it; and that we have no reason to be in such mighty dread of a nation now impoverished and dispirited, (and probably on the eve of a long minority, with all the confusion that attends it,) whom we have humbled in all its pomp and glory.

May I presume to descend from those high topics, and to suppose that the sublime and public spirit of these patriots may have a little alloy of a baser passion; and that self-interest had some share in this extraordinary festival? Far be it from me to deny them the due use of so humane a passion! Let the hopes of seeing better days produce a secret satisfaction; but may they not be so affected, without being brutal and barbarous? They might have enjoyed the pleasant prospect of the approaching favours of the new monarch without insulting the ashes of the dead. May that reign be glorious and happy! But I shall always believe, that insulting the memory of her present majesty will be understood as an ill compliment to her successor. The fatal event of her death, it is true, put an end to their allegiance; but not to the obligations to decency and gratitude. I have heard that allegiance and protection are reciprocal; but never that allegiance and preferment were so. If this principle be admitted, we need go no further for the list of her majesty's good subjects, than Chamberlayne's "Present State of Britain." But even in this particular the rejoicing party have, of all mankind, the least reason to complain, whose present insolence and pride are the creatures of her majesty's bounty and indulgence; who have no other grievance, that I know of, than, when they have "taken our cloak, that we will not give them our coat also." And even under this ministry, the opposite party, who are loud in their complaints and reviling against it, may appear, upon a right computation, to have their quota of all the offices of the kingdom. Let them for once show their modesty and not grudge the nation the little that is left; and since they have so great a share in possession, and think themselves sure of all in reversion, suffer the poor Tories to hold their part during the period of the queen's life.

There remains still another cause, which I am afraid operates as strongly as any of those already mentioned: it is a common observation, that the offended party often forgives; but the offending party seldom. It is one of the corrupt sentiments of the heart of man, to hate one the more for having used them ill; and to wish those out of the way, who, we believe, ought in justice to revenge the injuries we have done them. I leave the application to themselves.

Thus, I think, I have briefly enumerated the causes of their joy; viz.—

A prospect of a new foreign war;
A fair chance for a civil war;
The expectation of the monopoly of the government;
The hopes of having the Tories all hanged; and,
Their consciousness that they ought to be so themselves.

At the same time, far be it from me to charge all who are called by the name of Whigs with such villainous inclinations and designs; among whom, I know, there are many worthy and excellent persons. I would not willingly be guilty of a breach of charity, which I could wish all parties were possessed of in a greater measure. I would have everybody, who is conscious of his guilt in any of the forementioned particulars, to reflect seriously upon what I have hinted at; both those who "cursed the queen in their heart," and those who "cursed her" in the open streets; but, of all others, their guilt is of the deepest dye, who have personal obligations to her majesty. For my part, it was with the utmost detestation that I observed some, who owed much to his late majesty king William, treat his memory with scorn and indifference. Gratitude, as much despised and disused as it is, will ever continue to be a reputable virtue, as long as mankind live in society; nay, even if they should return to the woods.

The melancholy occasion of her majesty's sickness had this in common with all other accidents; that some advantage could be made of it, in discovering the impotent malice and factious purposes of some, who would otherwise have been more cautious in disguising their inclinations, till they believed they might discover them with safety, and thereby make a merit with the more abandoned part of the faction. God be thanked her majesty wants not those faithful subjects who will, defend both her person and reputation against the felonious attempts of such impious wretches, and who would serve her in the last moments of her life with as much fidelity and zeal as if she had twenty sons and daughters to inherit after her. Her times are in the hands of that Almighty Being whose minister she is, and in whom she comfortably puts her trust; who will not shorten the period of her life one moment for all the impatient curiosity of those people who are daily inquiring, "When will she die?" So long as they keep off their hands, let them wish as much as they think fit; and, when it shall please God to give her the happy change of an earthly for a heavenly crown, let this be written upon her tomb: "That, in compassion to the miseries of Europe, and the sufferings of her own subjects, after a bloody and expensive war, which had lasted twenty years, she concluded a peace; and that she might transmit the liberties of her people safe to posterity, she disbanded her army, by which glorious achievement she acquired the hatred of a faction, who were fond of war, that they might plunder their fellow-subjects at pleasure; and of an army, that they might do this with impunity."

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MISCELLANIES IN PROSE, BY SWIFT AND SHERIDAN.

ARS PUN-ICA, SIVE FLOS LINGUARUM.

THE ART OF PUNNING: OR

THE FLOWER OF LANGUAGES:

IN SEVENTY-NINE RULES;

FOR THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF CONVERSATION, AND HELP OF MEMORY.

BY THE LABOUR AND INDUSTRY OF TOM PUN-SIBI.

"Ex ambiguâ dicta vel argutissima putantur; sed non semper in joco, sæpe etiam in gravitate versantur.—Ingeniosi enim videtur, vim verbi in aliud atque ceteri accipiant, posse ducere."
Cicero, de Oratore, Lib. ii. § 61, 2.

"The seeds of punning are in the minds of all men."
Addison, Spect. No. 61.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR JOHN SCRUB, BT., AND MERCHANT, THIS DEDICATION IS HUMBLY PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR.

Your honour's character is too well known in the world to stand in need of a dedication; but I can tell you that my fortune is not so well settled but I stand in need of a patron. And therefore, since I am to write a dedication, I must for decency proceed in the usual method.

First, I then proclaim to the world your high and illustrious birth: that you are, by the father's side, descended from the most ancient and celebrated family of Rome, the Cascas; by the mother's from earl Percy. Some indeed have been so malicious as to say, your grandmother *kill'd-her-kin:* but, I think, if the authors of the report were found out, they ought to be *hampered.* I will allow that the world exclaims deservedly against your *mother*, because she is *no friend to the bottle;* otherwise they would deserve a *firkin*, as having no *grounds* for what they say. However, I do not think it can sully your *fine* and *bright* reputation; for the *credit* you gained at the battle of *Hogshed* against the duke of *Burgundy*, who felt no *sham-pain* when you *forced* him to sink beneath your power, and gave his whole army a *brush*, may in time turn to your account; for, to my knowledge, it put his highness much upon the *fret*. This, indeed, was no less *racking* to the king his master, who found himself *gross-lee* mistaken, in catching a *tartar*. For the whole world allowed that you brought him a *peg* lower, by giving him the *parting-blow*, and making all his *rogues in buckram* to *run*. Not to mention your great *a-gility*, though you are past your *prim-age;* and may you never *lack-age*, with a *sparkling* wit, and *brisk* imagination! May your honour also *wear* long, beyond the common *scant-ling* of human life, and constantly proceed in your musical diversions of *pipe* and *sack-but*, hunting with *tarriers*, &c., and may your good humour in saying, "*I am-phor-a-bottle*," never be lost, to the joy of all them that drink your *wine* for nothing, and especially of your humble servant,

TOM PUN-SIBI.

A SPECIMEN; *A SPICE I MEAN.*

PREFACE.[a]

Hæc nos, ab imis Pun-icorum annalibus
Prolata, longo tempore, edidimus tibi. FEST.

I've raked the ashes of the dead, to show
Puns were in vogue five thousand years ago.

THE great and singular advantages of PUNNING, and the lustre it gives to conversation, are commonly so little known in the world, that scarce one man of learning in fifty, to their shame be it spoken, appears to have the least tincture of it in his discourse. This I can impute to nothing, but that it has not been reduced to a *science;* and indeed Cicero seemed long ago to wish for it, as we may gather from his second book De Oratore, [Lib. ii. § 54.] where he has this remarkable passage:—"Suavis autem est et vehementer sæpe utilis jocus et facetiæ cum ambiguitate—in quibus tu longè aliis, meâ sententiâ, Cæsar, excellis: quo magis mihi etiam testis esse potes, aut nullam esse artem salis, aut, si qua est, eam nos tu potissimum docebis." "Punning is extremely delightful, and oftentimes very profitable; in which, as far as I can judge, Cæsar, you excel all mankind; for which reason you may inform me whether there be any art of punning; or, if there be, I beseech you above all things, to instruct me in it." So much was this great man affected with the art, and such a noble idea did he conceive of it, that he gave Cæsar the preference to all mankind, only on account of that accomplishment.

Let critics say what they will, I will venture to affirm that punning, of all arts and sciences, is the most extraordinary: for all others are circumscribed by certain bounds; but this alone is found to have no limits, because, to excel therein requires a more extensive knowledge of all things. A punner must be a man of the greatest natural abilities and of the best accomplishments: his wit must be poignant and fruitful, his understanding clear and distinct, his imagination delicate and cheerful; he must have an extraordinary elevation of soul, far above all mean and low conceptions: and these must be sustained with a vivacity fit to express his ideas, with that grace and beauty, that strength and sweetness, which become sentiments so truly noble and sublime.

And now, lest I should be suspected of imposing upon my reader, I must entreat him to consider how high Plato has carried his sentiments of this art (and Plato is allowed by all men to have seen further into heaven than any heathen either before or since). Does he not say positively, in his "Cratylus," "Jocos et dii amant"? the gods themselves love punning. Which I am apt to believe, from Homer's ἄσβεστος γέλως, unextinguished laughter; because there is no other motive could cause such continued merriment among the gods.

As to the antiquity of this art, Buxtorf proves it to be very early among the Chaldeans; which any one may see at large, who will read what he says upon the word רזא pun, "Vocula est Chaldæis familiarissima," &c. "It is a word that is most freqneutly in use among the Chaldeans; who were first instructed in the methods of punning by their magi, and gained such reputation that Ptolemæus Philopunnæus sent for six of those learned priests to propagate their doctrine of puns in six of his principal cities; which they did with such success, that his majesty ordered, by public edict, to have a full collection of all the puns made within his dominions for three years past; and this collection filled one large apartment of his

[a] This treatise, first published in Dublin, (1719,) was immediately reprinted in London, where it went through five editions. It appears that in this work the dean was only an assistant, the author was Dr. Sheridan, with the coadjutorship of Dr Delany and Mr. Rochfort. See the second preface to this tract.

library, having this following remarkable inscription over the door, Ἰατρεῖον ψυχῆς, "The shop of the soul's physic."[a]

Some authors, but upon what grounds is uncertain, will have Pan, who in the Æolic dialect is called Pun, to be the author of puns; because, they say, Pan being the god of universal nature, and punning free of all languages, it is highly probable that it owes its first origin, as well as name, to this god: others again attribute it to Janus, and for this reason Janus had two faces; and of consequence they conjectured every word he spoke had a double meaning. But, however, I give little credit to these opinions, which I am apt to believe were broached in the dark and fabulous ages of the world; for I doubt before the first Olympiad there can be no great dependence upon profane history.

I am much more inclined to give credit to Buxtorf; nor is it improbable that Pythagoras, who spent twenty-eight years at Ægypt in his studies, brought this art, together with some arcana of philosophy, into Greece; the reason for which might be, that philosophy and punning were a mutual assistance to each other: "for," says he, "puns are like so many torch-lights in the head, that give the soul a very distinct view of those images, which she before seemed to grope after as if she had been imprisoned in a dungeon." From whence he looked upon puns to be so sacred, and had such a regard to them, that he left a precept to his disciples forbidding them to eat beans because they were called in Greek κύαμοι. "Let not," says he, "one grain of the seeds be lost; but preserve and scatter them over all Greece, that both our gardens and our fields may flourish with a vegetable, which, on account of its name, not only brings an honour to our country, but, as it disperses its effluvia in the air, may also, by a secret impulse, prepare the soul for punning, which I esteem the first and great felicity of life."

This art being so very well recommended by so great a man, it was not long before it spread through all Greece, and at last was looked upon to be such a necessary accomplishment, that no person was admitted to a feast who was not first examined, and if he were found ignorant of punning, he was dismissed with Ἐκὰς ἴστε, βέβηλοι, "Hence, ye profane."

If any one doubts the truth of what I say, let him consult the apophthegms of Plutarch, who, after he had passed several encomiums upon this art, gives some account of persons eminent in it; among which (to shorten my preface) I choose one of the most illustrious examples, and will entertain the courteous reader with the following story:—"King Philip had his collar-bone broken in a battle; and his physician expecting money of him every visit, the king reproved him with a pun, saying, he had the key in his own hands." For the word κλεὶς, in the original, signifies both a key and collar-bone. [Vide Plut. Apoph. p. 177.]

We have also several puns recorded in Diogenes Laërtius's "Lives of the Philosophers," and those made by the wisest and gravest men among them, even by Diogenes the cynic, who, although pretending to withstand the irresistible charms of punning, was cursed with the name of an Abhorrer, yet, in spite of all his ill-nature and affectation, (for he was a tub preacher,) he made so excellent a pun, that Scaliger said, "he would rather have been author of it than king of Navarre." The story is as follows:—Didymus (not Didymus the commentator upon Homer, but a famous rake among the ladies at Athens) having taken in hand to cure a virgin's eye that was sore, had this caution given him by Diogenes, "Take care you do not corrupt your pupil." The word κόρη signifying both the pupil of the eye and a virgin. [See Laërtius.]

It would be endless to produce all the authorities that might be gathered from Diodorus Siculus, Herodotus, Proconosius, Bergæus, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Lycophron, Pindar, Apollonius, Menander, Aristophanes, Corinthus Cous, Nonnus, Demosthenes, Euripides, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, &c.; from every one of which I should have produced some quotations, were it not that we are so unfortunate in this kingdom not to have Greek types sufficient for such an undertaking; for want of which I have been put to the necessity, in the word κόρη, of writing an *alpha* for an *eta*.

However, I believe it will not be amiss to bring some few testimonies, to show in what great esteem the art of punning was among the most refined wits at Rome, and that in the most polite ages, as will appear from the following quotations:—

Quinctilian says, [Institut. Orator. lib. vi. p. 265] "Urbanitas est virtus quædam, in breve dictum, verum sensu duplici, coacta, et apta ad delectandos homines." &c. Thus translated, "Punning is a virtue, comprised in a short expression, with a double meaning, and fitted to delight the ladies."

Lucretius also,

> Qua magis æternum da dictis, Diva, leporem.
>
> Goddess, eternal puns on me bestow.

And elsewhere,

> Omnia enim lepidi magis admirantur, amantque,
> Germania quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt:
> Verbaque constituunt simili fucata sonore,
> Nec simili sensu, sed quæ mentita placerent.
>
> All men of mirth and sense admire and love
> Those words which like twin-brothers doubtful prove:
> When the same sounds a different sense disguise,
> In being deceived the greatest pleasure lies.

Thus Claudian,

> Vocibus alternant sensus, fraudisque jocosæ.
> Vim duplicem rident, lacrymosaque gaudia miscent.
>
> From word to word th' ambiguous sense is play'd;
> Laughing succeeds, and joyful tears are shed.

And Martial,

> Sit mihi, Cinna, comes, salibus dictisque facetus,
> Qui sapit ambiguos fundere ab ore sonos.
>
> Cinna, give me the man, when all is done,
> That wisely knows to crack a jest and pun.

Petronius likewise will tell you,

> Dicta, sales, risus, urbana crepundia vocum,
> Ingenii facilis quæ documenta dabant.
>
> Jokes, repartees, and laugh, and pun polite,
> Are the true test to prove a man is right.

And Lucan,

> Ille est imperium risus, qui fraude leporis
> Ambigua fallens, humeros quatit usque solutis
> Naribus, ac tremuli irrepidant curvamina dorsi,
> Et jecur, et cordis fibras, et pandit anhelas
> Pulmonis latebras———
>
> He's king of mirth, that slily cheats our sense
> With pun ambiguous, pleasing in suspense;
> The shoulders lax become, the bending back
> Upheaved with laughter, makes our ribs to crack;
> Ev'n to the liver he can joys impart,
> And play upon the fibres of the heart;
> Open the chambers of the longues,[a] and there
> Give longer life in laughing, and in air.

But to come nearer home and our own times; we know that France, in the late reign, was the seat of learning and policy; and what made it so, but the great encouragement the king gave punners above any

[a] Vide Joseph. Bengor. Chronic. in Edit. Georg. Homedidae. Seriem Godoliæ Tradit. Hebraic. Corpus Paradoseon Titulo Megill. c. i. § 8. Chronic. Samarit. Abulphectahi. Megillat. Taanit.

[a] Potiùs *lungs*, as a Dutch commentator would observe.—*Original Note.*

other men; for, it is too notorious to quote any author for it, that Lewis le Grand gave a hundred pistoles for one single pun-motto, made upon an abbot, who died in a field, having a lily growing out of his a—:

Habe mortem pro oculis.
Abbé mort en prez au cu lis.

Nor was his bounty less to Monsieur de Ferry de Lageltre the painter, (though the pun and the picture turned against himself,) who drew his majesty shooting, and at some distance from him another man aiming at the same fowl, who was withheld by a third person pointing at the king, with these words from his mouth,

Ne voyez vous le roy tirant?

Having now, from the best authorities, plainly proved the antiquity and excellence of the art of punning, nothing remains but to give some general directions as to the manner how this science is to be taught.

1. Let the husband teach his wife to read it.
2. Let her be appointed to teach her children.
3. Let the head servant of the family instruct all the rest, and that every morning before the master and mistress are up.
4. The masters and misses are to repeat a rule every day, with the examples; and every visiting-day be brought up to show the company what fine memories they have.
5. They must go ten times through the book before they be allowed to aim at a pun.
6. They must, every day of their lives, repeat six synonymous words, or words alike in sound, before they be allowed to sit down to dinner. Such as,

Assent,	Ascent.	Alter,	Altar.
A lass	Alas.	A peer,	Appear.
Bark,	Barque.	Barbary,	Barberrie.

They are all to be found in metre, most laboriously compiled by the learned author of "The English Schoolmaster," printed anno 1641, London edit. p. 52.

7. If any eldest son has not a capacity to attain to this science, let him be disinherited as *non compos*, and the estate given to the next hopeful child.

——————Si quid novisti rectius istis
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.
[Hor. 1. Ep. vi. 67.]

If any man can better rules impart,
I'll give him leave to do't with all my heart!

A PARAGRAPH OF THE FIRST PREFACE THAT WAS OMITTED;

WHICH THE READER (ACCORDING TO HIS JUDGMENT OR DISCRETION) MAY INSERT WHERE HE PLEASES.

There is a remarkable passage in Petronius Arbiter, which plainly proves, by a royal example, that punning was a necessary ingredient to make an entertainment agreeable. The words are these: "Ingerebat nihilominus Trimalchio lentissima voce, Carpe. Ego, suspicatus ad aliquam urbanitatem toties iteratam vocem pertinere, non erubui eum qui supra me accumbebat hoc ipsum interrogare. At ille qui sæpius ejusmodi ludos spectaverat, Vides, inquit, illum qui obsonium carpit, Carpus vocatur. Itaque quotiescunque dicit Carpe, eodem verbo et vocat et imperat." And it is further remarkable, that every day of his life he made the same pun at dinner and supper.

A SECOND PREFACE.

Lest my modesty should be called in question for venturing to appear in print, in an age so famous for politeness and ingenuity, I think I am bound to say this in my own defence, that these few sheets were not designed to be made public, as being written for my own private use; but what will not the importunity of friends conquer? They were no sooner discovered in my study, but my merry friend George Rochfort, my learned acquaintance Patrick Delany, and my much-honoured patron Jonathan Swift, all unanimously agreed, that I should do my own reputation and the world that justice, as to send "such a treasure of knowledge" (as they were pleased to express themselves) to the press. As for the work itself, I may venture to say, it is a work of time and experience, and entirely unattempted before. For which reason I hope the candid reader will be favourable in his judgment upon it, and consider that all sciences in their infancy have been weak and feeble. The next age may supply where I have been defective, and the next perhaps may produce a sir Isaac in punning. We know that logicians first spun out reason in categories, predicaments, and enunciations; and at last they came to wind up their bottoms in syllogisms, which is the completing of that science.

The Chaldeans began the mathematics, in which the Egyptians flourished. Then these, crossing the sea by the means of Thales the Milesian, came into Greece, where they were improved very much by Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, and Œnopides of Chios. These were followed by Briso, Antipho, Hippocrates, &c. But the excellence of the algebraic art was begun by Geber, an Arabian astronomer, (whence, as is conceived, the word *algebra* took its rise,) and was much since improved by Cardanus, Tartaglia, Clavius, Stevinus, Ghetaldus, Herigenius, Fran. Van Schooten, Florida de Beaune, &c.

But to return to the art of punning again; the progress and improvement of which, I hope, will be equal to the sciences I have mentioned, or to any superior to them, if there be such: reader, I must trespass a little longer on your patience, and tell you an old maxim, *Bonum, quo communius, eo melius.* "Good, the more common, the better it is." You see, I have, in imitation of the industrious bee, gathered my honey from various flowers; but yet I cannot say without some diminution and loss to the persons from whom I have taken the examples to my rules, who are likely never to use their puns again.

And here, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I must declare to the world, that my worthy friend Dr. R——, who is singularly remarkable for his unparalleled skill in punning, and a most industrious promoter of it, has been a very great instrument in bringing this work to light, as well by animating me to proceed in it as by endeavouring to procure a good letter for the impression.

The favourable acceptance that my puns have met with in some private companies makes me flatter myself that my labours therein will be candidly accepted, as they have been cordially intended to serve my native country. TOM PUN-SIBI.

From my Study, up one Pair of Stairs, ill contrived Street-wards, August 9th, 1719.

TO DR. SHERIDAN,

ON HIS ART OF PUNNING.

Had I ten thousand mouths and tongues,
Had I ten thousand pair of lungs,
Ten thousand skulls, with brains to think,
Ten thousand standishes of ink,
Ten thousand hands and pens to write,
Thy praise I'd study day and night.
O may thy work for ever live!
(Dear Tom a friendly zeal forgive,)
May no vile, miscreant, saucy cook
Presume to tear thy learned book,
To singe his fowl for nicer guest,
Or pin it on the turkey's breast.

Keep it from pasty, baked or flying,
From broiling steak, or fritters frying,
From lighting pipe, or making snuff,
Or casing up a feather muff,
From all the several ways the grocer
(Who to the learned world's a foe, sir)
Has found in twisting, folding, packing,
His brains and ours at once a-racking.
And may it never curl the head
Of either living block or dead!
Thus, when all dangers they have past,
Your leaves, like leaves of brass, shall last.
No blast shall from a critic's breath,
By vile infection cause their death,
Till they in flames at last expire,
And help to set the world on fire.

THE ORIGINAL OF PUNNING:
FROM PLATO'S SYMPOSIACKS.

BY DR. SHERIDAN.

ONCE on a time, in merry mood,
Jove made a PUN of flesh and blood;
A double *two-faced* living creature,
Androgynos, of two-fold nature;
For back to back, with single skin,
He bound the male and female in;
So much alike, so near the same,
They stock as closely as their name.
Whatever words the male express'd
The female turn'd them to a jest;
Whatever words the female spoke,
The male converted to a joke;
So, in this form of man and wife
They led a merry PUNNING life.
The gods from heaven descend to earth,
Drawn down by their alluring mirth;
So well they seem'd to like the sport,
Jove could not get them back to court.
Th' infernal gods ascend as well,
Drawn up by magic puns from hell.
Judges and furies quit their post,
And not a soul to mind a ghost.
"Heyday!" says Jove; says Pluto too,
"I think the devil's here to do;
Here's hell broke loose and heaven's quite empty,
We scarce have left one god in twenty.
Pray, what has set them all a-running?"—
"Dear brother, nothing else but PUNNING.
Behold that double creature yonder
Delights them with a *double entendre*."
"Odds-fish," says Pluto, "where's your thunder?
Let drive, and split this thing asunder!"
"That's right," quoth Jove; with that he threw
A bolt, and split it into two;
And when the thing was split in twain,
Why then it PUNN'D as much again.
"'Tis thus the diamonds we refine,
The more we cut, the more they shine:
And, ever since, your men of wit,
Until they're *cut*, can't PUN a bit.
So take a starling when 'tis young,
And down the middle *slit the tongue*,
With groat or sixpence, 'tis no matter,
You'll find the bird will *doubly chatter*.
"Upon the whole, dear Pluto, you know,
'Tis well I did not slit my Juno!
For, had I done't, whene'er she'd scold me,
She'd make the heavens too hot to hold me.
The gods, upon this application,
Return'd each to his habitation,
Extremely pleased with this new joke,
The best, they swore, he ever spoke.

FROM
MY MUCH HONOURED FRIEND
AT HELDELVILLE. [DR. DELANY.]

HAIL to the sage, who, from his native store,
Produced a science never known before,
Science of words, once jargon of the schools,
The plague of wise men, and the boast of fools,
Made easy now and useful in your rules!
Where wit and humour equally combine,
Our mirth at once to raise and to refine,
Till now not half the worth of sounds we knew,
Their virtual value was reserved for you.
To trace their various mazes, and set forth
Their hidden force, and multiply their worth;
For if t'express one sense our words we choose,
A double meaning is of double use.
Hail, sacred Art! by what mysterious name
Shall I adore thee, various, and the same?
The Muses' Proteus, skilled with grateful change,
Through all the pleasing forms of wit to range
In quick succession, yet retain through all
Some faint resemblance of th' original.
Hail, fairest offspring of prodigious birth,
At once the parent and the child of Mirth!
With Chloe's charms thy airy form can vie,
And with thy smiles as many thousands die:
The pleasing pain through all their vitals thrills,
With subtle force, and tickles as it kills.
Thee too, like her, the dying swains pursue,
As gay, as careless, as inconstant too;
To raise yet more thy merit and thy fame,
The Cyprian goddess glories in thy name,
Pleased to be thought the laughter-loving dame.
Nor less thy praise, nor less thy power to wound,
Thou lovely, fleeting image of a sound.

THE ART OF PUNNING.

"PUNNATA dicuntur, id ipsum quod sunt, aliorum esse dicuntur, aut alio quovis modo ad aliud referuntur."

Puns, in their very nature and constitution, have a relation to something else; or, if they have not, any other reason why will serve as well.

THE PHYSICAL DEFINITION OF PUNNING, ACCORDING TO CARDAN.

Punning is an art of harmonious jingling upon words, which, passing in at the ears, and falling upon the diaphragma, excites a titillary motion in those parts; and this, being conveyed by the animal spirits into the muscles of the face, raises the cockles of the heart.

THE MORAL DEFINITION OF PUNNING.

Punning is a virtue that most effectually promotes the end of good fellowship, which is laughing.

N.B. I design to make the most celebrated punners in these kingdoms examples to the following rules:—

Rule 1. The Capital Rule. He that puns must have a head for it; that is, he must be a man of letters, of a sprightly and fine imagination, whatever men may think of his judgment; like Dr. Swift, who said, when a lady threw down a Cremona fiddle with the frisk of her mantua,

"Mantua, væ! miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!"

Or, if you would have a more obvious reason, St. Dennis never made a pun after his head was cut off. —*Vid. Popish Legend*, tom. lxxviii. p. 15,000.

Rule 2. The Rule of Forehead. He must have good assurance, like my lord ——, who puns in all companies.

Rule 3. The Brazen Rule. He must have better assurance, like brigadier ——, who said, "That, as he was passing through a street, he made to a country fellow who had a hare swinging on a stick over his shoulder, and, giving it a shake, asked him whether it was his own *hair*, or a periwig?" Whereas it is a notorious Oxford jest.

Rule 4. The Rule of Impudence. He must have the best assurance, like Dr. ——, who, although I had in three fair combats worsted him, yet had the impudence to challenge me a fourth time.

Rule 5. Any person may pun upon another man's puns about half an hour after he has made them; as Dr. —— and Mr. —— frequently do.

I remember one day I was in company with them, and upon major —— saying, "That he would leave me the gout for a legacy;" I made answer, and told the company, "I should be sorry to have such a *leg as he*." They both snapped it up in their turns, and had as much applause for the pun as I had.

Rule 6. The Rule of Pun upon Pun. A puns made upon the word *pun* are to be esteemed as so much old gold; *ex. gr.* Suppose two famous *punsters* should contend for the superiority, and a man should wittily say, "This is a *Carthaginian* war."

Q. How, sir?—*A.* Why, sir, it is a *Pun-ick* war.

Rule 7. The Socratic Rule is to instruct others by way of question and answer.

Q. Who was the first drawer?—*A.* *Potifer*.

Q. Which is the seat of the spleen?—*A.* The *hips*.

Q. Who were the first bakers?—*A.* The *Crustumenians*. (Masters of the Rolls, quoth capt. Wolseley.)

Q. Where did the first hermaphrodites come from?—*A.* *Middle-sex*.

Q. What part of England has the most dogs?—*A.* *Bark-shire*.

Q. From whence came the first tumblers?—*A.* From *Somerset*.

Q. Who were the first mortgagers of land?—*A.* The people of *Cumber-land*.

Q. What men in the world are the best soldiers?—*A.* Your red-haired men, because they always carry their *firelocks* upon their shoulders.

Q. Why should a man in debt be called a diver?—*A.* Because he is dipped over head and ears.

Q. Why are ladies of late years well qualified for hunting?—*A.* Because they come with a *hoop* and a *hollow*.

Q. Why are Presbyterians, Independents, &c., said to be vermin?—*A.* Because they are *in sects*.

Q. Where were the first breeches made?—*A.* At *Thyatira*.

Q. Who were the first gold-finders?—*A.* The *Turditani*.

Q. What part of the world is best to feed dogs in?—*A.* *Lapland*.

Q. What prince in the world should have a boar for his arms?—*A.* The duke of *Tusc-any*.

Q. Where do the best corncutters live?—*A.* At *Leg-horn*.

Q. Why are horses with grease in their heels the best racers?—*A.* Because their heels are given to *running*.

Q. What is the reason that rats and mice are so much afraid of bass-violins and fiddles?—*A.* Because they are strung with *cat-gut*.

Q. If a lawyer is a Whig, and pretends to be a Tory, or *vice versâ*, why should his gown be stripped off?—*A.* Because he is guilty of *sham-party*.

Q. How many animals are concerned in the formation of the English tongue?—*A.* According to *Buckman*, a great number, viz.:—*cat-egorical*, *dog-matical*, *crow-nological*, *flea-botany*, *fish-ognomy*, *squirrel-ity*, *rat-ification*, *mouse-derum*, *pus-lanimity*, *hare-editary*, *ass-tronomy*, *jay-ography*, *stag-grite*, *duck-tility*.

Q. Where were the first hams made?

A. They were made in the temple of Jupiter *Hammon*, by the *Hamadryades*; one of them (if we may depend upon "Baker's Chronicle") was sent as a present to a gentleman in *Ham-shire*, of the family of the *Ham-iltons*, who immediately sent it to *Hampton* Court, where it was hung up by a string in the hall, by way of rarity, whence we have the English phrase *ham-strung*.

> Thus did great Socrates improve the mind,
> By questions useful since to all mankind:
> For, when the purblind soul no further saw
> Than length of nose into dark Nature's law
> His method clear'd up all, enlarg'd the sight,
> And so he taught his pupils with day-light.

Rule 8. The Rule of Interruption. Although the company be engaged in a discourse of the most serious consequence, it is and may be lawful to interrupt them with a pun; *ex. gr.* Suppose them poring over a problem in the mathematics; you may without offence ask them, "How go *squares* with them?" You may say too, "That, being too intent upon those figures, they are become *cycloeid*, *i. e.* sickly-eyed; for which they are a pack of *logarithms*, *i. e.* loggerheads." Vide Rule 34.

Rule 9. The Rule of Risibility. A man must be the first that laughs at his own pun; as Martial advises:—

> Qui studet alterius risum captare lepore,
> Imprimis rictum contrahat ipse suum.
>
> "He that would move another man to laughter
> Must first begin, and t'other soon comes after."

Rule 10. The Rule of Retaliation obliges you, if a man make fifty puns, to return all, or the most of them, in the same kind. As for instance: Sir W—— sent me a catalogue of Mrs. Prudence's scholars, and desired my advice as to the management of them:—

Miss-Chief, the ringleader.
Miss-Advice, that spoils her face with paint.
Miss-Rule, that does everything she is forbid.
Miss-Application, who has not done one letter in her sampler.
Miss-Belief, who cannot say the Creed yet.
Miss-Call, a perfect Billingsgate.
Miss-Fortune, that lost her grandmother's needle.
Miss-Chance, that broke her leg by romping.
Miss-Guide, that led the young misses in the dirt.
Miss-Laid who left her porringer of flour and milk where the cat got it.
Miss-Management, that let all her stockings run out at heels for want of darning.

For which I sent the following Masters:—

Master-Stroke, to whip them.
Master-Workman, to dress them.
Master-Ship, to rig them.
Master-Lie, to excuse them.
Master-Wort, to purge them.
Master-Piece, to patch them.
Master-Key, to lock them up.
Master-Pock, to mortify them.

> If these can't keep your la'les quiet,
> Pull down their courage with low diet
> Perhaps, dear sir, you'll think it cruel
> To feed them on plain water gruel:
> But take my word, the best of breeding,
> As it is plain, requires plain feeding.
>
> Vide *Roscommon*.

Rule 11. The Rule of Repetition: you must never let a pun be lost, but repeat and comment upon it till every one in the company both hears and understands it; *ex. gr.* Sir, I have good wine to give you; excellent *pontack*, which I got '*pon-tick*; but, sir, we must have a little *pun-talk* over it; you take me, sir, you and you, and you too, madam.—There is *pun-talk* upon *pon-tack*, and '*pon-tick* too, hay!

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Rule 12. The Elementary Rule. Keep to your elements, whether you have fish, fowl, or flesh for dinner: as, for instance, is not this fish, which Mr. *Pool* sent me, *ex-stream* sweet? I think it is *main* good, what say you? On my *soul*, I never tasted better, and I think it ought to take *place* of any that swims: though you may *carp* at me for saying so, I can assure you, that both Dr. *Sprat* and Dr. *Whaley* are of my mind.—This is an excellent fowl, and a fit dish for high-flyers. Pray, sir, what is your *o-pinion* of this wing? As for the leg, the cook ought to be *clapper-clawed* for not roasting it enough. But, now I think of it, why should this be called the Bird of Bacchus? *A.* Because it was dressed by your drunken cook. Not at all. You mistake the matter. Pray is it not a *grape-lover;* i. *e.* gray plover?—Are you for any of this mutton, sir? If not, I can tell you that you ought to be *lamb-asted;* for you must know that I have the best in the country. My sheep bear away the *bell*, and I can assure you that, all *wethers*, I can treat my friends with as good mutton as this: he that cannot make a meal of it, ought to have it *ram-med* down his throat.

Rule 13. The Rule of Retrospection. By this you may recal a discourse that has been past two hours, and introduce it thus: "Sir, as you were saying two hours ago—you bought these stockings in Wales; I believe it, for they seem to be *well-chose*, i. *e.* Welsh-hose."—"Sir, you were saying, if I mistake not, an hour or two ago, that soldiers have the speediest justice. I agree with you in that; for they are never without *red-dress*."

Rule 14. The Rule of Transition; which will serve to introduce anything that has the most remote relation to the subject you are upon; *ex. gr.* If a man puns upon a *stable*, you may pun upon a *corn-field*, a *meadow*, a *horse-park*, a *smith's* or *saddler's shop; ex. gr.* One says, "his horses are gone to *rack*." Then you answer, I would turn *oat* the rascal that looks after them. *Hay*, sir! don't you think I am right? I would *strike while the iron is hot;* and *pummit* the dog to some purpose."

Rule 15. The Rule of Alienation; which obliges you, when people are disputing hotly upon a subject, to pitch upon that word which gives the greatest disturbance, and to make a pun upon it. This has not only occasioned peace in private companies, but has put a stop to hot wranglings in parliaments and convocations, which otherwise would not so soon come to a resolution; for, as Horace says, *Ridiculum acri*, &c.; and very often it is found so. Sir ——— once, in parliament, brought in a bill which wanted some amendment; which being denied him by the house, he frequently repeated, "That he thirsted to mend his bill." Upon which a worthy member got up, and said, "Mr. Speaker, I humbly move, since that member *thirsts* so very much, that he may be allowed to mend his *draught*." This put the house into such a good humour that his petition was granted.

Rule 16. The Rule of Analogy is, when two persons pun upon different subjects after the same manner. As, says one, "I went to my *shoemaker's* to-day for a pair of *shoes*, which I bespoke a month ago; and, when *all* came to *all*, the dog *bristles* up to me with a thousand excuses, that I thought there would never be an *end* of his discourse; but, upon my calling him a rascal, he began to *wax* warm, and had the impudence to bid me *vamp* off, for he had not leisure now to talk to me, because he was going to dinner; which vexed me indeed to the very *soal*. Upon this, I jumped out of his shop in a great rage, and wished that the next hit he ate might be his *last*." Says another, "I went to a *tanner's* that owed me some money; and (would you think it?) the *pitiful* fellow was *fleshed* at it, insomuch that, forsooth, he could not *hide* his resentment, but told me, that it was enough to set a man *horn* mad to be *dunned* so early in a morning: and as for his part, he would *curry* favour no longer with me, let me do my worst. Thus the unmannerly cur *barked* at me," &c.

Rule 17. The Sophistical Rule is, fixing upon a man a saying which he never spoke, and making a pun upon it, as, "Ay, sir, since you say he was born in *Bark shire*, I say he is a *son of a bitch*."

Rule 18. The Rule of Train, is a method of introducing puns which have been studied before; *ex. gr.* By talking of *Truelock* the *gun-smith*, his very name will provoke some person in the company to pun. Then you proceed: "Sir, I smell *powder*, but you are plaguy weak in your *main-spring* for punning; I would advise you to get a better *stock* before you pretend to *let off*: though you may think yourself *prime* in this art, you are much mistaken, for a very young beginner may be a *match* for you. Ay, sir, you may *cock* and look big; but *u-pan* my word, I take you to be no more than a *flask;* and Mrs. Skin-*flint*, my neighbour, shall pun with you for a *pistole* if I do not *lose my aim*," &c.

Rule 19. The Rule of Challenge. As, for instance, when you have conned over in your mind a chain of puns, you surprise the best punner in company after this manner: "say *tanpit*, if you dare."

Rule 20. The Sanguine Rule allows you to swear a man out of his pun, and prove yourself the author of it, as Dr. S—— served Captain W——, who was told how a slater, working at his house, fell through all the rafters from top to bottom, and that upon this accident he said, "He loved to see a man go cleverly *through his work*."—"That is mine, by—," said the doctor.

Rule 21. The Rule of Concatenation is making a string of puns as fast as you can, that nobody else can put in a word till you have exhausted the subject, *ex. gr.* There was one John *Appleby*, a *gardener*, fell in love with one Mrs. *Curran*, for her *cherry-cheeks* and her *lily*-white hand; and soon after he got her consent to *graft* upon her *stock*. Mr. *Link* the parson was sent for, who joined the loving *pair* together. Mr. *Rowintree* and Mr. *Holyoak* were bridemen. The company were, my lady *Joan Keel*, who *came-a-mile* a-foot to compliment them; and her maid *Sally*, remarkable for her *carrots*, that rid upon a *chesnut*. There was Dr. *Furrage*, too, a constant *medlar* in other people's affairs. He was lately *im-peach'd* for murdering Don *Quickset*. Mrs. *Lettice Skirret* and Mrs. *Rose-merry* were the bridemaids; the latter sang a song to oblige the company, which an arch wag called a *funeral dirge;* but notwithstanding this, our friend John began to thrive upon matrimony like a *twig* in a *bush*. I forgot to tell you that the tailor had so much *cabbage* out of the wedding suit, there was none at all for supper.

Rule 22. The Rule of Inoculating is, when a person makes an excellent pun, and you immediately fix another upon it: as dean Swift one day said to a gentleman, who had a very little bob wig, "Sir, the *dam* of your wig is a *whisker;*" upon which I came in very *a-propos*, and said, "Sir, that cannot be, for it is but an *ear-wig*."

Rule 23. The Rule of Desertion allows you to bring a man into a pun, and leave him to work it out: as, suppose you should hear a man say the word *incomparable* ——Then you proceed, *in-com-in-com-par-parrable-rable* ——So let the other make his best of it.

Rule 24. The Salick Rule is a pretence to a jumping of wits: that is, when a man has made a good pun, the other swears with a pun he was just coming out with it. One night, I remember, Mr. —— served Dr. ——— so. The former saying, over a bottle,

"Will, I am for my mistress here."—"How so?" says Tom.—"Why, I am for *Wine-if-red*."—"By this crooked stick,"[a] said Tom, "I was coming out with it."

Rule 25. The Etymological Rule is, when a man hunts a pun through every letter and syllable of a word: as, for example, I am asked, "What is the best word to spend an evening with?" I answer, "*Potatoes*; for there is *po—pot—pota—potat—potatoe*, and the reverse *sot-a-top*."

Rule 26. The Rule of Mortification is, when a man, having got the thanks and laugh of a company for a good pun, an enemy to the art swears he read it in "Cambridge Jests." This is such an inversion of it, that I think I may be allowed to make examples of these kind of people in verse:—

> Thus puppies, that adore the dark,
> Against bright Cynthia howl and bark:
> Although the regent of the night,
> Like us, is gay with borrowed light.

Rule 27. The Professionary Rule[b] is, to frame a story, and swear you were present at an event where every man talked in his own calling; *ex. gr.* Major —— swears he was present at the seizing of a pick-pocket, by a great rabble in Smithfield; and that he heard

A Tailor say, "Send the dog to *hell*."
The Cook, "Let me be at him, I'll *baste* him."
The Joiner, "It is *plain* the dog was caught in the fact: I *saw* him."
The Blacksmith, "He is a fine *spark* indeed!"
The Butcher, "*Knock down* the *shambling* cur."
The Glazier, "Make the *light shine through him*."
The Bookseller, "*Bind* him over."
The Saddler, "*Pummel* him."
The Farmer, "*Thrash* the dog."
A Popish priest going by, "I'll make the *devil fly out of him*."

Rule 28. The Brazen-head Rule is, when a punster stands his ground against a whole company, though there is not one to side with him, to the utter destruction of all conversation but his own. As, for instance, —says one, "I hate a *pun*."—Then he, "When a *pun is meant*, is it a *punishment?*"—"*Deuce* take your quibbling!"—"Sir, I will not bate you an *ace*, *cinque* me if I do; and I'll make you know that I am a *sice* above you."—"This fellow cannot talk out of his *element*."—"To divert you was *all I meant*."

Rule 29. The Hypothetic Rule is, when you suppose things hardly consistent to be united for the sake of a pun: as, for instance, suppose a person in the pillory had received a full discharge of eggs upon every part of his face but the handle of it; why would he make the longest verses in the world? Ans. *Versus Alexandrinus*, i. e. All-eggs-and-dry-nose.

Rule 30. The Rule of Naturalization is, that punning is free of all languages: as for the Latin *Romanus*, you may say "Roman nose"—*Temeraria*, "Tom, where are you?"—*Oxoniæ prospectus*, "Pox on you, pray speak to us." For the French *quelque chose*, you may say in English, "kick shoes." When one says of a thief, "I wish he was transported;" answer, "he is already *far* enough." Dr. Swift made an excellent advantage of this rule one night: when a certain peevish gentleman in his company had lost his *spectacles*, he bid him "have a good heart; for, if it continued *raining* all night, he would find them in the morning." —"Pray how so?"—"Why, sir,

> "Nocte pluit tota, redeunt *spectacula* manè."

Rule 31. The Rule of Random. When a man speaks anything that comes uppermost, and some good pun-finder discovers what he never meant in it; then he is to say, "You have hit it!" As Major —— did, complaining that he stayed at home by reason of an issue in a leg, which was just beginning to run, he was answered by Mr. ——, "I wonder that you should be confined who have such running legs." The Major replied, "You have hit it; for I meant *that*."

Rule 32. The Rule of Scandal. Never to speak well of another punster; *ex. gr.* "Who, he! Lord, sir, he has not sense enough to play at crambo;" or, "He does not know the meaning of synonymous words;" or, "He never rose so high as a conundrum or a carriwhichit."

Rule 33. The Rule of Catch is, when you hear a man conning a pun softly to himself, to whip it out of his mouth, and pass it upon the company for your own: as, for instance, mustard happened to be mentioned in company where I was; and a gentleman with his eyes fixed upon the ceiling, was at *Mus—mus, sinapi—snap eye—bite nose*—One in company, overhearing him, *bit* him, and *snapped* it up; and said, "Mustard is the stoutest seed in the world, for it takes the greatest man by the *nose*."

Rule 34. The Golden Rule allows you to change one syllable for another; by this you may either lop off, insert, or add to a word: *ex. gr.*

For { Church,—*Kirk*,
Bangor,—*Clangor*,
Preshyter,—*Has-biter*, &c.

This Rule is of such consequence, that a man was once tried for his life by it. The case was thus: A certain man was brought before a judge of assize for murder: his lordship asked his name, and being answered *Spillman*, the judge said, "Take away *Sp*, and his name is *Ill-man*; put *K* to it, and it is *Kill-man*: away with him, gaoler; his very name has hanged him." This 31th rule, on this occasion, became a rule of court, and was so well liked that a justice of peace, who shall be nameless, applied every tittle of it to a man brought to him on the same account, after this manner: "Come, sir, I conjure you, as I am one of his majesty's justices of the peace, to tell me your name."—"My name, an't please you, is *Watson*."—"O ho, sir! *Watson!* mighty well! Take away *Sp* from it, and it is *Ill-man*, and put *K* to it, and it is *Kill-man*: away with him, constable; his very name will hang him."

Let us now consider a new case; as, for instance, "The Church of England, as by law established." Put a *T* before it, and it is *Test-ablished*: take away the *Test*, and put in *o*, and it is *Abolished*.

How much was [Tom Gordon] the late ingenious author of "Parson Alberoni" obliged to it, in that very natural story which he framed concerning the preacher, where he tells you, one of the congregation called the minister an *humbassandor* for an ambassador.

Give me leave, courteous reader, to recommend to your perusal and practice this most excellent rule, which is of such universal use and advantage to the learned world, that the most valuable discoveries, both as to antiquities and etymologies, are made by it; nay, further, I will venture to say, that all words which are introduced to enrich and make a language copious, beautiful, and harmonious, arise chiefly from this rule. Let any man but consult "Bentley's Horace," and he will see what useful discoveries that very learned gentleman has made by the help of this rule; or indeed poor Horace would have lain under the eternal reproach of making "a *fox* eat *oats*," had not the learned doctor, with great judgment and penetration, found out *nitedula* to be a blunder of the librarians for *vulpecula*; which *nitedula*, the doctor says, signifies a *grass-mouse*, and

[a] *Cane a-very*, i. e. Canary.

[b] An improvement on this rule was adopted by Dr Swift, in his "Full and True Account of Wood's Procession to the Gallows."

this clears up the whole matter, because it makes the story hang well together; for all the world knows, that weasels have a most tender regard and affection to grass-mice, whereas they hate foxes as they do fire-brands. In short, all various lections are to be attributed to this rule: so are all the Greek dialects; or Homer would have wanted the sonorous beauty of his oio's. But the greatest and best masters of this rule, without dispute, were the Dorians, who made nothing of saying *tin* for *toi*, *tenos* for *sheinos*, *surisdomes* for *surizomen*, &c. From this too we have our *quasi*'s in lexicons. Was it not by rule the 34th that the Samaritan, Chaldee, Æthiopic, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages were formed from the original Hebrew? for which I appeal to the Polyglott. And among our modern languages are not the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French derived and firmed from the Latin by the same power? How much poets have been obliged to it we need no further proof than the figures *prothesis*, *epenthesis*, *apocope*, *paragoge*, and *ellipsis*, trimming and fitting of words to make them more agreeable to our ears, Dionysius Halicarnassensis has taken notice of, in his book "De Compositione Vocum," where he pleasantly compares your polite reformers of words to masons with hammers, who break off rugged corners of stones that they may become more even and firm in their places.

But after all, give me leave to lament that I cannot have the honour of being the sole inventor of this incomparable rule: though I solemnly protest, upon the word of an author, (if an author may have credit,) that I never had the least hint toward it, any more than the ladies' letters and young children's pronunciation, till a year after I had proposed this rule to Dr. ——, who was an excellent judge of the advantage it might be to the public; when, to my great surprise, tumbling over the third tome of Alstedius, p. 71, right loath to believe my eyes, I met with the following passage: "Ambigua multum faciunt ad hanc rem, cujusmodi exempla plurima reperiuntur apud Plautum, qui in ambiguis crebro lusit. Joci captantur ex permutatione syllabarum et vocum, ut pro *Decretum*, *Discretum*; pro *Medicus*, *Mendicus* et *Merdicus*: pro Poly*carpus*, Poly*copros*. Item ex Syllabarum ellipsi, ut ait Althusius, cap. iii. civil. convers. pro Casimirus, *J'rus*; pro Marcus, *Arcus*; pro Vinosus, *Osus*; pro Sacerdotium, *Otium*. Sic, additione literæ, pro Urbanus, *Turbanus*." Which exactly corresponded to every branch and circumstance of my rule. Then, indeed, I could not avoid breaking out into the following exclamations, and that after a most pathetic manner: "Wretched Tom Pun-Sibi! Wretched indeed! Are all thy nocturnal lucubrations come to this? Must another, for being a hundred years before thee in the world, run away with the glory of thy own invention? It is true, he must. Happy Alstedius! who, I thought, would have stood me in *all-stead*, upon consulting thy method of joking! *All's tedious* to me now, since thou hast robbed me of that honour which would have set me above all writers of the present age. And why not happy Tom Pun-Sibi? did we not jump together like true wits? But, alas, thou art on the safest side of the bush; my credit being liable to the suspicion of the world, because you wrote before me. Ill-natured critics, in spite of all my protestations, will condemn me, right or wrong, for a plagiary. Henceforward never write anything of thy own; but pillage and trespass upon all that ever wrote before thee; search among dust and moths for things new to the learned. Farewell, study; from this moment I abandon thee: for, wherever I can get a paragraph upon any subject whatsoever ready done to my hand, my head shall have no further trouble than to see it fairly transcribed!"—And this method, I hope, will help me to swell out the Second Part of this work.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Second Part of this Work will be published with all convenient expedition; to which will be added, A small treatise of CONDRUMS, CARRIWHICHITS, and LONG-PETITES; together with the WINTER-FIRE'S Diversion: The art of making REBUSES; The Antiquity of HOOP-PETTICOATS, proved from Adam's two Daughters, Calmaan and Delbora, &c. &c. &c.

EDMUND CURLL, TO THE READER.

THERE has not, as yet, been any second part of this work published, nor do I believe was ever intended. But my friend Anthony Hammond, esq., upon reading it over, sent me examples to three more rules of his own making, viz.:—

Rule 35. The Rule of Blunder is, when any one, under the notion of a mistake, makes a pun which he may take notice of himself if the company do not; *ex. gr.*

Captain J—— said to his kinsman, who was going to be married, "O, cousin, I hear you are about to *halter* your condition." The company not taking notice of it, the captain corrected himself, "alter," says he, "I should have said."

Rule 36. The Rule of Sound is when the pun consists in the sound of the words only, without any relation to the thing signified; *ex. gr.*

He who translated that ingenious poesy of a wedding ring, "Qui dedit, se dedit:" when "he did it, she did it.

Or, like that of the country parson, whom a Roundhead colonel thought to puzzle by asking him whether he could rhyme to "hydrops, nocthycorax, thorax, et mascula vervex." He immediately answered, "land tax, and army tax, excise, and general Fairfax."

Rule 37. The Rule of Equivocation is the innocent use of this jesuitical art; *ex. gr.*

As the famous Daniel Purcell, a nonjuror, was dabbling along the streets in the dirt and rain, and a friend of his passing by asked him why he did not take a coach—"Alas," says he, "this is not a *reign* for me to take a coach in."

Another time, one of Daniel's friends telling him that when king George landed at Greenwich, he heard he had a full view of him, for that he stood next to him at his coming ashore. "Therefore," says he, "you must know him." "Ay," replied Daniel, "though I know him very well, yet I can't *swear* to him."

Lastly, Daniel knocking, on a 30th of January, at the Crown Tavern door, in the Strand, was answered by the drawer, through the wicket, that he could not let him in because it was fast-day, and his master and mistress were gone to church: "D—n your master and mistress," says he, "can't they be content to fast themselves, but they must make their doors *fast*?"

The learned Mr. Charles Bernard, serjeant-surgeon to queen Anne, being very severe upon parsons having pluralities, a reverend and worthy divine heard him a good while with patience; but at length took him up with this question, "Why do you, Mr. Serjeant Bernard, rail thus at pluralities who have always so many *sinecures* upon your own hands?"

Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Worcester, so eminent for his prophecies, when by his solicitation and compliance at court he got removed from a poor Welch bishopric to a rich English one, a reverend dean of the church said, "That he found his brother Lloyd spelt prophet with an *f*."

THE HISTORY OF POETRY,

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

SIR —In obedience to your commands, I here send you the following short essay toward a History of Poetry in England and Ireland. At first it was a science we only began to CHAW SIR. A hundred years after, we attempted to translate out of the Psalms, but could not our STERN-HOLD. In queen Elizabeth's reign, I think, there was but one DI-SPENSER of good verses; for his patron, though a great man, IS HIO NIGH by the length of time. Yet a little before her death, we attempted to deal in tragedy, and began to SHAKE SPEARS; which was pursued under king James I. by three great poets, in one of them many a line so strong, that you might make a BEAM ONT; the second, indeed, gives us sometimes but FLAT CHEER, and the third is BEN-ding a little to stiffness.

In the reign of king Charles I. there was a new succession of poets, one of them, though seldom read, I am very fond of; he has so much salt in his compositions, that you would think he had been used to SUCK-LING: as to his friend the author of "Gondibert," t'O HAVE AN AUNT write better. I say nothing against your favourite, though some censure him for writing too COOLY; but he had a rival whose happier genius made him stand like a WALL OR a pillar against censure.

During the Usurpation, we fell into burlesque; and I think whoever reads Hudibras, cannot BUT LEER. I have COT ONE more, who travestied Virgil, though not equal to the former.

After the Restoration, poets became very numerous; the chief, whose fame is louder than a MILL-TONE, must never be forgot. And here I must observe, that poets in those days loved retirement so much, that sometimes they lived in dens. One of them in a DRY-DEN: another called his den his village, or DEN-HAM; and I am informed that the sorry fellow, who is now laureat, affects to USE-DENS still; but to return from this digression, we were then famous for tragedy and comedy; the author of "Venice Preserved" is seldom O'T AWAY; yet he who wrote the "Rival Queens," before he lost his senses, sometimes talked MAD-LEA. Another, who was of this kingdom, went into England, because it is more SOUTHERN: and he wrote tolerably well. I say nothing of the satirist, with his OLD DAM' verses. As for comedy, the "Plain Dealer," W'ICH EARLY came into credit, is allowed on all hands an excellent piece: he had a dull contemporary, who sometimes showed humour; but his colouring was bad, and he could not SHADE-WELL. Sir George, in my opinion, outdid them all, and was sharp at EITHER-EDGE. The duke is also excellent, who took a BOOK IN GAME, and turned it into ridicule, under the name of "The Rehearsal." It is, indeed, no wonder to find poetry thrive under the reign of that prince; when by one of his great favourites, who was likewise an excellent poet, there was a DORE-SET open for all men of wit. Perhaps you WILL-MUTT'er, that I have left out the earl of Rochester; but I never was one of his admirers.

Upon the Revolution, poetry seemed to decline; however, I shall PAY O'R as many poets as I can remember. Mr. Montague affected to be a patron of wit, and his house was the poets' HALL-I-FAX for several years, which one of them used to STEP-NIGH every day. Another of them, who was my old acquaintance, succeeded well in comedy, but failed when he began to CON-DRAVE subjects. The rest came in a row.

The author of the "Dispensary" had written nothing else valuable, and therefore is too small in the DARTH. But may not a man be allowed to ADD IS OWN friend to the number? I mean the author of "Cato."

To mention those who are now alive, would be endless; I will therefore only venture to lay down one maxim, that a good poet, if he designs to TICKLE the world, must be GAY and YOUNG; but if he proposes to give us rational pleasure, he must be as grave as a POPE.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

DECREE

FOR CONCLUDING THE TREATY BETWEEN

DR. SWIFT AND MRS. LONG, 1709.

Miss ANNE LONG, sister to sir James Long of Draycot, in Wiltshire, a lady of great beauty, accomplishment, and fashion. Swift became acquainted with her at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's: and the following piece of humour is founded upon the respectful advances which, between jest and earnest, he demanded from the ladies who were ambitious of his acquaintance. The treaty thus whimsically concluded, occasioned a sincere though short friendship between the parties. Mrs Long was, from the derangement of her affairs, obliged to retire to Lynn, in Norfolk, where she died, under a borrowed name, in 1711.

WHEREAS it hath been signified to us, that there is now a treaty of acquaintance on foot between Dr. Swift, of Leicester Fields, on the one part, and Mrs. Long, of Albemarle-street, on the other part: And whereas the said Dr. Swift, upon the score of his merit and extraordinary qualities, doth claim the sole and undoubted right, that all persons whatsoever shall make such advances to him as he pleases to demand,[a] any law, claim, custom, privilege of sex, beauty, fortune, or quality, to the contrary notwithstanding: And whereas the said Mrs. Long, humbly acknowledging and allowing the right of the said doctor, doth yet insist upon certain privileges and exceptions, as a Lady of the Toast,[b] which privileges, she doth allege, are excepted out of the doctor's general claim, and which she cannot betray without injuring the whole body whereof she is a member; by which impediment the said treaty is not yet brought to a conclusion, to the great grievance and damage of Mrs. Vanhomrigh and her fair daughter Hessy:[c] and whereas the decision of this weighty cause is referred to us, in our judicial capacity, We, out of our tender regard to truth and justice, having heard and duly considered the allegations of both parties, do declare, adjudge, decree, and determine, That the said Mrs. Long, notwithstanding any privileges she may claim as aforesaid as a Lady of the Toast, shall, without essoine or demur, in two hours after the publishing of this our decree, make all advances to the said doctor that he shall demand; and that the said advances shall not be made to the said doctor as *un homme sans consequence*, but purely upon account of his great merit. And we do hereby strictly forbid the said Mrs. Vanhomrigh, and her fair daughter Hessy, to aid, abet, comfort, or encourage her, the said Mrs. Long, in her disobedience for the future. And in consideration of the said Mrs. Long's being a Toast, we think it just and reasonable that the said doctor should permit her, in all companies, to give herself the reputation of being one of his acquaintance, which no other lady shall presume to do,[d] upon any pretence whatsoever, without his especial leave and licence first had and obtained.

By especial command,

G. V. HOMRIGH.[e]

[a] "When I lived in England," says the dean to Miss Hoadly, June 4, 1734, "once every year I issued out an edict, commanding that all ladies of wit, sense, merit, and quality, who had an ambition to be acquainted with me, should make the first advances at their peril."

[b] The Kit-cat Club had regular toasts of the most fashionable and beautiful women, favourable to their political opinions.

[c] Esther Vanhomrigh, the unfortunate Vanessa.

[d] Swift expresses himself strongly against those who claimed his acquaintance on slight grounds.

[e] The signature of Mrs. Vanhomrigh, mother of Vanessa.

A DISCOURSE
TO PROVE
THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE.
SHOWING FROM VARIOUS INSTANCES, THAT HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN WERE DERIVED FROM THE ENGLISH.

DURING the reign of parties for about forty years past, it is a melancholy consideration to observe how philology has been neglected, which was before the darling employment of the greatest authors, from the restoration of learning in Europe. Neither do I remember it to have been cultivated, since the Revolution, by any one person, with great success, except our illustrious modern star, doctor Richard Bentley, with whom the republic of learning must expire, as mathematics did with sir Isaac Newton. My ambition has been gradually attempting, from my early youth, to be the holder of a rush-light before that great luminary; which, at least, might be of some little use during those short intervals while he was snuffing his candle, or peeping with it under a bushel.

My present attempt is to assert the antiquity of our English tongue; which, as I shall undertake to prove by invincible argument, has varied very little for these two thousand six hundred and thirty-four years past. And my proofs will be drawn from etymology; wherein I shall use my readers much fairer than Pezro, Skinner, Verstegan, Camden, and many other superficial pretenders, have done: for I will put no force upon the words, nor desire any more favour than to allow for the usual accidents of corruption, or the avoiding a cacophonia.

I think I can make it manifest to all impartial readers, that our language, as we now speak it, was originally the same with those of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, however corrupted in succeeding times by a mixture of barbarisms. I shall only produce at present two instances among a thousand from the Latin tongue. *Cloaca*, which they interpret a *necessary-house*, is altogether an English word; the last letter *a* being, by the mistake of some scribe, transferred from the beginning to the end of the word. In the primitive orthography it is called *a cloac*, which had the same signification; and still continues so at Edinburgh, in Scotland, where a man in a *cloac*, or cloak, of large circumference and length, carrying a convenient vessel under it, calls out, as he goes through the streets, "Wha has need of me?" Whatever customer calls, the vessel is placed in the corner of the street; the *cloac*, or a cloak, surrounds and covers him; and thus he is eased with decency and secrecy.

The second instance is yet more remarkable. The Latin word *turpis* signifies *nasty*, or *filthy*. Now this word *turpis* is a plain composition of two English words: only, by a Syncope, the last letter of the first syllable, which is *d*, is taken out of the middle, to prevent the jarring of three consonants together; and these two English words express the most unseemly excrements that belong to man.

But although I could produce many other examples, equally convincing, that the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans originally spoke the same language which we do at present, yet I have chosen to confine myself chiefly to the proper names of persons, because I conceive they will be of greater weight to confirm what I advance; the ground and reason of those names being certainly owing to the nature, or some distinguishing action or quality in those persons, and consequently expressed in the true ancient language of the several people.

I will begin with the Grecians, among whom the most ancient are the great leaders on both sides in the siege of Troy; for it is plain, from Homer, that the Trojans spoke Greek as well as the Grecians. Of these latter, *Achilles* was the most valiant. This hero was of a restless, unquiet nature, never giving himself any repose either in peace or war; and therefore as Guy of Warwick was called a *kill-cow*, and another terrible man a *kill-devil*, so this general was called *A-kill-ease*, or destroyer of ease; and, at length, by corruption, *Achilles*.

Hector, on the other side, was the bravest among the Trojans. He had destroyed so many of the Greeks by *hacking* and *tearing* them, that his soldiers, when they saw him fighting, would cry out, "Now the enemy will be *hack't*, now he will be *tore*." At last, by putting both words together, this appellation was given to their leader under the name of *Hacktore*; and, for the more commodious sounding, *Hector*.

Diomede, another Grecian captain, had the boldness to fight with Venus, and wound her; whereupon the goddess, in a rage, ordered her son Cupid to make this hero to be hated by all women, repeating it often that he should *die a maid*; from whence, by a small change in orthography, he was called *Diomede*. And it is to be observed, that the term *maiden-head* is frequently, at this very day, applied to persons of either sex.

Ajax was, in fame, the next Grecian general to Achilles. The derivation of his name from *A jakes*, however asserted by great authors, is, in my opinion, very unworthy both of them and of the hero himself. I have often wondered to see such learned men mistake in so clear a point. This hero is known to have been a most intemperate liver, as it is usual with soldiers; and, although he was not old, yet, by conversing with camp-strollers, he had got pains in his bones, which he pretended to his friends were only *age-aches*; but they telling the story about the army, as the vulgar always confound right pronunciation, he was afterwards known by no other name than *Ajax*.

The next I shall mention is *Andromache*, the famous wife of Hector. Her father was a Scotch gentleman, of a noble family still subsisting in that ancient kingdom. But, being a foreigner in Troy, to which city he led some of his countrymen in the defence of Priam, as Dictys Cretensis learnedly observes, Hector fell in love with his daughter, and the father's name was *Andrew Mackay*. The young lady was called by the same name, only a little softened to the Grecian accent.

Astyanax was the son of Hector and Andromache. When Troy was taken, this young prince had his head cut off, and his body thrown to swine. From this fatal accident he had his name, which has, by a peculiar good fortune, been preserved entire, *A sty, an ax*.

Mars may be mentioned among these, because he fought against the Greeks. He was called the god of war; and is described as a swearing, swaggering companion, and a great giver of rude language. For when he was angry, he would cry, "Kiss *my a—se*, *My a—se* in a bandbox, *My a—se* all over;" which he repeated so commonly, that he got the appellation of *My a—se*; and by a common abbreviation, *Mars*, from whence, by leaving out the mark of elision, *Mars*. And this is a common practice among us at present; as in the words *D'anvers*, *D'avenport*, *D'anby*, which are now *Danvers*, *Davenport*, *Danby*, and many others.

The next is *Hercules*, otherwise called *Alcides*. Both these names are English, with little alteration, and describe the principal qualities of that hero, who was distinguished for being a slave to his mistresses, and at the same time for his great strength and courage. *Omphale*, his chief mistress, used to call her lovers *her*

cullies; and because this hero was more and longer subject to her than any other, he was in a particular manner called the chief of *her cullies:* which, by an easy change, made the word *Hercules.* His other name, *Alcides,* was given him on account of his prowess; for, in fight, he used to strike on *all sides;* and was allowed on *all sides* to be the chief hero of his age. For one of which reasons, he was called *All sides* or *Alcides;* but I am inclined to favour the former opinion.

A certain Grecian youth was a great imitator of Socrates; which that philosopher observing, with much pleasure said to his friends, "There is an *Ape* o' *mine own days.*" After which the young man was called *Epaminondas,* and proved to be the most virtuous person, as well as the greatest general, of his age.

Ucalegon was a very obliging inn-keeper of Troy. When a guest was going to take horse, the landlord took leave of him with this compliment, "Sir, I should be glad to see *you call again.*" Strangers, who knew not his right name, caught his last words: and thus, by degrees, that appellation prevailed, and he was known by no other name even among his neighbours.

Hydra was a great serpent, which Hercules slew. His usual outward garment was the *raw hide* of a lion, and this he had on when he attacked the serpent: which, therefore, took its name from the skin; the modesty of that hero devolving the honour of his victory upon the lion's skin, call that enormous snake the *Hydraw* serpent.

Leda was the mother of Castor and Pollux; whom Jupiter embracing in the shape of a swan, she laid a couple of eggs; and was therefore called *Laid a,* or *Leda.*

As to Jupiter himself, it is well known that the statues and pictures of this heathen god, in Roman Catholic countries, resemble those of *St. Peter,* and are often taken the one for the other. The reason is manifest: for, when the emperors had established Christianity, the heathens were afraid of acknowledging their heathen idols of the chief God, and pretended it was only a statue of the *Jew Peter.* And thus the principal heathen god came to be called by the ancient Romans, with very little alteration, Jupiter.

The *Hamadryades* are represented by mistaken antiquity as nymphs of the groves. But the true account is this: they were women of Calabria, who dealt in bacon; and living near the sea-side, used to pickle their bacon in salt-water, and then set it up to dry in the sun. From whence they were properly called *Ham-a-dry-a-days,* and in process of time misspelt *Hamadryades.*

Neptune, the god of the sea, had his name from the *tunes* sung to him by the *Tritons,* upon their shells, every *neap* or *nep* tide. The word is come down to us almost uncorrupted, as well as that of *Tritons,* his servants; who, in order to please their master, used to *try* all *tones* till they could hit upon that he liked.

Aristotle was a peripatetic philosopher, who used to instruct his scholars while he was walking. When the lads were come, he would *arise to tell* them what he thought proper; and was therefore called *Arise to tell.* But succeeding ages, who understood not this etymology, have, by an absurd change, made it *Aristotle.*

Aristophanes was a *Greek* comedian, full of levity, and gave himself too much freedom; which made graver people not scruple to say, that he had a great deal of *airy stuff in his* writings: and these words, often repeated, made succeeding ages discriminate him *Aristophanes.* Vide *Rosin. Antiq.* l. iv.

Alexander the Great was very fond of eggs roasted in hot ashes. As soon as his cooks heard he was come home to dinner or supper, they called aloud to their under-officers, *All eggs under the grate;* which, repeated every day at noon and evening, made strangers think it was that prince's real name, and therefore gave him no other; and posterity has been ever since under the same delusion.

Pygmalion was a person of very low stature, but great valour; which made his townsmen call him *Pigmy lion:* and so it should be spelt, although the word has suffered less by transcribers than many others.

Archimedes was a most famous mathematician. His studies required much silence and quiet; but his wife having several maids, they were always disturbing him with their tattle or their business; which forced him to come out every now and then to the stair-head, and cry, "*Hark, ye maids;* if you will not be quiet, I shall turn you out of doors." He repeated these words, *Hark, ye maids,* so often, that the unlucky jades, when they found he was at his study, would say, "There is *Hark, ye maids;* let us speak softly." Thus the name went through the neighbourhood; and at last grew so general, that we are ignorant of that great man's true name to this day.

Strabo was a famous geographer; and, to improve his knowledge, travelled over several countries, as the writers of his life inform us; who likewise add, that he affected great nicety and finery in his clothes; from whence people took occasion to call him the *Stray beau;* which future ages have pinned down upon him very much to his dishonour.

Peloponnesus, that famous Greek peninsula, got its name from a Greek colony in Asia the Less; many of whom going for traffic thither, and finding that the inhabitants had but one well in the town of * * * *, from whence certain porters used to carry the water through the city in great pails, so heavy that they were often forced to set them down for ease: the tired porters, after they had set down the pails, and wanted to take them up again, would call for assistance to those who were nearest, in these words, *Pail up, and ease us.* The stranger Greeks, hearing these words repeated a thousand times as they passed the street, thought the inhabitants were pronouncing the name of their country, which made the foreign Greeks call it *Peloponnesus,* a manifest corruption of *Pail up, and ease us.*

Having mentioned so many Grecians to prove my hypothesis, I shall not tire the reader with producing an equal number of Romans, as I might easily do. Some few will be sufficient.

Cæsar was the greatest captain of that empire. The word ought to be spelt *Seizer,* because he seized on not only most of the known world, but even the liberties of his own country: so that a more proper appellation could not have been given him.

Cicero was a poor scholar in the university of Athens, wherewith his enemies in Rome used to reproach him; and, as he passed the streets, would call out, *O Cicer, Cicer O!* A word still used in Cambridge, and answers to a servitor in Oxford.

Annibal was a sworn enemy to the Romans, and gained many glorious victories over them. This name appears, at first repeating, to be a metaphor drawn from tennis, expressing a skilful gamester, who can take *any ball;* and is very justly applied to so renowned a commander. Navigators are led into a strange mistake upon this article. We have usually in our fleet some large man-of-war, called the *Annibal* with great propriety, because it is so strong that it may defy *any ball* from a cannon. And such is the deplorable ignorance of our seamen, that they miscall it the *Honey-ball.*

Cartago was the most famous trading city in the world; where, in every street, there was many a *cart a going,* probably laden with merchant goods. See Alexander ab Alexandro, and Suidas upon the word *Cartago.*

The word *Roman* itself is perfectly English, like other words ending in *man* or *men,* as *hangman, dray man, huntsman,* and several others. It was formerly

spelt *Rowman*, which is the same with *Waterman*. And therefore when we read of *jesta* (or, as it is corruptly spelt, *gesta*) *Romanorum*, it is to be understood of the rough manner of *jesting* used by the watermen; who, upon the sides of rivers, would *row man o'r um*. This I think is clear enough to convince the most incredulous.

Misanthropus was the name of an ill-natured man, which he obtained by a custom of catching a great number of *mice*, then shutting them up in a room, and throwing a cat among them. Upon which his fellow-citizens called him *Mice and throw puss*. The reader observes how much the orthography has been changed, without altering the sound: but such depravations we owe to the injury of time, and gross ignorance of transcribers.

Among the ancients, fortune-telling by the stars was a very beggarly trade. The professors lay upon straw, and their cabins were covered with the same materials: whence every one who followed that mystery was called *A straw lodger*, or a lodger in straw; but, in the new-fangled way of spelling, *Astrologer*.

It is remarkable, that the very word *diphthong* is wholly English. In former times, schoolboys were chastised with thongs fastened at the head of a stick. It was observed that young lads were much puzzled with spelling and pronouncing words where two vowels came together, and were often corrected for their mistakes in that point. Upon these occasions the master would *dip* his *thongs* (as we now do rods) in p—, which made that difficult union of vowels to be called *dipthong*.

Bucephalus, the famous horse of Alexander, was so called because there were many grooms employed about him, which *fellows* were always *busy* in their office; and because the horse had so many *busy fellows* about him, it was natural for those who went to the stable to say, "Let us go to the *busy fellows*;" by which they meant to see that prince's horse. And in process of time these words were absurdly applied to the animal itself, which was thenceforth styled *Busy fellows*, and very improperly *Bucephalus*.

I shall now bring a few proofs of the same kind, to convince my readers that our English was well known to the Jews.

Moses, the great leader of those people out of Egypt, was in propriety of speech called *mow seas*, because he *mowed* the *seas* down in the middle, to make a path for the Israelites.

Abraham was a person of strong bones and sinews, and a firm walker, which made the people say, "He was a man (in the Scotch phrase, which comes nearest to the old Saxon) of *a bra ham*;" that is, of a brave strong ham, from whence he acquired his name.

The man whom the Jews called Balaam was a shepherd; who, by often crying *ba* to his *lambs*, was therefore called *Baalamb*, or *Balam*.

Isaac is nothing else but *Eyes ake*; because the Talmudists report that he had a pain in his eyes.—Vide *Ben Gonion and the Targum on Genesis*.

Thus I have manifestly proved, that the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, spoke the language we now do in England; which is an honour to our country that I thought proper to set in a true light, and yet has not been done, as I have heard, by any other writer.

And thus I have ventured (perhaps too temeariously) to contribute my mite to the learned world, from whose candour I may hope to receive some approbation. It may probably give me encouragement to proceed on some other speculations, if possible, of greater importance than what I now offer; and which have been the labour of many years, as well as of constant watchings, that I might be useful to mankind, and particularly to mine own country.

THE WONDERFUL WONDER OF WONDERS.

There is a certain person lately arrived at this city, of whom it is very proper the world should be informed. His character may perhaps be thought very inconsistent, improbable, and unnatural; however, I intend to draw it with the utmost regard to truth. This I am the better qualified to do because he is a sort of dependant upon our family, and almost of the same age though I cannot directly say I have ever seen him. He is a native of this country, and has lived long among us; but, what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never seen before by any mortal.

It is true, indeed, he always chooses the lowest place in company; and contrives it so, to keep out of sight. It is reported, however, that in his younger days he was frequently exposed to view, but always against his will, and was sure to smart for it.

As to his family, he came into the world a younger brother, being of six children the fourth in order of birth; of which the eldest is now head of the house; the second and third carry arms, but the two youngest are only footmen: some indeed add, that he has likewise a twin-brother, who lives over-against him, and keeps a victualling-house; he has the reputation to be a close, griping, squeezing fellow; and that when his bags are full, he is often needy; yet, when the fit takes him, as fast as he gets he lets it fly.

When in office, no one discharges himself, or does his business better. He has sometimes strained hard for an honest livelihood, and never got a bit till everybody else had done.

One practice appears very blameable in him: that every morning he privately frequents unclean houses, where any modest person would blush to be seen. And although this be generally known, yet the world, as censorious as it is, has been so kind as to overlook this infirmity in him. To deal impartially, it must be granted that he is too great a lover of himself, and very often consults his own ease at the expense of his best friends; but this is one of his blind sides; and the best of men I fear are not without them.

He has been constituted by the higher powers in the station of receiver-general, in which employment some have censured him for playing fast and loose. He is likewise overseer of the golden mines, which he daily inspects when his health will permit him.

He was long bred under a master of arts, who instilled good principles into him, but these were soon corrupted. I know not whether this deserves mention, that he is so very capricious as to take it for an equal affront to talk either of kissing or kicking him, which has occasioned a thousand quarrels; however, nobody was ever so great a sufferer for faults, which he neither was, nor possibly could be, guilty of.

In his religion he has thus much of the Quaker, that he stands always covered, even in the presence of the king; in most other points a perfect idolater, although he endeavours to conceal it; for he is known to offer daily sacrifices to certain subterraneous nymphs, whom he worships in an humble posture, prone on his face, and stripped stark naked; and so leaves his offerings behind him, which the priests of those goddesses are careful enough to remove, upon certain seasons, with the utmost privacy, at midnight, and from thence maintain themselves and families. In all urgent necessities and pressures, he applies himself to these deities, and sometimes even in the streets and highways, from an opinion that those powers have an influence in all places, although their peculiar residence be in caverns under ground. Upon these occasions, the fairest ladies will not refuse to lend their hands to assist him; for, although they are ashamed to have him seen in their

company, or even so much as to hear him named, yet it is well known that he is one of their constant followers.

In politics, he always submits to what is uppermost; but he peruses pamphlets on both sides with great impartiality, though seldom till everybody else has done with them.

His learning is of a mixed kind, and he may properly be called a *helluo librorum*, or another Jacobus de Voragine; though his studies are chiefly confined to schoolmen, commentators, and German divines, together with modern poetry and critics; and he is an atomic philosopher, strongly maintaining a void in nature, which he seems to have fairly proved by many experiments.

I shall now proceed to describe some peculiar qualities, which, in several instances, seem to distinguish this person from the common race of other mortals.

His grandfather was a member of the rump parliament, as the grandson is of the present, where he often rises, sometimes grumbles, but never speaks. However, he lets nothing pass willingly but what is well digested. His courage is indisputable, for he will take the boldest man alive by the nose.

He is generally the first a-bed in the family, and the last up; which is to be lamented, because when he happens to rise before the rest, it has been thought to forebode some good fortune to his superiors.

As wisdom is acquired by age, so, by every new wrinkle in his face, he is reported to gain some new knowledge.

In him we may observe the true effects and consequences of tyranny in a state; for, as he is a great oppressor of all below him, so there is nobody more oppressed by those above him; yet, in his time, he has been so highly in favour, that many illustrious persons have been entirely indebted to him for their preferments.

He has discovered, from his own experience, the true point wherein all human actions, projects, and designs do chiefly terminate; and how mean and sordid they are at the bottom.

It behoves the public to keep him quiet; for his frequent murmurs are a certain sign of intestine tumults.

No philosopher ever lamented more the luxury for which these nations are so justly taxed; it has been known to cost him tears of blood; for in his own nature he is far from being profuse: though indeed he never stays a night at a gentleman's house without leaving something behind him.

He receives with great submission whatever his patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay heavy burdens upon him, which is frequently enough, he gets rid of them as soon as he can; but not without some labour, and much grumbling.

He is a perpetual hanger on; yet nobody knows how to be without him. He patiently suffers himself to be kept under, but loves to be well used, and in that case will sacrifice his vitals to give you ease; and he has hardly one acquaintance for whom he has not been bound; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to lose anything by it.

He is observed to be very unquiet in the company of a Frenchman in new clothes, or a young coquette.

He is, in short, the subject of much mirth and raillery, which he seems to take well enough; though it has not been observed that ever any good thing came from himself.

There is so general an opinion of his justice, that sometimes very hard cases are left to his decision; and while he sits upon them, he carries himself exactly even between both sides, except where some knotty point arises; and then he is observed to lean a little to the right or left, as the matter inclines him; but his reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every man approves them.

POSTSCRIPT.

Gentle reader,—Though I am not insensible how many thousand persons have been, and still are, with great dexterity handling this subject, and no less aware of what infinite reams of paper have been laid out upon it; however, in my opinion, no man living has touched it with greater nicety, and more delicate turns, than our author. But, because there is some intended obscurity in this relation, and curiosity, inquisitive of secrets, may possibly not enter into the bottom and depth of the subject, it was thought not improper to take off the veil, and gain the reader's favour by enlarging his insight. Ars *enim non habet inimicum, nisi ignorantem.* It is well known that it has been the policy of all times to deliver down important subjects by emblem and riddle, and not to suffer the knowledge of truth to be derived to us in plain and simple terms, which are generally as soon forgotten as conceived. For this reason, the heathen religion is mostly couched under mythology. For the like reason (this being a fundamental in its kind) the author has thought fit to wrap up his treasure in clean linen, which it is our business to lay open, and set in a due light; for I have observed, upon any accidental discovery, the least glimpse has given a great diversion to the eager spectator, as many ladies could testify, were it proper, or the case would admit.

The politest companies have vouchsafed to smile at the bare name; and some people of fashion have been so little scrupulous of bringing it into play, that it was the usual saying of a knight and a man of good breeding, that whenever he rose, his a-se rose with him.

THE WONDER OF ALL THE WONDERS THAT EVER THE WORLD WONDERED AT.

FOR ALL PERSONS OF QUALITY AND OTHERS.

Newly arrived at this city of Dublin, the famous artist John Emanuel Seboitz, who, to the great surprise and satisfaction of all spectators, is ready to do the following wonderful performances; the like before never seen in this kingdom.

He will heat a bar of iron red hot, and thrust it into a barrel of gunpowder before all the company, and yet it shall not take fire.

He lets any gentleman charge a blunderbuss with the same gunpowder, and twelve leaden bullets, which blunderbuss the said artist discharges full in the face of the said company, without the least hurt, the bullets sticking in the wall behind them.

He takes any gentleman's own sword, and runs it through the said gentleman's body so that the point appears bloody at the back to all the spectators: then he takes out the sword, wipes it clean and returns it to the owner, who receives no manner of hurt.

He takes a pot of scalding oil and throws it by great ladlesful directly at the ladies, without spoiling their clothes or burning their skins.

He takes any person of quality's child, from two years old to six, and lets the child's own father or mother take a pike in their hands: then the artist takes the child in his arms, and tosses it upon the point of the pike, where it sticks, to the great satisfaction of all spectators; and is then taken off without so much as a hole in his coat.

He mounts upon a scaffold just over the spectators, and from thence throws down a great quantity of large tiles and stones, which fall like so many pillows, without so much as discomposing either perukes or head-dresses.

He takes any person of quality up to the said scaffold, which person pulls off his shoes, and leaps nine feet directly down on a board prepared on purpose, full of sharp spikes six inches long, without hurting his feet or damaging his stockings.

He places the said board on a chair, upon which a lady sits down with another lady in her lap, while the spikes, instead of entering into the under lady's flesh, will feel like a velvet cushion.

He takes any person of quality's footman, ties a rope about his bare neck, and draws him up by pulleys to the ceiling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his master or the company pleases, the said footman, to the wonder and delight of all beholders, having a pot of ale in one hand and a pipe in the other and when he is let down, there will not appear the least mark of the cord about his neck.

He bids a lady's maid put her finger into a cup of clear liquor like water, upon which her face and both her hands are immediately withered like an old woman of fourscore; her belly swells as if she were within a week of her time, and her legs are as thick as mill-posts; but upon putting her finger into another cup, she becomes as young and handsome as she was before.

He gives any gentleman leave to drive forty twelve-penny nails up to the head in a porter's backside, and then places the said porter in a loadstone chair, which draws out every nail, and the porter feels no pain.

He likewise draws the teeth of half a dozen gentlemen, mixes and jumbles them in a hat, gives any person leave to blindfold him, and returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his forefinger and thumb, he thrusts several gentlemen's and ladies' eyes out of their heads without the least pain, at which time they see an unspeakable number of beautiful colours; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper sockets, without any damage to the sight.

He lets any gentleman drink a quart of hot melted lead, and by a draught of prepared liquor, of which he takes part himself, he makes the said lead pass through the said gentleman, before all the spectators without any damage, after which it is produced in a cake to the company:

With many other wonderful performances of art too tedious here to mention.

The said artist has performed before most kings and princes in Europe with great applause.

He performs every day (except Sundays) from ten of the clock to one in the forenoon: and from four till seven in the evening, at the New Inn in Smithfield.

The first seat a British crown, the second a British half-crown, and the lowest a British shilling.

N.B. The best hands in town are to play at the said show.

A LETTER,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF A PESTILENT NEIGHBOUR.

Sir,—You must give me leave to complain of a *pestilent* fellow in my neighbourhood, who is always beating *mortar*, yet I cannot find he ever builds. In talking he useth such hard words, that I want a druggerman to interpret them. But all is not gold that *glisters*. *A pot he carries* to most houses where he visits. He makes his prentice his *galley*-slave. I wish our lane were *purged* of him. Yet he pretends to be a *cordial* man. Every *spring* his shop is crowded with country-folks; who by their *leaves*, in my opinion, help him to do a great deal of mischief. He is full of *scruples*; and so very litigious, that he *files bills* against all his acquaintances; and though he be much troubled with the *simples*, yet I assure you he is a *jesuitical dog*; as you may know by his *bark*. Of all poetry he loves the *dram-a-tick* best. I am, &c.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

1709, at a conjecture.

My Lord,—It is now a good while since I resolved to take some occasions of congratulating with your lordship, and condoling with the public, upon your lordship's leaving the Admiralty; and I thought I could never choose a better time than when I am in the country with my lord bishop of Clogher and his brother the doctor; for we pretend to a *triumvirate* of as humble servants and true admirers of your lordship as any you have in both islands. You may call them a *triumvirate*; for, if you please to *try um*, they will *vie* with the best, and are of the first *rate*, though they are not *men of war*, but men of the church. To say the truth it was a pity your lordship should be confined to the *Fleet*, when you are not in debt. Though your lordship is *cast away*, you are not *sunk*; nor ever will be, since nothing is out of your lordship's *depth*. Dr. Ashe says, it is but justice that your lordship, who is a man of *letters*, should be placed upon the *post-office*; and my lord bishop adds, that he hopes to see your lordship tossed from that *post* to be a *pillar* of state again; which he desired I would put in by way of *postscript*. I am, my lord, &c.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

Pretended to be the dying speech of Tom Ashe, whose brother, the reverend Dillon Ashe, was named Dilly.[a]

"Given to Dr. Monsey by sir Andrew Fountaine, and communicated to Dr. Deane Swift by that ingenious, learned, and very obliging gentleman."

Tom Ashe died last night. It is conceived he was so puffed up by my lord-lieutenant's *favour*, that it struck him into a *fever*. I here send you his dying speech, as it was exactly taken by a friend in short-hand. It is something long, and a little incoherent; but he was several hours in delivering it, and with several intervals. His friends were about the bed, and he spoke to them thus:—

a Thomas Ashe, esq., descended from an ancient family of that name in Wiltshire, was a gentleman of fortune in Ireland. He was a facetious, pleasant companion, but the most eternal, unwearied punster that ever lived. He was thick and short in his person, being not above five feet high at the most, and had something very droll in his appearance. He died about the year 1719, and left his whole estate, of about 1000*l.* a-year, to his intimate friend and kinsman, Richard Ashe of Ashfield, esq. There is a whimsical story, and a very true one, of Tom Ashe, which is well remembered to this day. It happened that, while he was travelling on horseback, and at a considerable distance from any town, there burst from the clouds such a torrent of rain as wetted him through. He galloped forward; and as soon as he came to an inn, he was met instantly by a drawer: "Here," said he to the fellow, stretching out one of his arms, "take off my coat immediately!"—"No, sir, I won't," said the drawer. "Pox confound you," said Ashe, "take off my coat this instant!"—"No, sir," replied the drawer, "I dare not take off your coat, for it is felony, to strip an Ash." Tom was delighted beyond measure, frequently told the story, and said he would have given fifty guineas to have been the author of that pun. This little tract of Dr. Swift's, entitled "The Dying Words of Tom Ashe," was written several years before the decease of Tom, and was merely designed to exhibit the manner in which such an eternal punster might have expressed himself on his death-bed.

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My Fatends,—It is time for a man to look *grave*, when he has one foot there. I once had only a *punnic* fear of death; but of late I have *pundered* it more seriously. Every fit of *coffing* hath put me in mind of my *coffin;* though *dissolute* men seldomest think of *dissolution*. This is a very great alteration: I, that supported myself with good *wine*, must now be myself supported by a *small-bier*. A fortune-teller once looked on my hand, and said, this man is to be a great traveller; he will soon be at the *diet* of *Worms*, and from thence go to *Ratisbone*. But now I understand his double meaning. I desire to be privately *buried*, for I think a public funeral looks like *Bury*-fair; and the *rites* of the dead too often prove *wrong* to the living. Methinks the word itself best expresses the number, neither *few nor all*. A dying man should not think of *obsequies*, but *ob se quies*. Little did I think you would so soon see poor *Tom stown* under a *tomb-stone*. But as the *mole* crumbles the *mold* about her, so a man of small *mold*, before I am *old*, may *molder* away. Sometime I've *rav'd* that I should *revive*; but physicians tell me, that when once the great *artery* has drawn the *heart awry*, we shall find the *cor di all*, in spite of all the highest *cordial*.—Brother, you are fond of *Daffy's* elixir; but when death comes, the world will see that, in spite of *Daffy*, *down Dilly*.* Whatever doctors *may design* by their *medicines*, a man in a *dropsy drops he* not, in spite of Goddard's *drops*, though none are reckoned such *high drops?*—I find death smells the blood of an Englishman: *a fee* faintly *fumbled* out will be a weak defence against his *fee-fa-fum*. *P T* are no letters in death's *alphabet;* he has not *half a bit* of either: he moves his *sithe*, but will not be moved by all our *sighs*. Everything ought to put us in mind of death: physicians affirm that our very food breeds it in us; so that, in our *dieting*, we may be said to *die eating*. There is something ominous, not only in the names of diseases, as *di*-arrhœa, *di*-abetes, *di*-sentery, but even in the drugs designed to preserve our lives; as *di*-accodium, *di*-apente, *di*-ascordium. I perceive Dr. *Howard* (and I feel *how hard*) *lay thumb* on my *pulse*, then *pulls* it back, as if he saw *lethum* in my face. I see as bad in his; for sure there is no *physic* like a *sick phiz*. He thinks I shall decease before the *day cease;* but before I die, before the bell hath *toll'd*, and *Tom Tollman* is *told* that little *Tom*, though not *old*, has paid nature's *toll*, I do desire to give some advice to those that survive me. First, let gamesters consider that death is a *hazard* and *passage*, upon the turn of a *die*. Let lawyers consider it as a hard *case*. And let punners consider how hard it is to *die jesting*, when death is so hard in *digesting*.

As for my lord-lieutenant, the earl of *Mungomerry*, I am sure he *be-wales* my misfortune, and it would move him to stand by when the carpenter (while my friends grieve and make an *odd splutter*) *nails* up my coffin. I will make a short *affidavit* that, if he makes my *epitaph*, *I* will take it for a great honour, and it is a plentiful subject. His excellency may say that the art of punning is dead with *Tom: Tom* has taken all puns away with him, *Omne tulit pun-Tom*.—May his excellency long *live tenant* to the queen in Ireland! We never *Herberd* so good a governor before. Sure he *mun-go-merry* home, that has made a kingdom so happy. I hear my friends design to publish a collection of my puns. Now I do confess I have let many a *pun go*, which did never *pungo:* therefore, the world must read the bad as well as the good. Virgil has long foretold it: *Punica mala legos*. I have had several forebodings that I should soon die; I have late been often at committees, where I have sat *de die in diem*. I conversed much with the *usher* of the *black rod:* I saw his *medals;* and woe is *me dull* soul, not to consider they are but dead men's faces *stamped over* and *over* by the living, which will shortly be my condition.

Tell sir *Andrew Fountaine* I *ran* clear to the *bottom*, and wish he may be a late *a river* where I am going. He used to *brook* compliments. May his sand be long a *running;* not *quick sand*, like mine! Bid him avoid *poring* upon monuments and books; which is in reality but *running* among *rocks* and *shelves* to *stop* his *course*. May his *waters* never be *troubled* with *mud* or *gravel*, nor *stopped* by any *grinding stone!* May his friends be all true *trouts*, and his enemies laid as flat as *flounders!* I look upon him as the most *fluent* of his *race;* therefore let him not *despond*. I foresee his black *rod* will advance to a *pike*, and destroy all our *ills*.

But I am going; my *wind in* lungs is turning to a *winding* sheet. The thoughts of *a pall* begin to *appall* me. Life is but a *vapour*, car elle va *pour* la moindre cause. Farewell: I have lived ad amicorum *fastidium*, and now behold how *fast I do um!*

Here his breath failed him, and he expired. There are some false spellings here and there; but they must be pardoned in a dying man.

* A nickname of Tom Ashe's brother.

A LETTER TO MRS. SUSANNAH NEVILLE.*

June 24, 1732.

Madam,—I will not trouble you with any grave *tophicks*, lest I should *discurmode* you; but rather write in a *farmiliar* and *jocosious* way.

You must know then I was the other night at Mrs. Tattle's, and Mrs. Rattle came in to drink some *jocklit* with us, upon which they fell in a *nargiment* about the best *musicioners* in town. At last Rattle told Tattle that she did not know the *difrence* between a song and a *tympany*. They were going to *defer* the matter to me; but I said that, when people disputed, it was my way always to stand *muter*. You full would have thought they were both *intosticated* with liquor, if you had seen them so full of outrageousness. However, Mrs. Tattle, as being a very *timbersome* woman, yielded to Rattle, and there was an end of the *disputement*. I wonder you do not honour me sometimes with your company. If I myself be no *introducement*, my garden, which has a fine *rural* look, ought to be one. My Tommy would be glad to see you before he goes for England; and so would I, for I am resolved to take the *tower* of London before I return. We intend to go to Norfolk or Suffolk to see a clergyman, a near cousin of ours. They say that he is an *admirat* good man, and very *hospital* in his own house. I am *determ'd* when this vege is over, never to set my foot in a stage-coach again; for the jolting of it has put my blood into such a *firmament* that I have been in an *ego* ever since, and have lost my *nappetite* to such a degree that I have not eaten a *mansion* of bread put all together these six weeks past. They allow me to eat nothing at night but *blanchius manshius*, which has made a perfect *notomy* of me; and my spirits are so *extorted* that I am in a perfect *liturgy;* for which I am resolved to take some *rubrick*, although the doctors davise me to drink *burgomy*. And what do you think? When I went to my cellar for a flask, I found that my servants had *imbellished* it all: for which I am resolved to give them some *hippocockeny* to bring it up again.—I fear that I have been too *turbulent* in this long and tedious *cruel;* which I hope you will excuse from your very humble servant,

Mary Howe.

* This letter is fictitious, and was written by Dr. Sheridan.

CONSULTATION

OF FOUR PHYSICIANS UPON A LORD THAT WAS DYING.

As Swift did not partake of the usual amusements of the world for recreation, he indulged himself in various sports and whims of fancy. Among others he was fond of a new species of composition, which consisted all of Latin words, but by allowing for false spelling, and running the words into each other, the sentences would contain good sense in English. It was thought specimens of this singular mode of writing would not be unacceptable to the reader.

1*st D.* Is his honor sic? Præ lætus felis pulse. It ilo es beat veris loto de.	Is his honour sick? Pray let us feel his pulse. It does beat very slow to-day.
2*nd D.* No notis as qui cassi e ver feltu metri it. Iuile edit is as fastas an alarum ora fire bellat nite.	No, no, 'tis as quick as I ever felt; you may try it. Indeed, it is as fast as an alarum, or a fire bell at night.
3*rd D.* It is veri hei!	It is very high.
4*th D.* Noto contra dictu in my juge mentitis veri loto de. Itis as orto maladi, sum callet.	Not to contradict you, in my judgment it is very slow to-day. It is a sort of malady, some call it.
(*Here a ver id octo rati resto a par lori na mel an coli post ure.*)	*Here every doctor retires to a parlour in a melancholy posture.*
1*st D.* It is a me gri mas I opi ne.	It is a megrim as I opine.
2*nd D.* No docto rite quit fora quin si. Heris a plane sim tomo fit. Sorites Para celsus: Præ re adit.	No, doctor, I take it for a quinsy. Here is a plain symptom of it. So writes Paracelsus—Pray read it.
1*st D.* Nono doctor I ue ver quo te aqua casu do.	Na, no, doctor, I never quote a quack as you do.
2*nd D.* Sum arso: mi autoris no ne.	Some are so; my author is none.
3*rd D.* No quare lingat pre senti de si re. His honor is sic uffa colli casure as I sit here.	No quarrelling at present, I desire. His honour is sick of a colic, as sure as I sit here.
4*th D.* It is æther an atro phi or a colli casu sed: Ire membri re ad it in doctor me ades Esse, here itis.	It is either an atrophy or a colic, as you said. I remember I read it in doctor Mead's Essay: here it is.
3*rd D.* I ne ver re ad apage in it, no re ver in tendit.	I never read a page in it, nor ever intend it.
2*nd D.* Fer ne is offa qui te di ferent noti o nas i here.	Ferne is quite of a different notion, as I hear.
1*st D.* Notis ab ludi fluxit is vere plene.	No, 'tis a bloody flux, it is very plain.
2*nd D.* I fitis a fluxit me re qui re ac lis ter.	If it is a flux, it may require a glyster.
3*rd D.* I a ver his casis veneri alas i disco ver edit in as hanc cor; an da poli pus in his nosce. An di fit be as I cetis, ago no rea me en sue.	I aver his case is venereal, as I discovered it in a chancre and a polypus in his nose. And, if it be as I say 'tis, a gonorrhœa may ensue.
1*st D.* It is ad ange rus casas ani.	It is a dangerous case as any.
4*th D.* I must tellure alitis ago uti humor in his Bel li. Hi sto macto is empti.	I must tell you really, 'tis a gouty humour in his belly. His stomach, too, is empty.
1*st D.* It me bea pluri si; avo metis veri pro per fora manat his age.	It may be a pleurisy; a vomit is very proper for a man at his age.
2*nd D.* Ure par donat præsenti des ire; His dis eas is a cata ride clare it.	Your pardon at present I desire. His disease is a catarrh, I declare it.
3*rd D.* Atlas tume findit as tone in his quid ui es.	At last you may find it a stone in his kidneys.
4*th D.* Itis ale pro si fora uti se. Præ hos his a poti cari; cantu tellus? Ab lis ter me bene cessa risum decens. Itis as ure medi in manicas es.	It is a leprosy for aught I see. Pray, who's his apothecary, can't you tell us? A blister may be necessary some days hence. It is a sure remedy in many cases.
3*rd D.* I findit isto late tot hinc offa reme di; fori here his Honor is De ad.	I find it is too late to think of a remedy; for I hear his honor is dead.
2*nd D.* His ti meis cum.	His time is come.
1*st D.* Is it trudo ut hinc?	Is it true, do you think?
4*th D.* It is veri certa in. His Paris his Belli sto ringo ut foris de partu re.	It is very certain. His parish's bell is to ring out for his departure.
3*rd D.* Næ, i fis Ecce lens is de ad lætus en dum apri esto præ foris sole. His Honor has hina Cato liquor a de isti here.	Nay, if his excellency is dead, let us send 'em a priest to pray for his soul. His honour has been a Catholic or deist, I hear.
1*st D.* Alor dis sum times as tingi as an usu reris.	A lord is sometimes as stingy as a usurer is.
2*nd D.* Api stolis alligo time a verhi mi at eudans for a forte nite.	A pistole is all I got. I may aver, by my attendance for a fortnight.
3*rd D.* O mei ne vera tendo na uil ordinis sic nes ani more!	Oh may I never attend on any lord in his sickness any more!
4*th D.* Api stolis ne a quin in a uil ordo fis qua liti; sum pes fore times more. It istos mala fito a Doctor o fis hic.	A pistole is sneaking in any lord of his quality: some pay four times more. It is too small a fee to a doctor o' physic.
2*nd D.* Lætus paco fitis time.	Let us pack off; it is time.
1*st D.* Ahigo ditis hi time, in de editis, forus alto fallas campe ringo fas fastas arato ut offa da iri; fori fera bea tinge veri minute: himi solido. His lac quis, an das turdis aussi sto ut valet is re di forus	Ah, by God, it is high time, indeed it is, for us all to fall a scampering off as fast as a rat out of a dairy; for I fear a beating every minute; by my soul I do. His lacqueys and a sturdy saucy stout valet is ready for us.
2*nd D.* Ali feris ab ast in a do; fori here ano is at adis stans.	All I fear is a bastinado; for I hear a noise at a distance

A LOVE SONG.

Apud in is almi de si re,	A pudding is all my desire.
Mimis tres I ne ver re qui re,	My mistress I never require
Alo veri finlit a gestis,	A lover I find it a jest is,
His miseri ne ver at restis.	Its misery never at rest is.

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AN EPIGRAM.

Dic, heris agro at, an da quar to fine ale,
Fora ringat ure nos, an da stringat ure tale.

Dick, here is a groat and a quart o' fine ale,
For a ring at your nose and a string at your tail.

TO SAMUEL BINDON, Esq.

Mollis abuti,
Has an acuti,
No lasso fiuis,
Molli divinis.

O mi de armis tres,
Imi na dis tres.
Cantu disco ver
Meas alo ver?

Moll is a beauty,
Has no acute eye,
No lass so fine is,
Molly divine is.

O my dear mistress,
I am in a distress.
Can't you discover
Me as a lover?

TO DR. SHERIDAN.

This gibberish resolves into what the dean's postscript calls "as bad sense as you would desire."

"I am an ass; O let me suck calf; O so I do in summer; O but I had mum in all I supt; Mnim o' time is tiresome; writes of any tall lass; I buss 'em? O soberer. Nan, sit, sit a top. O Tom am I so dull, I a cully? I so agen? I a madman? I've a memory son. I'm a sinner. 'Tis a part.

"Is a cap a cure? O covet it o' men, fire me cot; 'tis a loss in time and tide. I'm in a musing mood; I am kneeling in mire. A, but I see cone, so I get never a rap."

The Latin must be read backwards.

"Emoveor aliquando paululum gravitate subjecti si habeas me excusatum."

October 12. 1723.
Saturni die.

E RUDITISSIME DOMINI,

Mi Sana, Telo me Floccus; odioso ni mus rem. Tuba Dia pusilanimum: emit si erit mos minimo. Fecitne Latina Sal? I sub me? a robur os. Nantis potatis. Moto inna os illud a illuc? Ima os nega: I dama nom? Memoravi i nos; I ma eris nisi: sit parta.

Si paca eruca? voco Tite nemo! Emerit tono sit sola ni emit, na edit. Imo ni sum & dum. Ima uii ne ni erim! Tuba uisi no os tegi en parare.

HUMILIMUS, &c.

Excusatum me habeas si subjecti gravitate paululum aliquando emoveor.

When you have puzzled your brains with reading this, you will find it as bad sense as you would desire.

Where do you dine to-day?
To-morrow with me.

FROM DR. SHERIDAN.

June 28, 1734.

DE ARMIS TER DE AN.

I EXPECTURE anser an da fullone obo ut mi monito de. Times a re veri de ad nota do it oras hi lingat almi e state. Mire se ver canuas vel res ad e villas a peni. Cursim I se fora prime miuis ter. Cantu res a Sum at ab an cursu de an. Atri do. Uno mi de arde annuo me a gro at. It is hi time tot, hinc ope in it. I ama non est manica, ac nave is mi aversio ui de clare.

Ad unis at mi do ore fora Sum io on damnat urnæ, ah umbelicum in at his ars, as redi as ac at is at amo use, ora rati se, orabat.

Iambicum as mutas a Statu: as lænas ara que; as de a fas an ad aris; as hæ a vi as an assis: as quæras a duc: ast emas alam; as de ad as a do orna ilis; as insipidas de ad vi negaris; ora potato in me. I re membri vas o na time as qui casa fleat a lædis belli; as meri as a Phili: as fullo pleas ac id; as fullo meretrix as ac it en is, oras ab a bonni na capis. I rite si miles use e, cantu ritum? Udi ne at urse de at mi o use. I vah belli fullo meato en ter tenus fit fora nil ordinis equi page. Uva stomachi me ope. Here is ah illo fare. Ago use. A paro dux. Sum fis his, as a paro soles. A paro places. Apud in. Afri casei. Arabit astu in. Neu pes. Neu beans. Alam pij fit fora minis ter o state. Acus tardis ast it abit as at artis. Afri teris mi de lite. Mi liquor istoc que, it costus api Stola quarti a verrit. A quartos ac. Margo use claret as fine as a rubi. Graves. Lac rima Christi. Hoc. Cote rotæ. Sum Cyprus. As fine Sidera se ver Id runcat at averne.

Præbe specus a Superaturus. Summas par a gusto eat. Sum colli flo ures, ac ab age lætis fora Sal ad. Inrita lædito ac cum pani ure vereus, nota præter nota coquet. A grave matronis pro per fora grave de an, an da doctor, an das cole mas ter.

I ritu a verse o na molli o mi ne,
Asta lassa me pole, a lædis o fine,
I ne ver neu a niso ue at in mi tii is,
A manat a glans ora sito fer diis,
De armo lis abuti hos face an hos nos is
As fer a sal illi as reddas aro sis.

DEAR MISTER DEAN,

I EXPECT your answer, and a full one, about my money to-day. Times are very dead, not a doit or a shilling at all my estate. My receiver can as well raise a devil as a penny. Curse him, I say, for a prime minister. Can't you raise a sum at a banker's, you dean? Ah, try do. You know, my dear dean, you owe me a groat. It is high time to think upon it. I am an honest man, I say; a knave's my aversion, I declare.

A dun is at my door, for a sum I owe one damned attorney; a bumbailiie come in at his arse, as ready as a cat is at a mouse, or a rat, I say, or a bat.

I am become as mute as a statue; as lean as a rake; as deaf as an adder is; as heavy as an ass is: as quiet as a duck; as tame as a lamb; as dead as a door-nail is; as insipid as dead vinegar is; or a potatoe in me. I remember I was, on a time, as quick as a flea at a lady's belly; as merry as a filly: as full o' play as a kid; as full o' merry tricks as a kitten is, or as a baboon in a cap is. I write similes, you see; can't you write 'em? You dine o' Thursday at my house. I've a belly full o' meat to entertain us, fit for any lord in his equipage. You've a stomach, I may hope. Here is a bill o' fare: A goose, a pair o' ducks, some fishes, a pair o' soles, a pair o' plaices, a pudding, a fricassee, a rabbit a-stewing, new peas, new beans, a lamb pie, fit for a minister o' state. A custard is as fit a bit as a tart is. A fritter is my delight. My liquor is Tokay; it cost us a pistole a quart. I ever it. A quart o' sack. Margoux claret, as fine as a ruby. Graves. Lacryma Christi. Hock. Cote-roti. Some Cyprus. As fine cyder as ever I drank at a tavern.

Pray bespeak us a supper at your house. Some asparagus to eat. Some cauliflowers, a cabbage, lettuce for a salad. Invite a lady to accompany your reverence; not a prater; not a coquette. A grave matron is proper for a grave dean, and a doctor, and a school-master.

I write you a verse so a Molly o' mine,
As tall as a May-pole, a lady so fine;
I never knew any so neat in mine eyes,
A man at a glance, or a sight of her, dies;
Dear Molly's a beauty, whose face and whose nose is
As fair as a lily, as red as a rose is.

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Ac is o mi molli is almi de lite,
Illo verhi de, an illo verhi nite.

I figo imus te cato tum an dumus trans ac ure pense exceptive illuc. I fi ple in gestitis fora negat eas ter. Natabit fora cardami, norabit fora di se i, as migra num has sed forti times.

I nono nues offa ni momento ritu buttabata illis o ver at Dan sic. In Itali an in Germani merce nari es desertum e veri de. O ne geuer alis de ad ac an non bullit huc offis hæ ad. A fle et is præ par in fora se fite. Me ni Si eges ara carri in o nat his time.

Mi Magis as meri as an apis. Hæ do es se a quæ cur a quæ cur a cur. Hæ is caper in in ac age me do Sali. Abit ob re ad is gener ali his super, ora livor offa lambis.

Miser visto alat o me, excuse mi has te; Fore ver an de ver ures TOMAS SER ID AN.

Afri de at en ac locat mi Studij.

A kiss o' my Molly is all my delight·
I love her by day, and I love her by night

If I go I must take a totum, and you must ransack your pence, except I've ill-luck. If I play in jest, it is for an egg at Easter. Not a bit for a card am I, nor a bit for a dice am I, as my grannum has said forty times.

I know no news of any moment to write you; but a battle is over at Dantzic In Italy and in Germany, mercenaries desert 'em every day. One general is dead; a cannon bullet took off his head. A fleet is preparing for a sea fight. Many sieges are a-carrying on at this time.

My Mag is as merry as an apes is. He does say, a quaker, a quaker, a cur. He is capering in a cage made o' sallow. A bit o' bread is generally his supper, or a liver of a lamb is.

My service to all at home; excuse my haste. For ever and ever yours, THOMAS SHERIDAN.

O' Friday at ten o'clock, at my study.

On the other hand the dean, in way of reply, tried to write English words to be read into Latin, of which the following is an instance:—

TO DR. SHERIDAN.

Terse I ow I ane you are wry. Tertio Januarii.

AM I SAY VAIN A RABBLE IS,

GAUDY o tea rue ry dy you sale you tye in service he: Said lynk way more Ass, eat red Eye, add nose sight O. Quipp ye knife all or tame Puss East. Tea Mary Tuck Sir: Tea may rent Family are ease. Anne lewd is cart is? Veal some no in dull jest I? Anne Jo Cus ty by place eat? Meer Rum spare O Freak went her Bib is: Lack Tea compleat: Ay'd is, ride ease, Lock were is, do neck fat I gat us ease. A wry Debt nay, Rage in a eat may right us tye hy? Do my Tea here I eggs peck't have I; said may day say pist I. Usquebach come am Ass; Force an I buy ass he o buss East; Codd mark a Toryes nice Eye ass I dumb mine I may hay bent. Said post hose Dairy lick toes add noes vain I. You buy inn do mow Day can at us bon um Salt 'em hy beam us, sign on Mealy o'r'em fall or no. Satyr nigh, dya ease nose ty feast us east. May come air is; Sigh mull seek ray to Carmen a Pan game us. Ride end 'um, buy, bend 'um e'r it come so dayly buss: nigh least carry us invite a.

Sick Dice it Whore ah see us;
Spare take um Sick way pot you it wag and Team
Fall e'er he taste a.

Et a lye hy:
Back 'um in Ray mote is Carrmen areyou Pyebuss.

Said;
For tune a lay to save an egg o show.

Sate I sope I nor sight ha' shown um; add fine em proper and 'um East. Valiant a Mice I Vestry, eat you in Shoe pair rally Ass. Ah my Cuz vest are,

DAY CAN US.

AMICA VENERABILIS,

GAUDE ote ruri diu saluti inservisse; sed Ilnque moras, et redi ad nos cito. Quippe ni fallor tempus est. Timeret uxor, timerent familiares. An ludis cartis? Vel somno indulges te? Anne jocus tibi placet? Merum spero frequenter bibis Lac te complet. Edis, rides, loqueris, donec fatigatus es Arridet ne regina et maritus tibi? Domi te heri expectavi, sed me decepisti. Usque Bacchum amas Forsan ibi asse opus est. Quod mercatores ni scias idem minime habent. Sed post hos derelictos ad nos veni; ubi in domo Decanatus bonum saltem bibemus, si non meliorem Falerno Saturni dies, nôsti, festus est. Mecum eris; simul secreto carmina pangemus. Ridendum, bibendum erit cum sodalibus, nil est carius in vitâ!

Sic dicit Horatius
Spartacum si quæ potuit vagantem
Fallere testa.

Et alibi:
Bacchum in remotis carmina rapibus.

Sed:
Fortuna lato sæva negotio.

Satis upinor citationum, ad finem properandum est. Valeant amici vestri et tu insuper valeas.

Amicus vester,

DECANUS.

FROM DR. SHERIDAN.

Fy brew Harry 25, 1734-5.

RAVE E'ER END DAY ANN,

EYE fan see they Rake order is a deel a tory jant ill man, bee cause he mite heave scent his o pin eye on beef o'er this. Yew no eye heave sum mow knee too pea miss lear Hen a wry, Ann damn inn bay east tub ring Matt Eyrs twack on clue shun. Eye maid a nap point meant two Bee at they Dean a wry tun ey't, hutt am pray vent head buy a ten ant in Jew red buy Ann at Urn I, buy home eye must and. Eye am ewer mow stoh ay dy ant Ann dumh bell serve aunt, TOM ASS SHE AID ANN.

REVEREND DEAN, February 25, 1734-5

I FANCY the recorder is a dilatory gentleman, because he might have sent his opinion before this. You know I have some money to pay Mister Henry, and am in haste to bring matters to a conclusion. I made an appointment to be at the Deanery to-night, but am prevented by a tenant injured by an attorney, by whom I must stand. I am your most obedient and humble servant,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

FROM DR. SHERIDAN.

DRDN, May 26, 1735.

YEW mare aim Ember, a bout Ann our Ah go, Ire it Sum Ann glow Ann Glee, I nim it ay shun off

DEAR DEAN May 28, 1735.

YOU may remember, about an hour ago, I wr t some Anglo-Angli, in imitation of yours; but I fear there are mis-

Ewers. Butt If here they rare mist eaks. I few fine day nigh, Eye may Kit mire eak quest Tom end dumb. They'll aid Eyes Name Lee Mad damn Harry Son, White Whey, Sigh Cann, air ray dye Two join new, Sow add Yew Too Ale even. Ewer Mow Stumble Add my rare,

THOUGH MASS SHE RID ANN

Meath ay two went he Sick'st,
Wan thou Sand Say vain Hun dread, &c.

Tooth ay Revere End Dock tore Jo Nathan Dray Peer,
Gull Liver, Inn They Dane a wry.

takes. If you find any, I make it my request to mend 'em. The ladies, namely, madam Harrison, Whitway, Sican, are ready to join you. So adieu to e.even.—Your most humble admirer,

THOMAS SHERIDAN.

May the twenty-sixth,
One thousand seven hundred, &c.
To the reverend doctor Jonathan Drapier Gulliver,
in the Deanery.

FROM DR. SHERIDAN.

DE ARMIS TER DE AN,

Julij 15, 1735.

URIT tome sum time ago an diam redito anser it thus. A lac a de mi illiuc, ducis in it, is notabit fit fora de an; it is more fit fora puppi. I lusit toti. Irritato ripam flet an Dicti toral e ver ibit. Die is abest. Die is a serpenti se. Dic is a turdi se. Dic is a fartor. Dic is pisti se. Dic is a vix en. Die is as qui ter in nasti fusti musti eur. Die is arautur. Dic is ab a boni se. Sed Ito Dieti cantu eum in as a dans in mas ter an dans ab ori ora minuet. Da me I fido sed Dic. Quis mi ars se diu puppi. Ure as turdi rufi an sed I. Ure a tori villa in sed Dic. Ure fit fora gallus sed I; an dume dia dans in. Ure aras calli eur sed Die. Dicti sed I ure regis a farto me.

Tanti vi sed I tanti vi
Hi fora Die in apri vi.

Ime Die as te mas amo use foralis angor. I recollecta piper, sed I, an dat rumpetur, an da sume eur, an ad rumor, an das qui re, an ab lac a more in ure eum pani, an da de al more me ac in a gesto uti. It is ali ad a me sed Dic, as suras istine. Sensu cæso I cæno more.

I eum here formo ni. Itis apparent I canta ve mi mærent, mi tenentis tardi. I cursim e veri de nota peni cani res. I ambit. Mi stomachis a eor morante ver re ad ito digesta me ale in a minute. I eat nolam, nôram, no dux. I generali eat a quale carbone dedat super an da qualis as fine abit as arabit. I es ter de I eat atro ut at a bit. De vilis in mi a petite. A crustis mi de lite. (I neu Eumenides ago eat tuenti times more.) As uude I eat offa buccas fatas mi arsis. On nam unde I eat sum pes. A tu es de I eat apud in migra num edit. A venis de I eat sum pasti. Post de notabit. Afri de abit ab re ad. A satur de sum tripes.

Luis is mus ter in an armi an de sines carri in it as far as I tali, sum se germani. It do es alarum mus; De vel partum. I fani nues is fito ritu me directo me at cava ni Virgini a. Miservice tomi da ter an, capta in Pari, doctor de lanij, major Folli ut; an mi complemento mi de armis tresses, especiali WELL.

I amat ure re verens his cervice
fore ver an de ver.

DEAR MISTER DEAN, July 15, 1735.

You writ to me some time ago, and I am ready to answer it thus. Alack a-day, my ill luk; deuce is in it; it is not a bit fit for a dean; it is more fit for a puppy. I'll use it to Tighe. I writ a Tory pamphlet, and Dick Tighe tore all, every bit. Dick is a beast. Dick is a serpent, I say. Dick is a turd, I say. Dick is a farter. Dick is pist, I say. Dick is a vixen. Dick is a squittering, nasty, fusty, musty eur. Dick is a ranter. Dick is a baboon, I say. Said I to Dick Tighe, can't you come in as a dancing-master, and dance a bory or a minuet? Damme if I do, said Dick. K— my a—, said I, you puppy. You're a sturdy ruffian, said I. You're a Tory villain, said Dick. You're fit for a gallows, said I, and you may die a dancing. You're a rascally eur, said Dick. Dick Tighe, said I, your rage is a fart to me.

Tantivy, said I, tantivy,
Hy! for a Dick in a privy.

I made Dick as tame as a mouse, for all his anger. I recollect a piper, said I, and a trumpeter, and a shoemaker, and a drummer, and a squire, and a blackamoor in your company, and a deal more making a jest o' you, Tighe. It is all a lie, a damme, said Dick, as sure as I stink. Since you say so, I say no more.

I come here for money. It is apparent I can't have my Mayrent, my tenant is tardy. I curse him every day, not a penny can I raise. I am bit. My stomach is a cormorant, ever ready to digest a meal every minute. I eat no lamb, no ram, no ducks. I generally eat a quail carbonaded at supper, and a quail is as fine a bit as a rabbit. Yesterday I ate a trout at a bit. Devil is in my appetite. A crust is my delight. (I knew you, many days ago, eat twenty times more.) A' Sunday I eat of a buck as fat as my arse is. On a Monday I eat some peas. A' Tuesday I eat a pudding; my grannum made it. A' Wednesday I eat some pasty. Post day not a bit. A' Friday a bit of bread. A' Saturday some tripes.

Lewis is mustering an army, and designs carrying it as far as Italy, some say Germany. It does alarm us; devil part 'em. If any news is fit to write, you may direct to me at Cavan in Virginia. My service to my daughter Ann, captain Parry, doctor Delany, major Folliot; and my compliment to my dear mistresses, especially Worrall.

I am at your reverence his service for ever and ever.

A LETTER
TO
THE WRITER OF THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

SEE THE "CRAFTSMAN," 1727.—This piece refers to the well-known struggles between Pulteney and Walpole, in which Swift assisted the former.

SIR,—Although in one of your papers you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead season of the year, into accounts of domestic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correspondents, should not understand your meaning so literally as if you intended to reject inserting any other paper which might probably be useful for the public. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced that this new course you resolve to take will render you more secure than your former laudable practice of inserting such speculations as were sent you by several well-wishers to the good of the kingdom, however grating such notices might be to some who wanted neither power nor inclination to resent them at your cost; for, since there is a direct law against spreading false news, if you should venture to tell us, in one of the "Craftsmen," that the dey of Algiers had got the tooth-ache, or the king of Bantam had taken a purge, and the facts should be contradicted in succeeding packets, I do not see what plea you could offer to avoid the utmost penalty of the law, because you are not supposed to be very gracious among those who are most able to hurt you.

Besides, as I take your intentions to be sincerely meant for the public service, so your original method of entertaining and instructing us will be more general and more useful in this season of the year, when people are retired to amusements more cool, more innocent, and much more reasonable than those they have left; when their passions are subsided or suspended; when they have no occasions of inflaming themselves or each other; where they will have opportunity of hearing common sense, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers; and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leisure, to read and consider the advice or information you shall send them.

Another weighty reason why you should not alter your manner of writing by dwindling to a newsmonger, is, because there is no suspension of arms agreed on between you and your adversaries, who fight with a sort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities,—that they are never to be worn out, and are best wielded by the weakest hands, and which the poverty of our language forces me to call by the trite appellations of scurrility, slander, and Billingsgate. I am far from thinking that these gentlemen, or rather their employers, (for the operators themselves are too obscure to be guessed at,) should be answered after their own way, although it were possible to drag them out of their obscurity; but I wish you would inquire what real use such a conduct is to the cause they have been so largely paid to defend. The author of the three first "Occasional Letters," a person altogether unknown, has been thought to glance (for what reason he best knows) at some public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In answer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other side are instructed by their superiors to single out an adversary whose abilities they have most reason to apprehend, and to load himself, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual conversation in Bridewell, Newgate, and the Stews, could furnish them; but at the same time, so very unluckily, that the most distinguishing parts of their characters strike directly in the face of their benefactor, whose idea, presenting itself along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occasioned this desperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of slander to be truth, and applied to the proper person, what is to be the consequence? Are our public debts to be the sooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be the sooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war, the more likely to ensue; trade to flourish; the Ostend Company to be demolished; Gibraltar and Port Mahon left entire in our possession; the balance of Europe to be preserved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but persons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I ask, whether any of these effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even supposing he could prove every syllable of it to be true?

At the same time, I am well assured that the only reason of ascribing those papers to a particular person is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical spy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by those into whose company he insinuates himself; a sort of persons who, although without much love, esteem, or dread of people in present power, yet have too much common prudence to speak their thoughts with freedom before such an intruder; who, therefore, imposes grossly upon his masters, if he makes them pay for anything but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous mistake in a great minister to neglect or despise, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wisest persons in my time observe, that an administration was to be known and judged by the talents of those who appeared their advocates in print. This I must never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiously unfortunate, that, among the answerers, defenders, repliers and panegyrists, started up in defence of present persons and proceedings, there has not yet arisen one whose labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good will; and all this with the advantages of constant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of slander, to range over and riot in as they please.

On the other side, a turbulent writer of "Occasional Letters," and other vexatious papers, in conjunction, perhaps, with one or two friends as bad as himself, is able to disconcert, tease, and sour us, whenever he thinks fit, merely by the strength of genius and truth; and, after so dexterous a manner, that when we are vexed to the soul, and well know the reasons why we are so, we are ashamed to own the first, and cannot tell how to express the other. In a word, it seems to me that all the writers are on one side, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to assert that it is impossible for an ill minister to find men of wit, who may be drawn, by a very valuable consideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of such writers rebel against their hearts; their genius forsakes them when they would offer to prostitute it to the service of injustice, corruption, party rage, and false representation of things and persons.

And this is the best argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late so very unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions; although I cannot much commend their good husbandry in those exorbitant payments of twenty and sixty guineas at a time for a scurvy pamphlet; since the sort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one who has enjoyed the happiness of a very bad education, has kept the vilest company, is endued with a servile spirit, is master of an empty purse, and a heart full of malice.

But, to speak the truth in soberness; it should seem a little hard, since the old whiggish principle has been recalled, of standing up for the liberty of the press, to a degree that no man, for several years past, durst venture out a thought which did not square, to a point, with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I say, it is a little hard that the vilest mercenaries should be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for discharging their brutalities against men of honour only upon a bare conjecture.

If it should happen that these profligates have attacked an innocent person, I ask, what satisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the most corrupt, rapacious ministers, in the longest course of unlimited power, would be sufficient to atone for the hundredth part of such an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a situation sufficient in all conscience to satisfy a reasonable ambition, for a private person to command the laws, the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom; to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleases; and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the dust. In such an exaltation, why should he be at the trouble to make use of fools to sound his praises, (because I always thought the lion was hard set when he chose the ass for his trumpeter,) or knaves to revenge his quarrel at the expense of innocent men's reputations?

With all those advantages, I cannot see why persons in the height of power should be under the least concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of use; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only possession their enemies have left them. Supposing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing; if a writer displays them in their proper colours, does he do anything worse than sending customers to the shop? "Here only, at the sign of the

Brazen Head, are to be sold places and pensions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of mistaking the door."

For my own part, I think it very unnecessary to give the character of a great minister in the fulness of his power, because it is a thing that naturally does itself, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his personal qualities are all derived into the most minute parts of his administration. If this be just, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for present exigencies, and provident of the future; such is the director himself, in his private capacity: if it be rapacious, insolent, partial, palliating long and deep diseases of the public with empirical remedies, false, disguised, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you shall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to answer in every point: nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their consequences by the community; as the thief-catcher, upon viewing a house broke open, could immediately distinguish, from the manner of the workmanship, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim against which an exception is not ready to start up; so, in the present case, where the minister grows enormously rich, the public is proportionably poor: as in a private family, the steward always thrives the fattest when his lord is running out. * * * * * *

THE ANSWER OF THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PULTENEY TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

(WRITTEN BY THE DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S.)

October 15, 1730.

SIR,—A pamphlet was lately sent me, entitled "A Letter from the Right Honourable Sir R. W. to the Right Honourable W. P., occasioned by the late Invectives on the King, her Majesty, and all the Royal Family." By these initial letters of our names, the world is to understand that you and I must be meant. Although the letter seems to require an answer, yet because it appears to be written rather in the style and manner used by some of your pensioners than your own, I shall allow you the liberty to think the same of this answer, and leave the public to determine which of the two actors can better personate their principals. That frigid and fustian way of haranguing, wherewith your representer begins, continues, and ends his declamation, I shall leave to the critics in eloquence and propriety to descant on, because it adds nothing to the weight of your accusations, nor will my defence be one grain the better by exposing its puerilities.

I shall therefore only remark, upon this particular, that the frauds and corruptions in most other arts and sciences, as law, physic, (I shall proceed no further,) are usually much more plausibly defended than in that of politics; whether it be that, by a kind of fatality, the vindication of a corrupt minister is always left to the management of the meanest and most prostitute writers, or, whether it be that the effects of a wicked or unskilful administration are more public, visible, pernicious, and universal; whereas the mistakes in other sciences are often matters that affect only speculation; or, at worst, the bad consequences fall upon few and private persons. A nation is quickly sensible of the miseries it feels, and little comforted by knowing what account it turns to by the wealth, the power, the honours conferred on those who sit at the helm, or the salaries paid to their penmen, while the body of the people is sunk into poverty and despair. A Frenchman in his wooden shoes may, from the vanity of his nation and the constitution of that government, conceive some imaginary pleasure in boasting the grandeur of his monarch in the midst of his own slavery; but a freeborn Englishman, with all his loyalty, can find little satisfaction at a minister overgrown in wealth and power from the lowest degree of want and contempt, when that power or wealth is drawn from the bowels and blood of the nation, for which every fellow-subject is a sufferer, except the great man himself, his family, and his pensioners; I mean such a minister (if there has ever been such a one) whose whole management has been a continued link of ignorance, blunders, and mistakes in every article, besides that of enriching and aggrandizing himself.

For these reasons, the faults of men who are most trusted in public business are, of all others, the most difficult to be defended. A man may be persuaded into a wrong opinion, wherein he has small concern; but no oratory can have the power over a sober man against the conviction of his own senses; and therefore, as I take it, the money thrown away on such advocates might be more prudently spared, and kept in such a minister's own pocket, than lavished in hiring a corporation of pamphleteers to defend his conduct, and prove a kingdom to be flourishing in trade and wealth, which every particular subject (except those few already excepted) can lawfully swear, and by dear experience knows, to be a falsehood.

Give me leave, noble sir, in the way of argument, to suppose this to be your case: could you, in good conscience or moral justice, chide your paper-advocates for their ill success in persuading the world against manifest demonstration? Their miscarriage is owing, alas! to want of matter. Should we allow them to be masters of wit, raillery, or learning, yet the subject would not admit them to exercise their talents; and consequently they can have no recourse but to impudence, lying, and scurrility.

I must confess, that the author of your letter to me has carried this last qualification to a greater height than any of his fellows; but he has, in my opinion, failed a little in point of politeness, from the original, which he affects to imitate. If I should say to a prime-minister, "Sir, you have sufficiently provided that Dunkirk should be absolutely demolished and never repaired; you took the best advantages of a long and general peace to discharge the immense debts of the nation; you did wonders with the fleet; you made the Spaniards submit to our quiet possession of Gibraltar and Port Mahon; you never enriched yourself and family at the expense of the public."—Such is the style of your supposed letter; which, however, if I am well informed, by no means comes up to the refinements of a fishwife at Billingsgate. "You never had a bastard by Tom the waterman; you never stole a silver tankard; you were never whipped at the cart's tail."

In the title of your letter, it is said to be "occasioned by the late invectives on the king, her majesty, and all the royal family;" and the whole contents of the paper (stripped from your eloquence) go on upon a supposition affectedly serious, that their majesties and the whole royal family have been lately bitterly and publicly inveighed against, in the most enormous and treasonable manner. Now, being a man, as you well know, altogether out of business, I do sometimes lose an hour in reading a few of those controversial papers upon politics, which have succeeded for some years past to the polemical tracts between Whig and Tory; and in this kind of reading, (if it may deserve to be so called,) although I have been often but little edified or entertained, yet has it given me occasion to make some observations. First, I have observed, that however men may sincerely agree in all the branches of the Low Church principle, in a tenderness for dissenters of every

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kind, in a perfect abhorrence of popery and the pretender, and in the most firm adherence to the Protestant succession in the royal house of Hanover, yet plenty of matter may arise to kindle their animosities against each other, from the various infirmities, follies, and vices inherent in mankind.

Secondly, I observed, that although the vulgar reproach, which charges the quarrels between ministers and their opposers to be only a contention for power between those who are in and those who would be in if they could; yet, as long as this proceeds no further than a scuffle of ambition among a few persons, it is only a matter of course, whereby the public is little affected. But, when corruptions are plain, open, and undisguised, both in their causes and effects, to the hazard of a nation's ruin, and so declared by all the principal persons and the bulk of the people, those only excepted who are gainers by those corruptions; and when such ministers are forced to fly for shelter to the throne, with a complaint of disaffection to majesty against all who durst dislike their administration; such a general disposition in the minds of men cannot, I think, by any rules of reason be called "the clamour of a few disaffected incendiaries" grasping after power. It is the true voice of the people, which must, and will at last, be heard, or produce consequences that I dare not mention.

I have observed, thirdly, that among all the offensive printed papers which have come to my hand, whether good or bad, the writers have taken particular pains to celebrate the virtues of our excellent king and queen, even where these were, strictly speaking, no part of the subject; nor can it be properly objected that such a proceeding was only a blind to cover their malice toward you and your assistants; because, to affront the king, queen, or the royal family, as it would be directly opposite to the principles that those kind of writers have always professed, so it would destroy the very end they have in pursuit. And it is somewhat remarkable, that those very writers against you and the regiment you command, are such as most distinguish themselves upon all, or upon no occasions, by their panegyrics on their prince; and, as all of them do this without favour or hire, so some of them continue the same practice under the severest prosecution by you and your janizaries.

You seem to know, or at least very strongly to conjecture, who those persons are that give you so much weekly disquiet. Will you dare to assert that any of these are Jacobites, endeavour to alienate the hearts of the people, to defame the prince, and then dethrone him, (for these are your expressions,) and that I am their patron, their bulwark, their hope, and their refuge? Can you think I will descend to vindicate myself against an aspersion so absurd? God be thanked, we have had many a change of ministry without changing our prince; for, if it had been otherwise, perhaps revolutions might have been more frequent. Heaven forbid that the welfare of a great kingdom, and of a brave people, should be trusted with the thread of a single subject's life; for I suppose it is not yet in your view to entail the ministryship in your family. Thus I hope we may live to see different ministers and different measures, without any danger to the succession in the royal Protestant line of Hanover.

You are pleased to advance a topic which I could never heartily approve of in any party, although they have each in their turn advanced it, while they had the superiority. You tell us it is hard that, while every private man shall have the liberty to choose what servant he pleases, the same privilege should be refused to a king. This assertion, crudely understood, can hardly be supported. If by servants be only meant those who are purely menial, who provide for their master's food and clothing, or for the convenience and splendour of his family, the point is not worth debating. But, the bad or good choice of a chancellor, a secretary, an ambassador, a treasurer, and many other officers, is of very high consequence to the whole kingdom: so is likewise that amphibious race of courtiers between servants and ministers; such as the steward, chamberlain, treasurer of the household, and the like, being all of the privy council, and some of the cabinet; who, according to their talents, their principles, and their degree of favour, may be great instruments of good or evil, both to the subject and the prince; so that the parallel is by no means adequate between a prince's court and a private family. And yet, if an insolent footman be troublesome in the neighbourhood; if he breaks the people's windows, insults their servants, breaks into other folks' houses to pilfer what he can find, although he belong to a duke, and be a favourite in his station; yet those who are injured may, without just offence, complain to his lord, and, for want of redress, get a warrant to send him to the stocks, to Bridewell, or to Newgate, according to the nature and degree of his delinquencies. Thus the servants of the prince, whether menial or otherwise, if they be of his council, are subject to the inquiries and prosecutions of the great council of the nation, even as far as to capital punishment; and so must ever be in our constitution, till a minister can procure a majority even of that council to shelter him; which I am sure you will allow to be a desperate crisis, under any party of the most plausible denomination.

The only instance you produce, or rather insinuate, to prove the late invectives against the king, queen, and royal family, is drawn from that deduction of the English history published, in several papers, by the "Craftsman;" wherein are shown the bad consequences to the public, as well as to the prince, from the practices of evil ministers in most reigns, and at several periods, when the throne was filled by wise monarchs as well as by weak. This deduction, therefore, cannot reasonably give the least offence to a British king, when he shall observe that the greatest and ablest of his predecessors, by their own candour, by a particular juncture of affairs, or by the general infirmity of human nature, have sometimes put too much trust in confident, insinuating, and avaricious ministers.

Wisdom, attended by virtue and a generous nature, is not unapt to be imposed on. Thus Milton describes Uriel, "the sharpest-sighted spirit in heaven," and "regent of the sun," deceived by the dissimulation and flattery of the devil, for which the poet gives a philosophical reason, but needless here to quote. Is anything more common, or more useful, than to caution wise men in high stations against putting too much trust in undertaking servants, cringing flatterers, or designing friends? Since the Asiatic custom of governing by prime-ministers has prevailed in so many courts of Europe, how careful should every prince be in the choice of the person on whom so great a trust is devolved, whereon depend the safety and welfare of himself and all his subjects! Queen Elizabeth, whose administration is frequently quoted as the best pattern for English princes to follow, could not resist the artifices of the earl of Leicester; who, although universally allowed to be the most ambitious, insolent, and corrupt person of his age, was yet her greatest and almost her only favourite (his religion indeed being partly puritan, and partly infidel, might have better tallied with present times); yet this wise queen would never suffer the openest enemies of that overgrown lord to be sacrificed to his vengeance; nor durst he charge them with a design of introducing popery, or the Spanish pretender.

How many great families do we all know, whose

masters have passed for persons of good abilities during the whole course of their lives, and yet the greatest part of whose estates have sunk in the hands of their stewards and receivers; their revenues paid them in scanty portions, at large discount, and treble interest, though they did not know it; while the tenants were daily racked, and at the same time accused to their landlords of insolvency. Of this species are such managers, who, like honest Peter Waters, pretend to clear an estate, keep the owner pennyless, and after seven years leave him five times more in debt, while they sink half a plum into their own pockets.

Those who think themselves concerned, may give you thanks for that gracious liberty you are pleased to allow them of "taking vengeance on the ministers, and there shooting their envenomed arrows." As to myself, I neither owe you vengeance, nor make use of such weapons: but it is your weakness, or ill fortune, or perhaps the fault of your constitution, to convert wholesome remedies into poison; for you have received better and more frequent instructions than any minister of your age and country, if God had given you the grace to apply them.

I dare promise you the thanks of half the kingdom, if you please to perform the promise you have made of suffering the "Craftsman" and company, or whatever other infamous wretches and execrable villains you mean, to take their vengeance only on your own sacred ministerial person, without bringing any of your brethren, much less the most remote branch of the royal family, into the debate. This generous offer I suspected from the first, because there were never heard of so many, so unnecessary, and so severe prosecutions as you have promoted during your ministry, in a kingdom where the liberty of the press is so much pretended to be allowed. But in reading a page or two, I found you thought it proper to explain away your grant; for there you tell us, that "these miscreants" (meaning the writers against you) "are to remember, that the laws have ABUNDANTLY LESS generous, less mild and merciful sentiments," than yourself; and into their secular hands the poor authors must be delivered to fines, prisons, pillories, whippings, and the gallows. Thus your promise of impunity, which began somewhat jesuitically, concludes with the mercy of a Spanish inquisitor.

If it should so happen that I am neither abettor, patron, protector, nor supporter of these imaginary invectives "against the king, her majesty, or any of the royal family," I desire to know what satisfaction I am to get from you, or the creature you employed in writing the libel which I am now answering? It will be no excuse to say, that I differ from you in every particular of your political reason and practice; because that will be to load the best, the soundest, and most numerous part of the kingdom with the denominations you are pleased to bestow upon me, that they are "Jacobites, wicked miscreants, infamous wretches, execrable villains, and defamers of the king, queen, and all the royal family," and "guilty of high treason." You cannot know my style; but I can easily know your works, which are performed in the sight of the sun. Your good inclinations are visible; but I begin to doubt the strength of your credit even at court, that you have not power to make his majesty believe me the person which you represent in your libel; as most infallibly you have often attempted, and in vain, because I must otherwise have found it by the marks of his royal displeasure. However, to be angry with you, to whom I am indebted for the greatest obligation I could possibly receive, would be the highest ingratitude. It is to you I owe that reputation I have acquired for some years past of being a lover of my country and its constitution: to you I owe the libels and scurrilities conferred upon me by the worst of men, and consequently some degree of esteem and friendship from the best. From you I learned the skill of distinguishing between a patriot and plunderer of his country: and from you I hope in time to acquire the knowledge of being a loyal, faithful, and useful servant to the best of princes, king George II.; and therefore I can conclude, by your example, but with greater truth, that I am not only with humble submission and respect, but with infinite gratitude, sir, your most obedient and obliged servant, W. PULTENEY.

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE.

"In a series of familiar letters between the same friends for thirty years, their whole life, as it were, passes in review before us; we live with them, we hear them talk, we mark the vigour of life, the ardour of expectation, the hurry of business, the jollity of their social meetings, and the sport of their fancy in the sweet intervals of leisure and retirement; we see the scene gradually change; hope and expectation are at an end; they regret pleasures that are past, and friends that are dead; they complain of disappointment and infirmity; they are conscious that the sands of life which remain are few; and while we hear them regret the approach of the last, it falls, and we lose them in the grave. Such as they were we feel ourselves to be; we are conscious to sentiments, connections, and situations like theirs; we find ourselves in the same path, urged forward by the same necessity, and the parallel in what has been is carried on with such force to what shall be, that the future almost becomes present, and we wonder at the new power of those truths, of which we never doubted the reality and importance.

"These letters will therefore contribute to whatever good may be hoped from a just estimate of life; and for that reason, if for no other, are by no means unworthy the attention of the public." HAWKESWORTH.

TO THE REV. JOHN KENDALL.*

Moor-park, February 11, 1691.

SIR,—If anything made me wonder at your letter, it was your almost inviting me to do so in the beginning, which, indeed, grew less upon knowing the occasion; since it is what I have heard from more than one in and about Leicester. And for the friendship between us, as I suppose yours to be real, so I think it would be proper to imagine mine, until you find any cause to believe it pretended; though I might have some quarrel at you in three or four lines, which are very ill bestowed in complimenting me. And as to that of my great prospects of making my fortune, on which as your kindness only looks on the best side, so my own cold temper and unconfined humour is a much greater hinderance than any fear of that which is the subject of your letter. I shall speak plainly to you, that the very ordinary observations I made with going half a mile beyond the university, have taught me experience enough not to think of marriage till I settle my fortune in the world, which I am sure will not be in some years; and even then itself, I am so hard to please, that I suppose I shall put it off to the other world. How all that suits with my behaviour to the woman in hand you may easily imagine, when you know that there is something in me which must be employed, and when I am alone turns all, for want of practice, into speculation and thought; insomuch, that these seven weeks I have been here, I have writ and burnt, and writ again upon all manner of subjects, more than perhaps any man in England. And this is

* Vicar of Thornton in Leicestershire.

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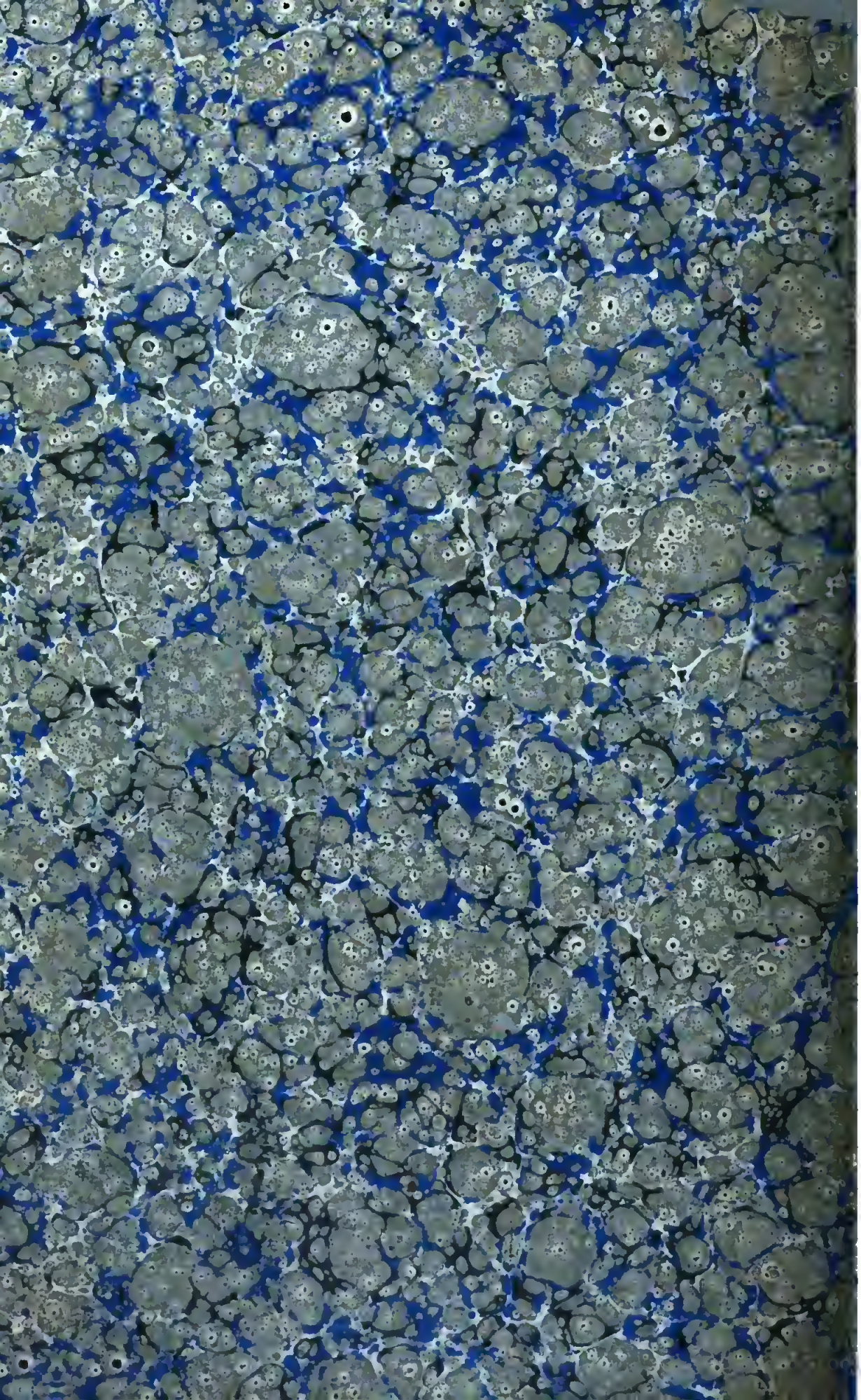

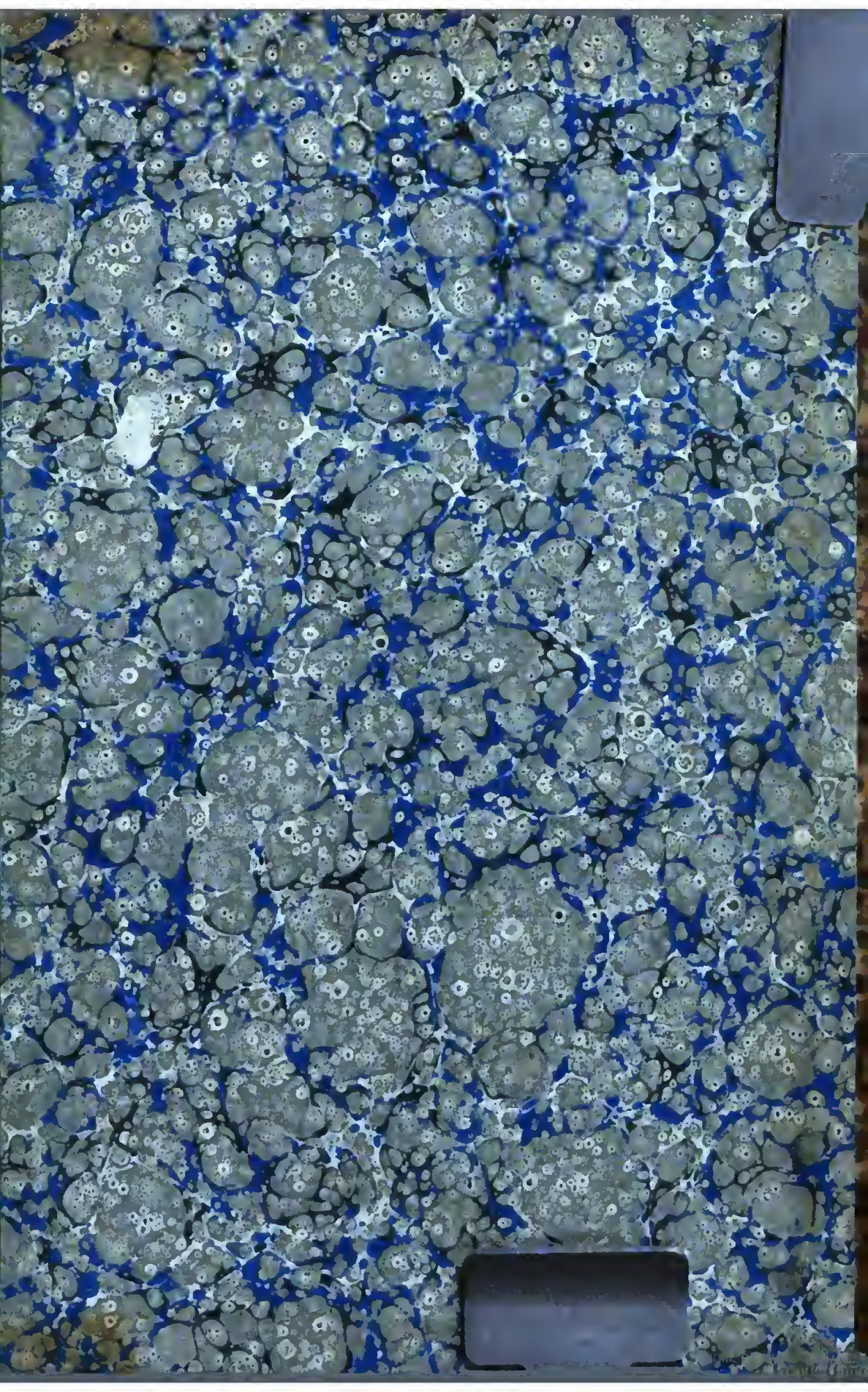

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